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THE
INQUIRER.

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CICERO.

What's good—doth open to the Inquirer stand.

DENHAM.

VOL. I.

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1822.

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THE INQUIRER.

APRIL, 1822.

ART. I.—*On the Means of ameliorating the Condition, and improving the Morals of the Poor.*

THE efforts of christian and benevolent characters have been directed within the last few years with increasing energy, in a great variety of ways, to diminish the mass of human misery, and to promote the increase of religion and virtue. It is delightful to see each party strenuously labouring in its own favourite plan; while an all-wise and directing Providence so combines and harmonises their various labours, as to make them tend to one grand result,—his own glory, and the happiness of his creatures.

Sorrow, and pain, and affliction are incident to this state of being, and the lot even of those who are most anxiously desirous to know and to perform the Divine Will concerning them. Trials are permitted by infinite Wisdom, to show the transitory nature of all sublunary objects, to wean us from the things of time and sense, and lead us to seek for those higher enjoyments which a due sense of religion affords, and in which permanent happiness alone consists.

The afflictions which may be deemed inevitable, as the loss of beloved relatives, pain of body, accidents which no prudence or foresight could guard against or avert, dwindle to nothing in extent or intensity when compared with the amount of that solid misery, that corroding anguish, which is the offspring of crime. "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?" When mankind neglect and despise that Divine principle in their own minds which makes them uneasy when they first do wrong, and fills them with joy and satisfaction when they do right, they are then prone to gratify their passions and appetites at all events, and are no longer scrupulous as to the means of doing so, but trespass without hesitation upon the rights of their neighbour, and loosen the bands which hold society together. Hence that deluge of misery which inundates the world; for these individuals are not only unhappy in themselves, but the cause of unhappiness to all within the sphere of their influence.

The efforts of the wise and the good, and of all those whose minds are susceptible to the love of God and of man, in every country,

should therefore be directed towards diminishing the cause of that misery which is most prevalent and most deplorable of all,—that arising from dereliction of duty, and springing out of the natural depravity of the human heart. This is the great work of the philanthropist in every nation under heaven. The attention of all should be directed to those measures which tend to **PREVENT OR DIMINISH CRIME**: and if the virtuous part of the community knew their powers when acting upon a well organised plan; if they could but be made aware of the effect of combining their efforts, and directing them towards this most important object, they would see the possibility of their becoming the honoured instruments of changing the moral character of a people in the course of a very few years.

It is certainly a duty to attend to the wants and to the sufferings of the poor; but how large a portion of these wants and sufferings arise from the neglect of society in training the lower classes to virtuous and economical habits. It is a duty to visit even the criminal in prison, and endeavour to reclaim him; but until we advert to the cause of his coming into prison, to the circumstances in which he has been permitted to exist, to the strong temptations to which he has fallen a prey, and wisely endeavour to alter the one and remove the other as far as practicable, prisons will be increasingly crowded. The demoralizing effects of the want of a virtuous education proceed in a much higher ratio than the efforts of those who are engaged in the amendment of prisons. If therefore there is one thing more than another which demands the attention of those at the helm of government, as well as of every friend to his species, it is measures which will go to the root of the evil,—**PREVENTIVE MEASURES**; and the most powerful of these will be found in a plan to fix the attention of the middle and upper classes upon the state of the lower; and to provide for the education of all their children in habits of subordination, self-restraint, economy, and reverence for religion.

The influence of the circumstances in which an individual is placed on the formation of his character, has not been sufficiently attended to; and though we are far from believing that the character of every individual is formed for him, and that he has nothing to do but submit to the action of the mould in which he is placed; yet it is abundantly evident, that if an infant were brought up from its birth in the most depraved part of the population of our metropolis, it would be very likely to receive an education in crime, and become a mischievous member of society; and that if the same infant had been sheltered from temptations and incitement to do wrong, by being born in a virtuous community, it would most probably have taken the road to virtue. The effect of
education

education in forming character and habits is displayed in all the various nations of the earth, and meets us at every turn in the circle of our own acquaintance.

The influence of mind upon mind is much greater than is commonly imagined, and even silent example often acts powerfully. We have had striking instances of the good effects produced upon depraved characters among the female prisoners in Newgate, through the influence of virtuous and benevolent minds; and this is a cheering earnest of what might be expected if the attention of society in a more general way were directed towards the formation of character in the great body of the people. It is incomparably more easy to form good habits and fix good principles in the tender minds of the children of the poor, than to reclaim those who have already become vicious. A very little consideration will show how deeply we are all interested in the good or bad habits and principles of the poor; they form in all countries the most numerous class, and hence in them the physical strength of a nation resides. The middle and upper classes are dependent upon them for the production or the preparation of articles of the first necessity; the rich could no more do without the poor than the poor without the rich; the interests of both classes are inseparable: if the poorer classes are in a state of suffering, the effects will be felt by the classes above them; and in proportion as the poor are more depraved and vicious, exactly in that proportion will the security of our persons and property be diminished. We are then called upon in the most powerful manner to place within the reach of the poor the means of providing a religious education for their children; seeing that it would tend to the prevention of crime and consequently of misery; that it would increase our own happiness as well as theirs, and promote to an incalculable degree the security of the state.

The force of these great truths has been deeply felt in this country; pious and benevolent individuals have already established a great number of schools; the prejudice against instructing the poor is now confined to a very few, and generally whenever the subject is mentioned, the only question is, as to the best means of carrying the object into effect. The Sunday schools established in the first instance, in order to bestow the blessing of education upon those poor children who were confined on all the working days of the week in manufactories, have proved a signal blessing, and in a twofold point of view:—first, in forming many pious and virtuous characters among the children; and, secondly, in providing such an object for the exercise of benevolence, as must heighten and exalt the virtue of those who gratuitously devote their time as teachers.

As the good moral effects of education by the multiplication of schools became more and more apparent, it seemed highly desirable to embrace if possible the whole population; but the expense of the common method of teaching was such as to render schools for the instruction of all impracticable, until plans were introduced, by which one master, assisted by monitors from among the scholars, is enabled to teach several hundred children. By these economical arrangements the charge of educating a child is reduced to a comparative trifle; and in consequence schools have rapidly increased in number. Still, however, many thousands in the metropolis, and in different parts of the country, are at the present moment totally unprovided with the means of instruction. To impart still further the benefits of useful knowledge, active measures must be taken to ameliorate the general condition of the labouring classes: these measures will principally consist—

I. In an investigation into the actual circumstances of all the poor, by associations of disinterested and benevolent persons in the middle and upper ranks of life, by the separation of cities, towns and villages into districts, with a view to the division of labour.

II. In removing, as much as possible, from about the poor the temptation to do wrong.

III. In providing for the education of all the children of the poor in moral and religious habits.

IV. In assisting the poor to support themselves, as far as possible, by their own exertions; by placing them in such a situation that they may feel that they are respected, and have a character to support, and that it would be humiliating to them to receive parochial relief.

We will now consider how these measures can be carried into effect; and it is evident that the first step requires the CO-OPERATION of disinterested and benevolent persons.

In every country where a sufficient number of public-spirited individuals can be found, arrangements may be easily made, to remedy many of the most pressing evils of poverty; to educate all the children of the poor; and to give a bias to virtue instead of vice in the great mass of the people. If we lived up to the principles of the Christian religion, if we loved our neighbour as ourselves, we should not answer, when invited to assist in some benevolent exertion, "I have no time." We should, in the first place, consider the nature of the duty to our family imposed upon us by our situation in life, and, valuing time as property, make that arrangement of it, as should provide sufficiently for the fulfilment of such duty, and *leave something to spare* for the duty of evincing our love to our neighbour. If only two or three hours in a week could

could be thus devoted by every individual, it might, upon a suitable plan for the division of labour, do all that is in contemplation. The great work of ascertaining the circumstances of the poor in any given district, and providing for the education of their children, must be, in a country like England, *the work of individuals*. It can never be made a measure of Government. But Government might, with the best effect, lend its assistance to every rational and practicable plan for ameliorating the condition of the poorer classes, when it had satisfactory proof that such plans were conducted by persons of intelligence and probity, and were calculated to secure the objects in view. As it is impossible to assist any person effectually without knowing his particular circumstances, *investigation* will be the first step in the course to be pursued. Whenever ten or a dozen individuals can be found who reside near each other, and are disposed to devote a certain number of hours in a week to endeavour to improve the situation of the poor among them, the first thing to be done will be, to mark out the streets or districts which it will be in their power to visit regularly. The districts being defined, the persons associating must form themselves into sub-committees of two members each; and a certain street or part of a street must be allotted for the visitation of every sub-committee. Books ruled in columns must be provided, and the information obtained arranged under separate heads; as, name of street; name of heads of family; trade or occupation; number of children and ages; whether educated or not; how many of the family can read; have they a bible; are they members of a bible association; are they depositors in a savings bank; do they receive parish relief and to what amount; if in distress what is the cause of it; the number of public houses and spirit shops in the district; the names and description of the societies or clubs held at them and the times of their meeting, with any other inquiry that may be thought desirable, and particularly if there be any school in the district. The association should meet once a week, when the state of the district may be ascertained from the visitor's books, and measures taken accordingly.

From the data thus obtained, the association would be prepared to consider of the best means for accomplishing the second measure, viz. to remove as much as possible from about the poor the temptations to do wrong. Having by kind and conciliatory treatment obtained a place in their affections, they might dissuade them from attending clubs at public houses, and encourage them to employ their leisure in useful reading and improving their minds, and in the care of their families. Access should be given
them

them to the library of the nearest school, whence under certain regulations they might borrow books.

The third measure, or the education of the children of the poor, must claim the greatest share of the attention of the association. They will ascertain, by the reports of their visitors, the number of children in want of education; they must not rest until every poor child of a suitable age shall be kept from wandering about the streets by being lodged in some school; and they should encourage all parents to send their children to some Sunday school. If the number of children in want of education should amount to one or two hundred, a school association should be formed upon such a plan that the parents of children might by weekly contributions nearly provide for the whole expense. The following plan now adopted in a considerable district in Spitalfields, with the greatest success, may serve as a model.

Every subscriber of 2d. per week and upwards shall be a member of this association, as long as the said subscription is kept up; but every subscriber who, on application being made, for four weeks, shall neglect or refuse to pay, shall lose the privileges of a member.

Each subscriber shall have the privilege of sending one child to school for every 2d. per week subscribed, and the right to attend, and vote, at every public meeting of this association, as long as his, or her, subscription is kept up.

All the children admitted into these schools shall be registered under the head of the religious denominations of their parents or friends, who shall engage that they attend every Sunday at such place of religious worship as the said parents or friends may prefer, and means shall be taken to ascertain the regular attendance at such places.

The business of this association shall be conducted by a committee, which shall meet once a fortnight; or oftener, on a day to be fixed by themselves.

The members of the school society committee (or managers) shall be *ex officio* members of this Association. All additions or alterations, in the committee of the association, are to be made at the quarterly general meetings. The first business of the association committee shall be to appoint a secretary, and chairman for each meeting of the members present.

As the boys and girls school-rooms will hold only a limited number of children; when the number of subscribers amounts to 550, no more members shall be admitted except as vacancies occur, which vacancies shall be filled up by the admission of new subscribers.

The association committee shall appoint for every district, suitable persons as collectors, who shall wait upon every family in their respective streets, and collect, weekly, the subscriptions which they are to pay into the committee on the night of its meeting; and the whole amount of the subscriptions is, after every said meeting, to be paid to the secretary of the school committee, and a receipt to be taken for the same.

A general meeting of the subscribers shall be held once a quarter*, at

* It has since been altered to every six months.

which an examination of the children shall take place, and rewards shall be publicly distributed: this distribution shall be as general as possible, and the value of the rewards shall depend on the number of merit tickets each scholar may acquire, and also on his, or her, general good conduct. The regular attendance of the children at some place of divine worship shall be essential to the receiving of prizes.

After every general meeting of the association, a list of the subscribers shall be printed in a cheap form, together with a report, and the names of the children who have received prizes; the names of the committee and the names of the collectors of each street shall also be printed. Every member is to be furnished with a copy.

All the money subscribed by this association shall be applied solely to pay the salaries of the master and mistress, to purchase articles of clothing, &c. for the children, as rewards, and to defray the other regular expenses of the school: it being understood that the committee of the school society (or managers) will grant the use of the school-rooms and keep them in repair out of their own funds.

The collectors are to call upon the parents or friends of all absentees from the school, a list of whom is to be furnished them every week by the master.

The members of the association are to visit the school whenever it is convenient to them, and are desired to note down, in a book to be provided for that purpose, the date of their attendance, the number of the children present, and the state of the school at the time; but no visitor shall be allowed to interfere with the master and mistress in the manner of teaching, without an order from the school committee (or managers).

Every subscriber shall be furnished with one or more blank printed forms of recommendation, according to the amount of his, or her, subscription; and when any child quits the school, the master shall report the same to the collector of the street, who shall supply the subscriber that recommended him with another printed form of recommendation.

The whole of the management of the association is under the immediate care of those, who on many occasions have given solid proof of the interest they feel in the welfare of the working classes in Spitalfields, and who wish to see this class, as much as possible, dependent upon their own exertions; they are anxious that their children should receive a moral and religious education at the expense of their parents or friends, without any badge being put upon them as the receivers of public charity. Deeply impressed with the conviction, that the present and eternal happiness of all classes of society depends, through divine assistance, upon the performance of the great duties of life, the principal object of the founders of these schools is to promote a knowledge of these duties, and to impress them upon the youthful mind; but in doing so no attempt will be made to proselyte any of the children, nor any interference permitted with those peculiar religious opinions which the parents or friends of the children may profess: but, after all the care that may be taken in school to teach religious principles, much, very much of the success will depend upon the co-operation of the parents and friends of the children **AT HOME**: If the example set **THERE** be bad; if the parents indulge in the angry passions, use bad words, show little regard for truth, and suffer their children to associate in the streets with bad characters, it is much to be feared that all the care of the managers and the committees will be in vain.

It

It is, however, hoped that, on the contrary, the members of this association will co-operate with the managers, to render the district included by the association such an example of the good effect, in a moral point of view, of the union of the richer and poorer classes of society, in so good a work, that benevolent persons may be encouraged to form similar associations in the neighbouring districts. The limits of this association will be confined, as nearly as can well be done, to those streets in the immediate neighbourhood of the school. The number of subscribers to the association is not to exceed 550; and whenever there are vacancies in the schools, those children who live nearest it, and within the bounds of the association, are to be preferred. The managers propose that those children who have received an education in the schools, and who shall have behaved to the satisfaction of the committees and managers, shall be under notice, as far as it is in their power to be useful to such children after they have left the school.

A library being attached to the school, every member of the association who shall have regularly paid his or her subscriptions during six weeks previously to application for a book, is entitled to borrow one volume upon condition of returning it uninjured at the expiration of a week. The master, or one of the committee of the association, attends weekly for the purpose of receiving and giving out books at the school-house. The number of applicants is considerable; and the Spitalfields weaver can now employ one of his children who has been taught in the school, to read to the rest of the family while they are at work. In this way, suitable books having been provided, the minds of the poor in that district will be expanded, and they will rise in the moral and intellectual scale. The parents and friends of the poor children contribute above 150*l.* per annum, which is collected weekly by the sub-committees of particular streets.

By a similar arrangement of division into districts, education may be provided for the scattered population of villages, none of which singly could have afforded the expense of a teacher; and here schools of industry might be made to form part of the plan with great advantage, as will appear by the following sketch.

It is proposed to educate boys and girls, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, on the mornings of five days in the week, and to employ them in useful and profitable works of industry, on the afternoons of the same days; to give each child a meal of good and nutritious, though cheap food, twice in the days on which they attend the school, and to make them do as much as possible towards providing decent clothing for themselves.

The boys are to be taught, besides the usual elements of learning, to make their own clothes, to knit stockings, to plait straw for hats, to make and mend shoes; they are to work in classes in the kitchen garden; they are to make nets; and to be employed in any work that may be deemed useful.

The girls are to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, all the useful kinds

kinds of needlework, knitting and netting, carding and spinning, and any other useful employment.

The children are to be divided into classes for their afternoon work, and a monitor appointed over each class.

A fund is to be raised by subscription, to be called The clothing fund, for the purchase of materials, &c. and the treasurer is to keep this fund quite separate from any other.

A fund is to be raised by subscription, to be called The provision fund;—the treasurer is to keep this fund quite separate from any other.

The children are to be employed one hour in each afternoon in some work for which they may be entitled to small wages, and an account is to be kept of the earnings of each child. The rest of the afternoon they are to be employed either in the garden, for the benefit of the provision fund, or in works connected with the clothing fund.

In aid of the fund for provision, the patrons are to hire a piece of ground, of one, two, or three acres, or more if it shall be judged necessary, which ground is to be cultivated by the boys, as a kitchen garden, in which potatoes, cabbages, &c. &c. shall be raised: all the surplus produce shall be sold for the benefit of the provision fund, which is also to be charged with the rent of the land. The farmers in the neighbourhood of the school are to be invited to supply skimmed milk gratuitously; or where it is practicable, two or three cows shall be kept, and the butter sold to defray the expense of the cows; the skimmed milk and butter milk to be used in aid of the provision fund.

The girls, on the afternoons of the five days in the week, shall work one hour for small wages;—an account of which shall be kept for each girl. The rest of their labours shall be in aid of the funds for food and clothing.

By feeding children together in considerable numbers, and by purchasing the articles of food upon wholesale terms, the cost of a meal for each child would be reduced to a mere trifle. The cottager being in a great measure relieved from the expense of feeding and clothing his children, or at least being enabled to do it so much more cheaply than formerly, might be kept off the parish: his mind would gradually be relieved from his present degrading state of dependence; while his children would at the same time be receiving an education in moral and religious principles. If these measures were rendered universal, as they might easily be, by the co-operation of a few persons of influence in every district, we might, instead of a vicious and beggarly community as at present, requiring continual and increasing support from the parish, have a population instructed in their duties towards God and man, inured to habits of industry, and capable of supporting themselves and families in an economical and decent manner. Being brought under the immediate notice of their superiors, they would feel that they had a character to support; and being furnished with resources, they will feel the value of independence, and consider it a sort of degradation to apply for parochial relief.

The great object of the proposed establishment being to train up the children of the poor in moral and virtuous habits, and a knowledge of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion as set forth in the Holy Scriptures, and in a regular attendance on divine worship, especial care shall be taken that they are present on a Sunday at that place of religious worship which their parents may prefer, or that they attend some Sunday school.

All the children are to assemble at nine o'clock on the Sunday morning at the school-room;—the children are to be classed according to the religious denomination of their parents; and the patrons and patronesses are to take measures to insure the attendance of the children at religious worship. If this be, under any peculiar circumstance, deemed impracticable, then the Holy Scriptures shall be read publicly, and the instruction given shall be of that nature, as not to interfere with the peculiarities of any religious sect.

Such children as shall have attended the schools and divine worship regularly on Sundays, and whose general good conduct shall have rendered them worthy of particular notice, shall be entered on a list; and when of a suitable age to go out to service, the patrons and patronesses shall endeavour to procure situations for them.

The means by which such incalculable benefits are to be procured for our villagers are the following:—

A village is to be fixed upon, situated as nearly as possible in the middle of a square, three miles each way, and including so many villages as to afford 250 boys and 250 girls, more or less. In this case, the most remote of the children would only have to walk about two miles to school.

The group of villages having been fixed upon, a canvass is to be made among the inhabitants of most influence, to obtain their sanction and support to the plan.

A few benevolent individuals having determined to carry the plan into effect, are to constitute themselves patrons and patronesses of the schools, and are to meet once a fortnight, or oftener if necessary: the patrons and patronesses to meet separately; the latter to send in written reports to the former, as occasion may require.

The patrons are to raise the necessary subscriptions, to appoint the treasurer, to receive the money of the association, and superintend the finances generally, taking care that regular accounts are kept and submitted to the subscribers from time to time;—they are also to provide the suitable buildings, viz.—

Two school rooms, one for boys, the other for girls, 77 feet long and 80 wide, capable of containing 21 desks, each 18 feet long, to seat 12 children; there must be a passage of six feet all round the schools, and eight feet at the platform end; the desks, with the forms, just three feet from the back of one to the front of the other.

A house is to be built for the master and mistress, in which there shall be a large kitchen, containing four iron boilers, capable of holding fifty gallons each, and two ovens.

A tool-house is also to be provided. The garden must, if possible, be close to the buildings.

The patronesses are to visit the girls' school, and superintend the female works of industry.

The establishment is principally to depend upon the subscriptions of the villagers themselves. It has been found, upon investigation, that their children cost them on an average not less than one shilling per week for food—that many of them are so badly clothed, that their parents are ashamed to let them attend any place of worship or school.

The following are the conditions upon which the village school association is to be formed:—

Every

Every subscriber of two-pence per week is to have the privilege of sending one child to the school, so long as the subscription shall be kept up, and shall have a right to be present and vote at the public examination of the children, and at public meetings of the association.

Every subscriber of six-pence per week may recommend a child to receive two meals per day, of nutritious though cheap food, on the days of attendance at school.

Every subscriber to the clothing fund of two-pence per week, which shall be kept up for one year, shall be entitled, at the end of that time, to the following articles of clothing, for a child of twelve years of age or under, made of the cheapest materials:—

BOY.

A straw hat,
A cotton shirt,
A jacket,
A pair of trowsers,
A pair of stockings,
A round frock,
A pair of shoes.

GIRL.

A straw bonnet,
A cotton shift,
A frock,
A petticoat of flannel,
A pair of stockings,
A pair of shoes.

A separate account is to be kept of the earnings of each child in the time allotted for that purpose, and the amount is to be reported at each half-yearly public examination of the school. The different articles of clothing, or other things which the patrons and patronesses may think proper, are all to have tickets expressive of their value; and the parent or friend of each child, or the child itself, as the case may be, will be permitted to choose any article or articles to the amount of the money due to the child.

There shall be a public examination of the schools every half year, at which time prizes shall be distributed in the manner already described; after which, a report shall be printed, stating the names of the subscribers to the association; the names of the collectors and visitors in the different villages; the names of the children who receive prizes; and the names of all the scholars arranged alphabetically, under the head of the village to which they belong; the number of their class in the school-list is to follow each name; and an account of the state of the funds is also to be given.

In each village, two or three persons shall be chosen as a committee, to visit the families and collect the subscriptions. They shall be furnished with books ruled in columns, in which a correct list of the subscribers shall be kept; they are to collect the subscriptions every week and forward them to the treasurer: to these committees, the master and mistress are to report in writing the names of all absentees: the committee is to visit the family, inquire the reason, and return an answer to the master or mistress.

When the committee of a village find any family, from sickness or other distress, unable to belong to the association, they are to transmit a written statement of the case to the next meeting of the patrons or patronesses, and the patrons or patronesses shall have printed tickets with blanks, to be filled up for thirteen weeks' education, price two shillings and two pence—or for thirteen weeks' food, price six shillings and sixpence—or for a suit of clothing, price sixteen shillings. They are to endeavour to get some benevolent persons to purchase such tickets, which are to be filled up with the name of the vil-
lager,

lager, and signed by the treasurer, who is to receive the money and pass it to the credit of the account.

In order to have an easy reference to the case of every individual child, the master of the boys' school and the mistress of the girls' school shall each keep a ledger with an index—the ledger to be ruled with faint lines, one page is to be appropriated to each child—at the head of the page is to be the name of the child, which with the page is to be inserted in the index—next, the name and description of parents, their residence, occupation, religion, age, and class in the school; this is not to occupy more than three lines;—every month, a report not exceeding the length of one line is to be made, stating the class and progress of the child with short remarks;—these books are to be kept at the schools, and to be always open to every member of the association.

The children are to attend at the school every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday morning from nine to twelve o'clock; they are to come with their hands and faces clean washed, and their hair combed—they are to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, in the morning—between twelve and one o'clock they are to dine—they are to be employed in the afternoons of these days in works of industry, in aid of the fund for food and clothing—and also one hour, from one to two o'clock, on their own account, as before provided.—The children are to have supper before they are dismissed to their homes.

In this manner gentlemen of property might provide for the comfort and happiness of all the poor in their neighbourhood, they might powerfully promote the cause of religion and morality, and by thus diminishing crime and its consequence, misery, contribute to the safety of the state, and the comfort of all classes—while at the same time the poor's rates must be most materially reduced.

Great importance should be attached to the character of those who have the charge of forming the minds of children. On this point, we have lately met with the following excellent observations, in a work published on the subject of national education.

The persons selected for masters and mistresses must not only possess the most unblemished characters, with regard to moral conduct, but should also be imbued with a deep sense of the importance of religion. They should in all their actions give proof of the strictest regard to truth and sincerity; their disposition should be frank and open; they should have a perfect command of their own tempers and passions; and while they are capable of displaying firmness upon all proper occasions, their ruling dispositions should be benevolence and kindness; they should govern by love rather than by fear, and make it their constant endeavour to convince the understandings of their pupils of the *reasonableness* of every thing which is desired of them. Having in the first place secured the affections of the children, their government will become easy and delightful. An instructor should enter into the views and feelings of children, and make human nature his study, availing himself of little incidents as they occur, to improve the moral feelings of the pupil; to enlarge his views, and engage his affections on the side of virtue and truth. These are points of the highest importance, and a deficiency in these qualifications cannot be compensated by the most profound erudition.

As the education in these elementary schools, as far as regards mere learning,

learning, is principally confined to reading, writing, arithmetic, and needle-work, nothing more will be absolutely required in a master or mistress of such schools, than a perfect knowledge of those branches of instruction; even a moderate degree of learning on the part of the master, provided he possess the higher qualifications, will be sufficient. But it is still highly desirable that every teacher should constantly endeavour to increase his stock of useful knowledge, by availing himself of every opportunity consistent with the due discharge of his duties, for the improvement of his mind. He may thus extend the sphere of his usefulness, and be enabled to see more distinctly where improvements may be suggested. Besides its beneficial effects upon the children, a kind and benevolent disposition in the master, will operate favourably upon the parents of the children. The master should take opportunities to pay them friendly visits, and secure as much as possible their co-operation with him, in training the children to habits of cleanliness, diligence and virtue. Such conduct would also make a favourable impression upon those who visit the school, and dispose them to assist in its support.

Those who devote themselves to the education of youth, should be deeply sensible that they are undertaking a highly responsible charge. Upon them, to a considerable extent, will depend the habit and character of the men and women of the next generation; and if they discharge their trust conscientiously, they may fairly be considered as most useful members of society; and whether they receive their merited reward from men or not, they will not fail of what is infinitely more valuable, the approbation of Heaven."

Besides the schools for children of six years of age and upwards, others have been lately formed for the reception of children from eighteen months to six years. These are called Infant schools; and are likely to be productive of singular advantage both to the parents and to the children. A suitable room being provided capable of holding from sixty to one hundred children, and a matron chosen of proper dispositions and character who has been a mother of children, the parents are to pay three-pence per week for each child; and when the school is full, the pay is sufficient to support the matron. The children are left at liberty to exercise themselves; they are taught to love one another; all risings of the angry passions are to be checked; they are to be taught to speak the truth upon all occasions, and not to covet what belongs to another. They are to be taught their letters and to spell, rather as a matter of amusement than a task; and thus, while they are withdrawn from the influence of that bad example which some of them might have witnessed at home, they will be gradually prepared for admission in the higher schools when they shall have attained the proper age. It would be possible by economical arrangements to feed the children during the six days they were at school, if the parents were to pay about one shilling per head every week with each child. The advantage to the parents would be great indeed; their children being secured and provided for, they would be at liberty to earn more money than they would have to pay with them in the infant school, and

and the children would be out of the way of being corrupted by exposure in the streets. It is highly desirable that every school upon this plan, as well as girls' schools, should be under the notice of a committee of Ladies of the neighbourhood.

The methods now recommended for ameliorating the condition of the poor, and improving their morals, have been eminently successful as far as they have been acted upon; and it will be our business to bring forward, from time to time, for the encouragement of those who may be labouring in this great and good work, an account of its progress in particular places, not only in this country but in every part of the world. The harvest is great, nothing is wanting but labourers.

The main object of every government, and the end of its institution, is to provide for the security of the public, and to promote the general welfare and happiness. Hence laws are made to protect the community from the outrages of the wicked, and to discourage and repress crime; but the wisest laws will fail to produce their effect, unless means are found for putting them into execution. These means are, to a considerable extent, within the power of most governments; but they are not likely to answer the purpose completely, without the cordial co-operation of the well-disposed members of society at large. Whenever, therefore, from disinterested motives, and purely with the desire of doing good, these unite together to discountenance vice and to promote the cause of morality, virtue and religion, upon liberal principles, they will tend to secure the accomplishment of the ends proposed by the laws, even to the minutest ramifications of society. Combinations such as these, while they are a support to the Government, will have a good moral effect upon the minds of those who are engaged in them; for, when a person gives up a portion of his time and his property singly with a view to promote the comfort and happiness of his fellow-creatures, the inward satisfaction derived from such conduct may be expected to strengthen the virtuous dispositions which he had before; while his example as a shining light may encourage others to go and do likewise. Young people in an especial manner should be introduced with older persons as members of societies for benevolent purposes; upon them the hopes for the next generation repose. Let them early be taught that the unrestrained gratification of their passions in self-indulgence, imbrutes the faculties of the soul, and is only a momentary pleasure to be followed by lasting regret; while the appropriation of a part of their leisure, to promote the instruction of the ignorant, and thus cut off one of the sources of vice and misery—to visit the prisons and unite in efforts to reform the criminal—to dry up the tears of the widow and fatherless—to promote industry and frugality among the poor—and to remove from
about

about them as far as practicable the temptations to vice, will yield them a pure gratification, pleasures of the highest order, not transitory like those of sense, but subjects of pleasing reflection through the whole course of their lives. There is a sort of immortality in our actions—they will stand as facts to the end of time:—if bad, they will be a constant subject of regret; if good, a perpetual source of delight.

It is then by means of benevolent associations, founded upon the principle of love to God and to man, that the hands of Government will be most materially strengthened; that the condition of the poor will be substantially ameliorated; that crime and misery will be diminished; while by training the youth of both sexes of the middle and upper ranks in the exercise of the best feelings of the heart, we shall be providing for the period when the present labourers in the cause of virtue and benevolence shall be removed from works to rewards.

ART. II.—*On the State of Ireland.*

IT is singular how little is known upon Irish affairs, beyond the heavy details of official reports, and the unsatisfactory generalities of political declamation. Complaints are continually made of this dearth of information: nor do these complaints appear unreasonable; for, though much has been written, so many of the publications on the subject of Ireland are perverted by party views, or tainted by personal animosities, that a reader who seeks for truth is induced to trust to what he has himself seen, or can in conversation collect, and to dismiss *alike from his consideration* the flip-pant pamphlet and the ponderous quarto. A literary as well as a political distaste towards all discussions on Irish affairs, has also most unfortunately arisen. Why should this be the case? Is England yet to learn that, "whatever she has heard to the contrary, Ireland is larger than the Isle of Wight?" Does she require to be told, that within twenty leagues of her shores there is to be found an island containing twenty millions of acres, seven millions of inhabitants, and carrying on an export trade of 11,000,000*l.* annually? Is she yet to learn, that Ireland, in strength, resources, fertility and capacity of improvement, exceeds any of the secondary states of Europe; that from Ireland the British fleets and armies have been recruited, and that from thence a vast and augmenting supply of all the necessaries of life continues to be drawn? On the mere selfish grounds of policy, it is clear that to no other part of the empire ought a more vigilant and unremitting attention to be directed. The politician, whose views are formed upon statistical tables, who calculates

calculates the number of recruits he can expend in war, the commerce that can be carried on in peace, and the maximum of taxation that can be borne at all times, is not to be justified in overlooking a part of the empire presenting such resources to his ambition and his cupidity. It is not by such inducements that we hope to excite the attention of our readers. We seek to act upon higher and better motives; we wish to call into play that sympathy, that practical benevolence, which blesseth him that gives and him that takes. We seek to prove that in Ireland there is a field open for enlarged moral exertion, and that when so directed, moral exertion is likely to meet with a full and glorious reward. If we can contribute to impress on the public mind a conviction that peace, good order, and tranquillity may yet be introduced into Ireland; that the virtues of the people may be developed, public opinion created, and the great cause of happiness advanced, we feel no doubt that "those streams of benevolence which have their exhaustless fountains in Great Britain, and which are fertilizing so many distant regions of the earth," may at length be turned towards an island with whose prosperity all the best interests of England are closely identified. We are convinced that the day is not distant when Ireland may be considered an object of as much interest as Loochoo, or Pitcairn's island; and when an attempt to improve her internal condition may be viewed with as much anxiety as an expedition to the North Pole, or a journey to Timbuctoo.

Nor does the argument rest here. In most other analogous cases, benefits may, it is true, be conferred; but, in Ireland, injustice is to be repaired. Ages of misgovernment and oppression have passed away; but their consequences still exist, and may be traced in the character of the Irish peasant, and in the state of his distracted country. If nations, as well as individuals, are bound to feel contrition, and to make amends, for past offences, the government, the legislature, and the people of England, should direct their best energies to repair the mischief which to a considerable degree has originated with themselves.

We admit that it is at times impolitic, and often ungracious, to recur to former offences: we admit that nations must frequently grant an indemnity for the past, if they wish to enjoy any security for the future. But it is difficult to consider the present state of Ireland disconnected from her early history: and so much depends upon establishing her right to the best exertions of England on the principle of justice, that we cannot, without abandoning our strongest argument, omit looking back upon events which otherwise had better be forgotten.

Our readers need not apprehend that we shall detain them, or perplex ourselves, with the dreams of Irish antiquarians. We shall
not

not attempt to prove from the works* of the learned Edmund Campion, "sometime fellowe in St. John's Colledge, Oxenford," that Ireland was inhabited one year after the division of tongues†; nor that the Irish language had continued unaltered for 1700 years preceding the invasion of Henry Fitz Emprise‡. Neither shall we republish the gazettes extraordinary of the wars between Bartholinus Languinius and Salanus, "*cousins to Nimrod* §, very active stout gentlemen," and certain "Gyants descended from Cham, whose bodily force was answerable to their hugeness of bulk." We do not intend to illustrate the early state of religion in the Isle of Saints, by appealing to the authority of that learned divine Meredith Hanmer, D.D., who informs us that St. Molva converted the wolves "by making them ¶" a huge feast, and washing their feet; neither shall we relate classically

miracula quædam

Auxiliante Deo Fynbarrus quæ faciebat :

all this we leave to more curious inquirers, and proceed to details which belong to the less poetical parts of history.

The first connexion between the two countries was undeniably a conquest undertaken on false pretences, and without a shadow of right. It was succeeded by a government of violence, which did not seem to possess either the wish to civilize, or the power to subdue. "The whole ordinance and institution of that realm's government was both at first when it was planned, well plotted, and also sithence, through other men's oversights, come more out of square to that disorder which it is now come unto; like as two indirect lines, which the further drawn out, the further they get asunder ¶." Ireland was considered a place where all the violent and ungovernable spirits of Britain were encouraged to seek a home, where rapine and injustice might seize their richest booty. The native inhabitants were treated like the North American Indians, and either driven into the woods, or induced to barter the inheritance of their ancestors for brandy and glass beads. Yet, despised and outraged as were these unfortunate beings, the settlers themselves seem, by a retributive justice, to have fallen in one or two generations to the same level with, or even lower than, the oppressed,—*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores***.

The English conquerors very quickly adopted the language, manners, and feelings, of the conquered, and sacrificed the half enjoyments of imperfect civilization, to the wild freedom of barbarous life. It was thus that several very ancient Norman families assumed the names of Irish septs, and that the Fitz Ursulas

* Dublin, 1653.

† Campion, p. 16.

‡ Id. p. 17.

§ Campion, p. 33, 34.

¶ Chronicle of Ireland, 1571, p. 122.

|| Spenser's View of the State of Ireland, 1596, p. 149.

** Sir J. Davies.

became the founders of the clan of the Macmahons. This political phenomenon can only be accounted for, by the supposition that no system of government, either equitable or secure, was established, in which case liberty, though savage, might appear preferable to social despotism. The laws and institutions of such a government of misrule, could not be of a very enlightened description; but such as they were, all their benefits were reserved for the English colonists within the pale; and their cruel severities were directed against the Irish. The murder of a native was not considered a felony. "*Merus erat Hibernicus*" was a sufficient answer to a capital charge. "All Irishmen who should converse among the English were to be taken as spies and punished. All of English blood were forbidden to marry or have intercourse with them*." Rebellions were fomented by military bands, who feared the loss of their importance in times of tranquillity. Free quarter, individual plundering, the name and person varying, the oppression remaining the same, prevented the growth or progress of civilization, and of the improvements which attend increasing wealth. For the effects produced by the government of England on the condition of the people, we are enabled to appeal to a witness of no ordinary authority. Edmund Spenser was secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and his character, no less than his official situation, renders his evidence of peculiar interest and importance. "The Irish," he observes, "were brought to such wretchedness as that any stonie heart would have rued the same. Out of everie corner of the woods and glynnes, they came creeping forth on their hands, for their legges would not bear them. They looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions; yea, happy were they who could find them; yea, and one another soon after; insomuch as the carcasses they spared not to scrape out of the graves, and if they found a plot of cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; yet not being able long to continue there withal†." Such is the description of an eye-witness, and of one whose prejudices could not have been very favourable to those whose sufferings he so powerfully describes.

The hostility of the laws towards the "Irish enemies," as they were usually called, naturally produced in return an equal hostility to the government and the laws. From their experience of severity, the Irish became cruel; from the absence of good faith in their antagonists, they became treacherous; constantly deceived, they sought protection in cunning; as a security from pillage, they remained in poverty. Yet amidst these faults, some generous feelings

* Spenser, p. 48.

† Spenser's State of Ireland, p. 166.

continued undefaced. A military spirit, and unequalled power of enduring fatigue, made "the Irish kerne as worthy a souldiour as any nation he meeteth with*." A generous enthusiasm of loyalty to his chiefs was preserved inviolate in every danger; even when attacking property. There was a boldness of enterprize entitled to applause in days when sheep-stealing and the burning of houses were not in disrepute. Such was the state of things even in the reign of Elizabeth, after Poynings †, under the first king of the house of Tudor, had made a great effort for the improvement of Ireland, by the introduction of the English common and statute law. It would be easy to demonstrate, from the history of the wars in Ireland, that the two principles kept constantly in view were plunder and extermination. But a nation cannot easily be exterminated; and the resources of the conquerors were never sufficient to effect this wise and beneficent object; "and as the English would neither in peace govern them by the law, nor could in war root them out by the sword, they of needs became pricks in their eyes, and thorns in their sides ‡."

The pacific reign of James was memorable for the administration of Sir John Davies, who endeavoured, with the most earnest solicitude, to repair the mischiefs committed by his predecessors. But where the most vehement of human passions, hatred and revenge, had been roused into strong activity—where all was stormy and turbulent, the tempest could not be appeased at the command even of a patriot minister. Davies was unable to lay the evil spirit which had been conjured up. He did much, however, and has left us in his writings the most valuable book extant on the affairs of Ireland.

The "war of chicane" which about this time was waged against all property, the resumption of grants, and the questioning of tythes, prevented peace from producing any permanent benefit. A gloomy suspicion existed in the minds of the people; and a feeling of the oppression under which they laboured, made them ready on the earliest opportunity to inflict a cruel retribution on their governors. The horrors of the Rebellion of 1641 restored a balance between the crimes of the oppressors and of the oppressed. In the dearth of materials from whence the history of Ireland can be written, it is difficult to reach the exact truth; but there is reasonable ground for imagining, that the Irish conspirators did not conceive that in the massacre of 1641, they were engaged in a service either useless or unacceptable to Charles I. It is curious to remark the line which the Irish have at various times drawn between a personal allegiance to the king, and the obedience due to the laws. They

* Spenser's State of Ireland, p. 119.

† 10 Hen. VII. A.D. 1595.

‡ Sir J. Davies.

have frequently been loyal when they could not become peaceable subjects.

The crimes of the Irish in 1641, great as they were, received from Cromwell a full and severe punishment. New desolations ensued; new plunders, extensive confiscations, and finally, the settlement among the Catholics of a colony of puritans, severe and persecuting in spirit. These "*Cromwellians*" as they are still called, introducing a bigoted aversion to the Church of Rome, destroyed that unity of feeling, of interest, and of affection, which can alone render a nation great and happy.

Loyalty to him whom they considered their rightful monarch, and attachment to their religion, threw the Irish into the arms of James II., and they adhered to his cause with a "desperate fidelity." The defence of Limerick, and the surprise of the king's artillery and baggage by Sarsfield, are proofs of ability worthy of the stratagemata of modern times. At this period, a step was taken, fatal to all hopes of Irish improvement; the articles of Limerick, under which the Catholics would have been protected in the exercise of their religion, and under which they would have been eligible to the highest offices in the state, were scarcely ratified before they were violated. The horrible system of penal laws against the Catholics was then resorted to, proscribing the religion of the majority of the people—depriving them of the advantages of education, prohibiting the acquisition of property, driving the Catholic priests as outlaws to the mountains and morasses, interfering with all the duties of social life, bribing the child to become an informer against his parent, and combining, in one code, an accumulation of legislative folly and wickedness without precedent in the history of mankind. This reign of injustice had the effect of degrading the Protestant no less than the Catholic part of the community; for in all despotisms, the tyrant shares in the debasement of the slave. Still further to check any possible development, or consolidation of the resources of Ireland, it became the policy of the government to divide the privileged classes into rival factions, to play off party against party, and to raise up one great family against another, relying thus on the weakness of their opponents, rather than upon their own strength. The constitution of Ireland could not, with any truth, have been considered as founded upon principles of freedom, during the reigns of the first kings of the house of Hanover. The forms of freedom existed, it is true, in the House of Commons; but that assembly could scarcely have been termed the representatives of the people. Once elected, the members of the House of Commons continued to sit for the life of the king; no legislative proposition could be entertained in Parliament, unless by the permission of the Privy Council, certified under the great seal of England. Even this

this shadow of freedom was viewed with jealousy, and an attempt was made to procure a vote of the supplies for 21 years, or, in other words, to obtain a long lease of the constitution in favour of the crown. This outrageous proposition was negatived; but only by a majority of one; and it is clear that Ireland owed her safety to the selfishness rather than to the patriotism of her representatives. However indifferent the House of Commons might have felt to the liberties of the people, it ventured to *resist* the crown, for once, when its own prerogatives were at stake. During these miserable times, a very few great men had arisen, who either in action or by their writings endeavoured to rescue Ireland from degradation. Molyneux, the friend of Locke, a man worthy of such a friend, published his "Case of Ireland," and received, as the best tribute to his patriotism, the censure of that English House of Commons which had recommended to the throne the annihilation of Irish manufacturing industry. The pamphlet of Molyneux was voted "of dangerous consequence to the crown and people of England;" an address was actually carried to the foot of the throne on this subject in 1698*, to which King William returned an acquiescing reply. Swift, in a subsequent reign, rose powerfully above the times in which he lived, and the public men with whom he was fated to contend. After having given an unexampled strength and union to the country in which he resided, and after having deserved and enjoyed the most unbounded popularity, it has been reserved for the ingenuity of modern times to deny his title to public esteem. It would be vain to describe him as an amiable man; but it is unjust to deny his having been a most useful one. He might not, perhaps, have deserved the affection of the private circle in which he moved, but his courage and public spirit must for ever entitle him to the gratitude of the country he served. Berkeley, the excellent Bishop of Cloyne, was another individual to whom Ireland owes much. In the midst of his sceptical metaphysics, the miseries of Ireland seem to have been among the few subjects of meditation, which left no doubts on his mind; though, even on this point, his very valuable information is given in the characteristic form of queries to be answered, and problems to be solved.

We now proceed to the late reign; one of greater liberality than any which had preceded it. As Ireland grew into strength, the government of England became more conciliatory. A septennial bill had, by insuring a general election once in seven years, established a stronger tie between the constituents and the legislative bodies; wealth augmented, and the seeds of agricultural and commercial prosperity seemed at length to vegetate. A new prin-

* Parliamentary History, 1698.

ciple of action became necessary, and during the weakness of England in the American war, the principle infused into the constitution of Ireland was liberty. A scene was exhibited of the most interesting kind. A nation cast upon its own resources, called upon for the first time to defend itself against foreign aggression, rose in arms, and obtained security from without and freedom at home. The volunteers of Ireland are even more meritorious for what they declined doing, than for what they actually effected; exhibiting a rare combination of chivalrous public spirit, and of consummate political wisdom. This union of energy and of prudence may be traced to the influence of those excellent men, who directed the councils of the people of Ireland. Much is owing, it is true, to the good sense of the English ministry, which gave way when resistance would have been unavailing. Something is also attributable to those less tangible causes generally termed good fortune. Looking back to the proceedings of the volunteers, it is impossible not to rejoice that they occurred at the very time when alone they were likely to be successful. At an earlier period, public feeling would scarcely have been sufficiently vigorous to give them strength; in later times, government would have been so powerful, as to have made them feel their weakness. The delegates at Dungannon would have been dispersed by proclamation, and all the thunders of the Attorney General would have been directed against Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan.

This era is the date of the constitution of Ireland. Her years of glory were few, but they were brilliant. Her revolution—for it was a revolution—was bloodless. It was unstained by crime and unsullied by violence. There was no vindictive feeling; no insolent triumph. It was a pure and honourable victory, proving to the world that the voice of the people may be heard, and the power of the people felt, without leading to the subversion of law, or the destruction of property. A master spirit had presided over the change; a great and patriotic mind had given and directed the national impulse. All that was most noble and generous animated the Irish patriot of that day. He devoted his life to what appeared the forlorn hope of giving freedom to his country; he gave her a constitution, and identified all that is worthy to be had in honour among men with the name of Grattan. It is to be lamented, from the fatality which has pervaded all Irish history, degrading her politics as provincial, that these events, so instructive to future ages, should not be more constantly present to the minds of the statesman and the philosopher. The talents of Mr. Grattan, in the imperial legislature, have indeed shed a lustre round his name, and the sweet and gentle virtues of his private life must ever live in the memories of those who shared his social hours; but the

the pre-eminent glories of his youth,—those deeds which ought to place him in the same class with Washington,—have not yet received their full tribute of admiration.

England had now a glorious opportunity of repairing the wrongs and contributing to the happiness of Ireland.—She might have “allured to brighter worlds and led the way.”—Two courses were open before her: that which the patriot might have trod, the government of opinion;—or the government of influence, the vulgar and crooked path of ordinary statesmen; of those “sly slow things with circumspective eyes.” The constitution of Ireland was in its youth,—almost in its infancy; every thing depended upon first impressions, and the formation of early habits. Turned to good, what might not the people of Ireland have become? The encouragement of high and chivalrous principles of patriotism, in the upper classes; the removal of causes of irritation, among the lower; the protection of agriculture and commerce; and, above all, the diffusion of instruction, virtue, and happiness; these would have presented objects worthy of the ambition of the most elastic and buoyant spirit. The opportunity was lost, the old principles were resorted to, and it was found easier to govern Ireland by its vices than by its virtues. During one administration, the example of the court tended to lower national manners, and national morals; by introducing the careless profligacy of France amongst the gay, social, and imitative people of Ireland. During the government of a succeeding viceroy, an undisguised and detestable corruption degraded the character of the legislature, and diminished all confidence in public men. The vilest bargains and sales were effected; and the secret history of this administration would be ludicrous, if it were not base and despicable in its nature, and calamitous in its consequences. The most lavish extension of honours, the most unbounded waste of money, were resorted to; and even when a popular measure, like the pension bill*, was adopted by the government, it furnished new evidence of their total want of all decency and principle.

For one short moment, a gleam of light was allowed to break in; but it was transient, and the individual who would have given an example to the people of Ireland in “teaching them how to live” was removed from that situation which he was qualified to dignify and adorn.

Under the influence of such a system of government, the higher

* The object of this bill was to limit, under certain circumstances, the grants of pensions to 1200*l.* per annum. The commencement of the act being unfortunately fixed from the 25th March in the following year, pensions were granted during the intermediate months exceeding 12,000*l.*, being equal to ten years anticipation of the powers of the crown.

classes were as much injured by the corruption of modern times, as the peasantry had been by the severities of Elizabeth and Cromwell. The ties which bind society together were relaxed. The pedestal of the column had already been undermined; its fair proportions had been destroyed; the beauty of its capital was now defaced. Government became a mean and vulgar art, politics a sordid traffic; and nothing was left to the people but to despise and suffer. Matters could not rest here. A government without confidence, and a people without happiness, must be inevitably thrown into violent collision. The resources of influence were exhausted; corruption itself had become bankrupt, and all faith and hope had disappeared. The rebellion of 1798 ensued,—the necessary consequence of the events we have narrated. On its horrors it is not expedient to dwell; mutual exasperation led to mutual excesses, and the greater part of Ireland presented a scene of bloodshed, crime, and devastation. If, however, we might be allowed to express an opinion, we should venture to doubt the accuracy of many of the violent charges brought against the government of the day. That acts of unjustifiable severity were committed, is we fear undeniable; but we cannot believe that such acts were encouraged or sanctioned by any members of the Irish administration.

The rebellion led almost necessarily to the union; and, as compared with the pre-existing state of things, the union was a benefit; a benefit it is true of no unmixed kind; but a benefit greater than any that could have been secured, except through the means of such an extensive and efficient reform as it was scarcely safe at that moment to attempt, and which the country scarcely possessed means for carrying into effect. How the union was carried is another consideration. In point of fact, the means then used completed the demoralization of the ordinary race of Irish politicians, and destroyed what little remained of confidence in public men.

Thus was the independence of Ireland surrendered; thus terminated her separate political existence; thus were abandoned those trophies which Grattan had nobly won. A new era of conciliation and liberality was promised; emancipation to the catholic; to the agriculturist a modification of his severest burthens; encouragement to the merchant; and to all peace and security.

How far these promises have been fulfilled, is shown by the present state of Ireland.

In one respect the promised advantages of the union have, it is true, been fully realized. The commerce of Ireland, freed from impolitic restraints, has augmented most rapidly. The imports of Ireland, which in the three years preceding the union had averaged 4,600,000*l.*, in fifteen years subsequent to that event had more than doubled. The exports within the same period had risen in the proportion

portion of five to three,—exceeding fourteen millions and a half in 1815. Here we apprehend our favourable view of the state of Ireland must close : we proceed to the less agreeable task of pointing out the dark and unflattering parts of the picture.

On the great question relating to the Roman Catholics of Ireland we shall not enlarge. That subject has been so powerfully argued, both in and out of parliament, that there are but few persons who are not fully aware of the merits of the case : it is, however, worthy of observation, that whilst many opponents to the claims of the catholics have abandoned their first impressions, to support the measures they originally resisted, we are not aware that a single example can be cited of a contrary description ; it is also remarkable, that among the friends of catholic emancipation, is to be found a great majority of those most closely connected with Ireland, whilst the greater number of its opponents, have about as clear an idea of an Irish Catholic as they have formed of the mammoth or the megatherion. Examples might also be shown of many who before they visited Ireland were disposed to resist every species of concession, but who after a residence in that country, where they made their own observations, and judged for themselves, have acknowledged a complete revolution in their opinion. Whatever doubts may exist on this great question of national policy, (doubts we rejoice to think every day disappearing,) it is clear, that a state of alternate hope and disappointment is calculated to prolong the agitation of the public mind in Ireland. “ Hope deferred maketh the heart sick ;” and, during the last twenty years, the hopes of the catholics of Ireland seem to have been raised only to be disappointed.

The opening of the Imperial parliament took place on the 22d January, 1801, and the first measure relating to Ireland discussed in the house of commons, was, by a most ominous fatality, the Irish martial law bill ;—a bill, justifiable only upon grounds of imperative necessity, and urgent danger : since that period, the discussions on Irish affairs have been confined, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, to questions of strong and coercive legislation ; martial law, suspensions of the habeas corpus, insurrection acts, and bills for the preservation of the peace. These and questions of finance have constituted very nearly the sum total of measures carried through the Imperial parliament for the benefit of Ireland.

How far have these measures been successful? Have insurrections been checked? Has the peace been preserved? Is the internal state of Ireland improved, and has the security of property and the happiness of the people augmented in proportion with these severe enactments? In the first years which succeeded the union the effects of the rebellion were still considered operative. In the year 1803, an
actual

actual insurrection broke out ; the capital was attacked, and a general confederation was found to prevail against the existing government. About this period, the chancellor* of Ireland stated that he called for his pistols as regularly, when he ventured to take a walk, as for his hat and gloves. In 1807 the existence of a French party is acknowledged from the high authority of Mr. Grattan, and extraordinary powers were confided to the administration. From 1810 to 1814, an interval of comparative tranquillity prevailed ; but, during the last six years, constant complaints of disturbance have been made, and acts of outrage committed, in various parts of Ireland. The Caravats in Tipperary, the Threshers in Westmeath, the Carders in Roscommon, the Ribbon-men in Galway, and the White-Boys in Limerick, have arisen in frightful succession. The destruction of all foreign influence has produced no attachment to England ; neither has the general peace of the world given to Ireland any internal repose.

Such has been the state of this unhappy country, as illustrated by its history. We have already stated our motives for leading our readers through this detail, and we trust they have appeared sufficient to justify the course we have pursued. If we conceived that our statement could tend to weaken the connexion between the two islands ; if we thought it could awaken angry feelings, or excite any national hostility, we should have suppressed it. We have written with very opposite views. We are convinced that the two countries are identified, that they must stand or fall together ; and that the one cannot be prosperous, or deserve to be happy, whilst the misery of the other is thought undeserving of sympathy and attention. The wretchedness of seven millions of fellow-creatures ought not to be overlooked, and we are convinced that whenever the case of Ireland is fully understood, it will excite in this country the most unbounded commiseration. "As an Englishman," observed Mr. Wilberforce, "I owe reparation to Ireland for the wrongs of centuries†." Such is the feeling with which the legislature should approach the consideration of this subject, neither undervaluing its importance, nor exaggerating its difficulties ; not eager to condemn, nor desirous to punish ; but anxious to heal, to assuage, and to relieve.

It has been often stated that the condition of Ireland is controlled by causes over which human authority is powerless. Trite axioms are cited as excuses for inactivity : we are told that the progress of nature cannot be arrested, that all interference is likely to produce more harm than good, and that

of ills which men endure
Small is the share which states can cause or cure.

* Lord Clare's Speech, March 23, 1801.—Parliamentary History.

† Debate on Mr. Peel's bill, 20th July, 1814.

In an artificial state of society we doubt the truth of these general propositions. Sure we are that the possibility of doing good ought not to be lightly passed over. Were a fair and candid investigation of the state of Ireland likely to produce no practical remedy, it would still be valuable as denoting some sympathy for the sufferings of that country. We ought not to undervalue the advantages of teaching the Irish to look to parliament for gentler notices of regard than increased taxes and insurrection acts. Nor are we aware of any theory so inflexibly maintaining the doctrine of non-interference, as to doubt that enlightened legislation may remove evils which ill advised legislation has produced. Indeed, we are convinced, the more we dwell upon the subject, that something, nay, that much may be done. If it appear, that the present system has arisen amidst laws of extreme severity, uncertain in their execution, let the experiment be tried of milder laws more inflexibly administered. If it appear, that ignorance has depressed the minds of the people, let the remedy of education be tried. If it appear, that the essential instructors of the poor are too few for the tasks allotted to them, let their numbers be augmented. If the financial wants of the state have deprived the poor of any means of obtaining the comforts of life, taxation should be reduced. If the catholic disabilities have arrayed the various classes of society in hostility against each other, obliterate such impolitic distinctions. If the protestant establishment is forced to draw an uncertain and degrading support from a reluctant peasantry, let the rights of the church be secured, its splendour maintained, but let the people be protected. If a system of patronage has grown up, rendering public officers inefficient, public men subservient, and the mass of the people greedy and dependent, reform its abuses. If all local expenditure is governed on principles offering bounties to fraud, and rewards to perjury, let its control be placed in other and in better hands: no miserable question of expediency, no paltry calculation of finance, no dependence upon ill-deserved support, should be allowed to impede the progress of Irish improvement; of improvement which, in giving happiness to Ireland, would confer security on Great Britain, and strength, vigour, and consolidation, to the resources of the united empire.

The subject is so extensive, that we almost fear to enter into detail, and yet we feel that our task would be incomplete, if we rested our case on general assertions. We proceed, therefore, to make a few observations on the important subjects we have glanced at.

It is not our intention, for the reasons we have already stated, to discuss the question of catholic emancipation: according to the view we have taken of Irish affairs, an obliteration of all religious distinctions ought to be the first taken by an enlightened administration. The fatal policy of disuniting the people of Ireland, and of rousing
sectarian

sectarian animosities, has produced effects, which a conciliatory spirit, and the knitting together all classes in the performance of their social duties, can alone efface. A few incidental consequences which have flowed from the penal code, may however be noticed. The want of an intermediate class of yeomanry, and of resident gentry, may we conceive be traced to the catholic laws. Prohibited as the catholics were from acquiring property in land, in a country where the mass of the population belonged to that sect, no yeomanry could exist. Tribes of serfs and helots were indeed created; but it is in vain to seek for the delightful examples which exist in England, of farmers cultivating their small but hereditary estates, transmitted to them from remote generations. The growth of a catholic gentry, was impeded by the same causes. We are acquainted, it is true, with many representatives of catholic families who have risen, and who are rising, to power and eminence; possessed both of the inclination and of the means of benefiting their country. But the numbers of such men would have been augmented a thousand fold, if they had been freed from the restraints of cruel and unjust laws. The chasm which at present exists in Irish society would then have been filled up, and we should not, as at present, have to lament the want of that useful order of the community, the depository of the greatest human virtue and human happiness—of that order which is ever found

“ With hearts resolved, and hands prepared,
The blessings they enjoy to guard.”

By the popery laws, a monopoly of power was granted to the protestants; and this, like most other monopolies, has proved injurious to those who enjoyed its privileges, as well as to those excluded from them. The whole class of protestants was raised above its proper level, to an unnatural elevation. He that would have made an excellent farmer, was induced to act as an ignorant magistrate; the youth destined by nature as a clerk for a counting-house, was sent as a speculator to the bar; the advocate who by industry might have risen to professional honour, became a needy and trading politician; and the country gentleman, who might have diffused civilization and happiness around his residence, was seduced to the levees of the castle, to sell his independence for a coronet or a pension. In short, the elevation of the privileged sect was as unnatural as the depression of the excluded classes; and both tended to destroy that beautiful gradation through which all that is highest and lowest in society is brought to “blend, soften, and unite.” Between the two extremes a great gulf has been fixed, which the catholics could not pass. The political power, honour, and patronage, which, fairly distributed, would have given to all the community a direct interest in maintaining the established order of things, has

been

been parcelled out among one tenth part of the population, and has become the source of continued jealousy and heart-burning.

If the severity of a criminal code could in itself prevent crime, the Irish would long since have been one of the most civilized nations in Europe. There has not been in any country a more prodigal expenditure of punishment, or a more careless estimate of human life; yet offences have multiplied with a most melancholy rapidity, as will appear from the following view of the commitments and convictions in Ireland during the four years succeeding 1815*, as compared with the state of crime in England and Wales during the same period.

Year.	England and Wales.		Ireland.	
	Committed.	Convicted.	Committed.	Convicted.
1815	7,818	4,883	5,792	2,319
1816	9,091	5,797	11,273	4,490
1817	13,932	9,056	13,209	4,620
1818	13,567	9,858	13,564	5,377
Total	44,458	28,694	43,838	16,815

From the examination of this table it will appear, that, great as has been the increase of crime in England, the increase in Ireland has been even more rapid. Had the commitments increased in the same ratio with those in England, they would have amounted in 1818 to 10,516 only; and in the same proportion the convictions would not have exceeded 4214; but, comparing these numbers with the actual returns, we find an actual excess of 3513 commitments, and 1163 convictions. We have seen that the total number of persons committed is pretty nearly the same in both islands, and is consequently much greater in proportion to the smaller population of Ireland. The number of convictions is less in the proportion of four to seven. Hence it must follow that in Ireland a prisoner has a much greater chance of acquittal, than his brother in iniquity, the British felon. It must also necessarily follow, either that most incautious commitments, or most improper acquittals, take place in Ireland, and that there is less certainty in the administration of the laws in the one island than in the other. That this arises in many instances from a reluctance to prosecute, we are prepared to admit; but a reluctance to prosecute is almost always proportionate to the severity of the laws. Whenever a punishment exceeds what the majority of the people consider to be the character of the offence, a reluctance to prosecute will show itself. This is peculiarly the case in Ireland, where the character of an informer, or a prosecutor, is held in peculiar horror. So far from

* Return from the inspectors of prisons; ordered to be printed, sessions 1821: and Report on criminal law, appendix.

repressing crime, extreme rigour of punishment seems frequently to have been the signal for new violations of the law.—“Even where the law had been administered with the greatest severity, new disturbances broke out. In the county of Westmeath, an assassination was committed in the face of an entire congregation in open day*.”

The 15 and 16 Geo. 3. c. 21, commonly called the White Boy Act, created a long series of capital felonies, and was intended, no doubt, to preserve the public peace; yet under the terrors of such severe enactments, offences against the public peace have multiplied. These laws “have served to harden the hearts of the peasantry, to alienate them from the established order of things; to throw them back on their own devices, and make them place their only confidence in wild schemes of future retaliation†.”—It has been well stated, with reference to Ireland, in a publication proceeding from a most respectable society, that “the predominant qualities of the depraved part of the population, are, first, a disposition to mischievous combination; secondly, a restless desire of change and innovation; and thirdly, a daring or rather a desperate contempt of death. *The subject of a capital execution is considered as a hero, the victim of tyrannical law, or commiserated as a martyr to principles which sway the minds of a great majority of the spectators‡.*”

In this statement we most cordially agree, and feel convinced that strict prison discipline and hard labour would be more operative as a mode of preventing crime, than the present sanguinary but inefficient punishments.

Whilst the laws of Ireland are severe in the punishment of crime, they are singularly deficient in the means of preventing it. Here the vigour of the legislature seems to have failed altogether; the whole of its power being reserved for its sting. It is true, that the Peace Preservation bill, brought in by Mr. Peel, (a most wise and beneficent measure, when well administered,) effects somewhat towards this object. But the peculiar object of this act was remedial; it was framed as a mode of suppressing disturbances, not of preventing them, and it was never intended to be applied to districts remaining in a state of tranquillity.

A really efficient police is what is most peculiarly wanting for Ireland;—a police that would render the commission of crime difficult, and escape impracticable. This we are convinced might be attained at a lighter expense, and with less complicated machinery, than that which has given motion to the preventive water guard.

* Parliamentary Debates, Speech of Mr. Peel, July 8th, 1814.

† Thoughts on Education, p. 43.

‡ Remarks on Penitentiaries.

This we do not despair of seeing introduced, wherever the happiness and morals of the people are considered equally important with the duties of custom and excise, and when vice and wretchedness are admitted to be evils as strongly to be guarded against as the introduction of a bale of Bandana handkerchiefs, or of a cargo of smuggled tobacco. In order to make any police efficient, steps should be taken to reform the magistracy. That such a reform is necessary, few persons acquainted with Ireland will deny; we refer all obstinate sceptics, and all those who are uninformed, to the declarations of an ex-chancellor of Ireland (Mr. Ponsonby), who declared that "he found the state of the magistracy any thing but what it ought to be. In one county he found among the magistrates a man who had been waiter at a country inn; a man who in that capacity had frequently waited behind the chairs of the members of the grand-jury*." Mr. Ponsonby was actually engaged in the reform of the magistracy, when the administration of which he formed a part was dissolved.

The legislature has by no means been negligent in providing means for the suppression of actual disturbances, and measures of extraordinary rigour as they are called, or of extraordinary severity as we are inclined to term them, have repeatedly been resorted to. The Insurrection Act is considered by many to be the specific for all local diseases in Ireland. By this statute, any individual found out of his house after a certain hour, was liable to be transported for seven years. By this statute (now expired) the trial by jury was suspended, and the liberties of the people of Ireland were placed at the mercy of those magistrates, whom Mr. Ponsonby described as "any thing but what they ought to be." We do not ourselves conceive that the mere task of suppressing tumults among a wretched peasantry is a difficult one; force and pressure will always produce a temporary calm; these are the vulgar remedies of ordinary statesmen: but the more liberal and enlightened legislator will endeavour to remove the causes of irritation, by which alone any permanent tranquillity can be secured†.

These observations apply with peculiar force to the separate local jurisdictions of Ireland. A vigorous reform must be effected among the Dogberry and Verges tribes of chartered magistracy, who, appointed in many instances by wretched corporations, are independent of the chancellor, and of public opinion, and make the office of justice of the peace subservient to party views or to personal emolument.

Nor do we confine our observations to the criminal code only;

* Parliamentary Debates, April 26, 1816.

† "In order to allay sedition; it is necessary to expell the matter of sedition."—Lord Bacon.

alterations should also be made in the civil administration of the laws. The judicial fees in the superior courts have, in the last year, been abolished; the receipt of all fees of a similar nature, and especially of fees paid to magistrates, should be strictly prohibited; these fees being objectionable, not only as burthens on the poor, but as degrading to the administration of justice, and as casting doubt and suspicion on authorities which ought to stand highest in public confidence. The amount of taxation imposed on all legal proceedings, is an impediment to justice in a rich country, and a denial of it in a poor one. It would be difficult to reconcile the principle of the Stamp Acts with the maxim of *Nulli vendemus justitiam*. If a peasant only feels the laws in their inflictions and punishments—if he finds them strong against him, but not available for his protection—how can he be expected to regard them with confidence? It is in vain to tell him that the law is equal to all; he cannot believe the assertion, when he finds that a fulfilment of the promises of justice can only be claimed, under a condition which he cannot perform. Law, indeed, like killing game, seems in Ireland to be reserved for those who possess a certain qualification in property; and neither an action can be brought, nor a partridge killed, unless the client and the sportsman inherit an estate of one hundred pounds a year. It is true, in some cases, cheap and summary remedies have been introduced; but in many instances, the poor are still abandoned to despair, and the court of chancery. The Irish peasantry, looking with horror on both alternatives, endeavour to procure for themselves a wild sort of justice; becoming at once parties, judges, and executioners. Thus, every doubtful will, or disputed case of intestacy, becomes the source of feud and violence; and Captain Rock and Lieutenant Starlight volunteer their services in aid of the venerable doctors of civil law, and the learned judges in the courts of equity. If, then, it is thought desirable to supersede the novels and extravagants of the White Boys and Threshers, and to appeal to consistorial courts, masters in chancery, and vicars-general, an economical reform must be effected throughout all the Irish courts of justice.

The progress of population in Ireland has been, and still is, most extraordinary. In 1695, the population was calculated to be 1,034,102; in 1731, 2,010,221; in 1791, 4,200,000; in 1804, 5,400,000; and in 1821, 7,000,000. Of these seven millions, 500,000 probably belong to the established church; 500,000 may be Protestant dissenters; and the remaining 6,000,000 Catholics. The great mass of the people are not only agriculturists, but landholders holding very small farms, and raising by their own labour the food which supports their families. The people are, consequently, scattered over the face of the country; the towns and villages

villages are less numerous and important than in Great Britain. The food and clothing obtained by the peasantry are less in amount and value than falls to the lot of similar classes in any other civilized country. The Irish poor have seldom any opportunity of improving their condition: they possess a smaller share of what are called the comforts of life than any other description of persons in the British empire;—their habitations are wretched hovels, open to the wind and rain of heaven; the supplies of clothing and bedding are miserably deficient; and their food is of the very poorest description. In the midst of the most abundant harvests, and cultivating the richest soil in the world, the peasant derives from his labour the minimum which can support human existence. In a large district which has been most accurately surveyed, (the barony of Portenahinch, in the Queen's county,) out of 1187 farms, 1029 do not exceed twenty acres in extent, and 540 are under five acres! The principle of Irish tenures is also very different from that adopted in Great Britain, where, generally speaking, only two characters are known, the landlord and the tenant. In Ireland, on the contrary, A, the inheritor of an estate, grants a lease to B, who re-lets it to C, who lets it again to D; and thus it is transmitted through half the letters of the alphabet, each tenant endeavouring to reserve for himself a certain profit-rent from the land. The effect of such an arrangement is to create a class of idle annuitants, with very small and precarious incomes, and to interpose them between the inheritors and the occupiers of land, destroying much of that community of interest, and sympathy of feeling, which ought to subsist between them. On a population thus circumstanced, the severe pressure of the present times has fallen with peculiar weight. The landlord who *deals* with an occupying tenant, is bound no less in duty than in interest to make such concessions as are proportionate to the altered value of agricultural produce. But it becomes difficult to apply this principle to the sub-infeudations of Ireland. A landlord possessed of a fee-simple estate of 1000*l.* a year, after reducing his rents fifty per cent., may still rely upon an income of 500*l.* A leaseholder, on the contrary, entitled to a profit of 1000*l.* a year, and subject to a rent of the same amount, is left totally penniless, if fifty per cent. is to be deducted from his gross income. He is consequently left to choose between his own ruin and that of the occupant. Hostilities are instantly begun; crops are seized; the driver is put on permanent duty; the pound becomes the field of action; those valuable inmates of the Irish cottage—pigs and dairy cattle—are carried into captivity; and the victorious auctioneer claims his triumph on the fatal ninth day. It is not too much to say, that leaseholds of this description, and leaseholders thus strug-

gling for profit-rents, extend themselves over three-fourths of Ireland. Hence, the sudden convulsion which has taken place throughout the empire, has been much more strongly felt in Ireland than elsewhere. Hence, too, the misery consequent upon that convulsion becomes much more extensive and difficult to remedy. The head landlord and the tenant are far removed from each other; and it frequently happens that the latter may be totally ruined, whilst the former neither claims nor receives an exorbitant rent. The shock, too, has been augmented by the revolution in the circulating medium of the country. In no one part of the British dominions had the paper system been carried to so extravagant an extent. At one period, Ireland was a country of bankers. To readers whose abstract idea of a banker has been formed among the sleek well-fed inhabitants of Threadneedle and Lombard streets, many of the specimens of Irish country bankers would appear animals of a very different genus. The circulating medium of the latter was not called to so high a destiny as to afford a subject for poetical amplification. It neither moved armies nor senates; it could neither buy a king nor sell a queen; it passed modestly as the representative of shillings and sixpences, and in some instances bore the value of three-halfpence only. Even after this singular currency had been withdrawn, the bank-issues continued to be most immoderate, and the result of such "unblest paper credit" was what might have been foreseen. The failure of eleven out of fourteen banks plunged the entire of the South of Ireland into ruin and distress, and the Irish nation was obliged to plead *in forma pauperis* for the mercy and compassion of Great Britain.

The state of the established church, and the mode in which its vast and augmenting revenues are collected, present considerations which cannot be overlooked. We believe that the church of Ireland possesses a greater proportion of the national income, than has been in any other modern instance devoted to the maintenance of the clerical order. We are inclined to believe that the duties which the church undertakes in Ireland are less than those performed by any similar establishment; or, in other words, that much is paid by the people, and but little received in return. The result has been, that the protestant clergy of Ireland partake very much of a secular character. "The established church is a great corporation, exceedingly well paid for the ministration of the gospel. It collects its revenues from the whole population of the country, without distinction of sects, but it confines its instruction to a very minute portion of the people. It is a spring at which all indeed are at liberty to drink; but the guardians of the fountain, careless how many or how few taste of the waters, exact payment from

from those who loath the beverage, and from those who set no value upon it, as well as from those who esteem it highly, and drink of it abundantly*." We do not intend the slightest reflection on the body to which we allude. Revenues given them by the laws of their country, are to be viewed with respect, like other species of private property; and where a protestant pastor finds himself in the midst of a catholic flock, it is no reflection on his zeal to state, that his professional duties must necessarily be circumscribed. But it is surely impossible to deny, that a reform, maintaining the dignity and protecting the rights of the church, and yet diminishing the pressure on the community, ought to be diligently sought for, and honestly carried into effect. We are the more anxious to impress this part of our discussion on the minds of our readers, because we apprehend that some alteration of the tythe system is essential to the peace of Ireland. We apprehend it is equally essential to the dignity and indeed to the existence of the church. If ingenuity were called upon to devise a plan to throw a country into confusion, the tythe system of Ireland would be found to possess all the requisites sought for: it comprehends two characteristics, either of which would be sufficient to create discord in a community of pastoral simplicity and brotherly love. The tythe laws call upon the catholic to support a double order of clergy; they tax the industry and labour of the poor agriculturist, whilst they exempt from charge the spontaneous fertility of the pastures of the rich grazier. So gross a violation of justice, of policy, and of common sense, has rarely been exhibited in any other case: it does not exist in any other country in Europe, and it must cease to exist in Ireland, if that country is sought to be made what it ought to be.

The evil has been admitted on all hands, by men of all parties, and under administrations of the strongest contrast. It was admitted by Mr. Pitt, who held out a modification of tythes, as one of the great benefits† which might be anticipated from the Union; and by a late Chancellor of Ireland, (Lord Redesdale) who had actually prepared a bill on the subject. It was admitted by the Whig administration of 1806; and by the Tory ministers who succeeded them in office. The Irish rebels before the Union, and the Irish secretaries after it; theoretical writers and practical statesmen; Pitt and Fox; Emmett and Mr. Peel; Lord Redesdale and Doctor M'Nevin; Mr. Pole and Grattan; Perceval and Paley; Adam Smith and the Marquis of Londonderry;—a rare and singular union of witnesses, of discordant principles—all agree in admitting the evils of the present system. Yet a most strange backwardness

* *Thoughts on the Education of the Irish Poor*, p. 16.

† *Pitt's Speeches*, vol. iii. p. 48.

has existed hitherto, against affording to the people of Ireland any practical relief on this subject. We say *hitherto*, because we feel satisfied that the consideration of this question cannot long be postponed; and because we are convinced that it will soon be manifest, that the present mode of supporting the clergy is more injurious to the community, and must ultimately prove more fatal to the church, than any which can be introduced as a substitute.

If it were possible to trace crimes to their origin, we are convinced that a vast proportion of the violations of the law in Ireland might be shown to have originated in the tythe system. The most dangerous conspiracies against the public peace, as well as the most severe enactments of the legislature, have flowed from the same source. The state of the tenures, and the extraordinary subdivisions of property, force the clergy almost unavoidably to employ agents or proctors, whose extortions are as notorious as they are lamentable. No real similarity exists between the collection of tythe in England and in Ireland; though it may be fairly assumed, that every objection which exists in this island, becomes much stronger in its application to Ireland, and that many of the most serious objections to tythe in Ireland are exclusively of a local nature. In England, the church deals directly with the payer of tythes. In Ireland, the tythe proctor is, and must necessarily be, interposed. In England, the burthen is equally distributed among the farming classes: in Ireland, it rests almost exclusively on the poorest orders. In England, tythe is imposed on a commodity generally brought to sale: in Ireland, it is exacted from the potatoe tilled for the actual support of the peasant. In England, tythes are applied to the support of a church establishment in which the majority of the people have a direct interest: in Ireland, for the maintenance of an order of clergy, from whose instruction more than nine-tenths of the people derive no benefit whatever. In England, the demands of the church can never exceed the real tenth of the produce, as the ultimate remedy of tendering the tythe in kind may always be resorted to: in Ireland, the laws are such as to make this remedy delusive and unavailing. A commutation of tythe in Ireland, so far therefore from rendering such an event more probable elsewhere, gives a new security to the clergy of England, by the correction of those flagrant abuses which are triumphantly cited as arguments in both countries.

It may here be observed, that tythes, even though nominally reduced, fall as a much more oppressive burthen upon land when any depression of prices takes place; particularly when, as in Ireland, such depression is connected with a considerable extension of tillage. The cultivation of poorer lands is thus rendered less productive; and it being upon such soils that the greatest amount
of

of labour and capital must be expended, a tax which presses on the gross produce, and not on the profits of industry, must, under such circumstances, become peculiarly burthensome. In the best times the grievance of tythes was strongly felt—at the present moment it is intolerable.

We have already remarked, that the payments of tythe in kind can scarcely be said to exist in Ireland; nor are the remedies in the Exchequer, or in the Bishop's Court, very efficacious to an impoverished peasantry. It has been stated in Parliament, from respectable authority*, that the first step taken for the recovery of tythe to the value of eighteen shillings and tenpence, has been a citation which costs the defendant two pounds ten shillings. Proceedings before two magistrates, both selected by one of the parties, frequently being themselves interested in tythes, and often nearly connected with the clergyman, are scarcely less objectionable, though they may be found less expensive.

But it is argued that tythe is no real burthen on the cultivator; that as between landlord and tenant it must be paid by the former, and is only a deduction from the rent of land. It might easily be proved that in Ireland such is far from being the state of the case: but, even admitting the truth of the position, it should be remembered, that all the vexations and intolerable hardships of its collection are cast exclusively on the tenant. If the principle of commutation cannot be carried into effect, we are inclined to think that a most material improvement might be effected, were this burthen, *in all future contracts*, thrown upon the landlord; or, in other words, if the receipt of clergymen for tythe, were so far to be a payment of rent. In general terms it may be stated, that the inheritors of land are protestant, and the occupying tenants catholic: the plan we have ventured to suggest, would thus obviously and directly cast the support of the established church, upon those who profess the established religion; and it would interpose between the proctor and the tenant a class of men capable of resisting any illegal extortion; a class of men whose remedies would not be murders and floggings, but actions at law and appeals to a jury.

We must allow ourselves one further observation. If the number of absentees, and the limited number of resident gentry, be, as has been stated, one of the principal causes of the misery of Ireland, a commutation of tythe would afford an immediate and efficient remedy to the evil so loudly complained of. Such a measure would give, at once to Ireland the benefit of above one thousand country gentlemen, who, under existing circumstances, are de-

* Sir H. Parnell, July 5, 1820.

prived of the most powerful means of being useful. At present, the rector of a parish is forced into never-ending disputes with the peasantry who surround him. It is almost impossible that he should gain their confidence, or secure their affections. The tythe system frustrates his best efforts, and makes him an object of fear and jealousy. Remove this obstacle; and though the unfortunate differences of faith prevent his being a religious instructor, he may become a moral guide—he must be looked up to as a friend and protector. No cause of disunion will then exist between him and the peasantry; and the virtues and benevolence which we are certain exist among the Irish clergy, would have a free scope for their expansion and exercise. “The parish minister would thus seek in his cottage him whom religious profession did not permit to attend in church; and having won his good will by a thousand little acts of kindness and good neighbourhood, for which the casualties of life are ever making room, would breathe the spirit, cultivate the feelings, and instil the doctrines, which are not of the Church of England, or of the Church of Rome, but of the Church of Christ*.”

We have already shown, that, by the ratio of increase in which the population of Ireland has augmented since 1791, it is likely to double itself in forty-five years. We do not intend undertaking any estimate of the proportion between population and subsistence, for a more immediate danger exists than any resulting from a future and contingent deficiency of supply;—we allude to the fatal disproportion between the number of the people, and the mode of employing them. It would be difficult to find, in any other country, the same mass of unemployed human power which exists in Ireland. Divided as the surface of the land is, into small farms, when the tillage of a field is completed, the peasant has but few motives or opportunities afforded to him of further exertion; and supported on a description of food the easiest raised, and the most abundant in produce, the industry of one month may seem to afford a sanction for the inaction of eleven. Inaction is always dangerous; mischievous to the individual who indulges in it, and fatal to the state where it is encouraged. Whatever can raise the condition of the peasantry in the scale of society, whatever stimulates his industry by new wants, will tend to promote industry itself, and to check the growth of a population augmenting in proportion to the miserable means of support within its reach. The taxation of Ireland has been so oppressive, as to place many of the necessaries, and almost all the comforts, of life, out of the reach of the lower or-

* Thoughts on the Education of the Irish Poor.

ders. In a country without woods, such a duty has been imposed on foreign timber, as to make it nearly impossible for the ordinary farmer to acquire either a good house or comfortable furniture. The coat which the peasant wears, the blanket which is to cover his children, the few articles of furniture which he requires, all contribute to the exigencies of the state before they can enter the cottage. The result is, that he endeavours to do without, rather than to acquire them, and that the mere support of animal existence is all he seeks to secure. *Vita dum superest bene est*, is the motto of the Irish peasant; and he is left in a situation where he has but little to lose, and where every change seems likely to be for the better. The taxation of Ireland has since the Union augmented in a proportion much greater than even the taxation of England. In 1750, so far from there existing any Irish national debt, there was a surplus treasure in the exchequer, amounting to several hundred thousand pounds. This surplus was transferred to England by a king's letter, and the course of taxation proceeded undiminished. During the fifteen years preceding the Union, a debt of 41,000,000*l.* was created:—during the fifteen years subsequent to that event, the debt had swelled to 148,000,000*l.*, being 47,000,000*l.* more than the total revenue on which the Irish contribution had been calculated. It is true, that since the consolidation of the exchequer in the two countries, the payment of much of this debt has been cast on England; but taxation has not been reduced as it ought in the sister country, made bankrupt already by the lavish expenditure of the year succeeding the Union. We have ourselves seen the tax-gatherer's progress in Ireland, attended with military pomp and parade, and the levies collected at the point of the bayonet. "This taxation," as was well stated by Mr. Plunkett, "was imposed on civilization; and was calculated to restrain those improvements in which Ireland would find prosperity, and England security. Every house of a better description built in Ireland, was a hostage for its connection with Great Britain; it gave the inhabitants something to be protected by the laws, and tended to check that excess of population, in consequence of which all thoughts must be turned towards the mere necessities of life, and its comforts must be disregarded*."

Nor does our objection to existing taxes rest solely on the difficulty they create in the acquisition of the articles taxed: in some cases they operate as prohibitions; in others, as bounties on smuggling. Thus, the duties on spirits have produced a race of men trained up to illicit distillation, connected together by secret

* Return of Inspector of Prisons, printed Session 1831.

association, prepared to defend themselves in arms against the soldier, the gauger, and the constable; encouraged in too many cases by magistrates and landlords, and prepared to apply to all other matters the principle of resistance, which they have learned in their conflicts with the exciseman. During the last six years*, 5352 individuals have been committed to prison for illicit distillation, and 9963 have been actually convicted. These persons, guilty of offences ranking less among the *mala in se*, than among the *mala prohibita*, have been sentenced to imprisonment, have shared in all the vice and misery of a gaol, have completed their apprenticeship in crime, and have been discharged as emissaries to teach all that is most wicked and most dangerous, to the population on which they are set loose. Can a system be tolerated, which thus increases by one-eighth the total number of offences brought under the notice of the law? The cottage of the illicit distiller becomes "the trysting place," where deeds of murder and violence are planned. The magistrates and country gentlemen, who from selfish motives of profit have encouraged the illegal manufacture of spirits, are placed in the power of the lower orders. If they threaten the peasant with the constable, he may hand them over to the exciseman, and a loss of all weight and respectability of character on the one hand, and an impunity for crime on the other, follow as fatal but inevitable consequences.

If the government of Ireland is sought to be adapted to the country over which it presides, a very considerable alteration in its constitution should take place. At present, the secretaryship for Ireland is considered either as a school for inexperienced politicians, or as a perch from whence the more mature statesman may wing his flight for a higher region. The most difficult and arduous task in the administration of the empire is confided either to those who do not possess experience, or to those who are recalled before they can apply usefully the experience they have gained. In short, in the plan of official education now pursued, those classical authors Dyche and Cocker are taken out of the hands of the tyro, who is taught reading out of the Philosophy of Bacon, and arithmetic from the Principia of Newton. "We have sometimes seen a secretary with every summer and a system with every secretary†." Statesmen who are merely birds of passage, can scarcely act for themselves; they must necessarily fall into the hands of subordinate official men; a wretched coterie of third- or fourth-rate politicians is likely to arise, neither sufficiently enlightened nor liberal to direct

* Parliamentary Debates, 1819.

† Sketch of Ireland past and present.

the energies of the country to purposes of real national improvement, though fully capable of monopolizing power and patronage, and of deciding all questions, *even the appointment and removal of their superiors*, by low and miserable intrigue.

No steady and consistent prosecution of the interests of the public can be expected, where the real administration is liable to be warped by local passions and personal prejudices, and where the responsible minister is so perpetually changed, as to prevent any plan of improvement from being brought to a fair and successful issue. "Whoso cometh next in place," says Spenser, "doth not follow the course, however good, which his predecessor held, but will straight take a way quite contrary to the former; as if the former thought by keeping under the Irish to reform them; the next by discouraging the English will curry favour with the Irish, and so make the government seem plausible, as having all the Irish at his command. But he that comes after will perhaps neither follow the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort, *as he will sucke sweet out of both*, and leave bitterness to the poor countrie. Even as two physicians should take a sick body in hand at two sundrie times, of which the former would minister all things meet to purge and keep under the body, the other to pamper and strengthen it suddainly again; whereof what is to be looked for, but a most dangerous relapse*?"

Considering, as we do, that the government of Ireland is a task of the greatest difficulty, requiring a combination of ability, experience, discretion, kindness of heart and firmness of mind, we are inclined to think that it should not be considered an office of second-rate importance, nor confided to the hands of second-rate politicians. It should be made an object sufficient to satisfy the most lofty and towering ambition; not by augmenting its already ample emoluments, but by placing it, in cabinet honours, on a level with the most distinguished prizes in the political lottery. Ireland would not then have to regret the loss of an able minister, whom ambition might prompt to quit her service. Ireland would not then be treated as the workshop of the apprentice or journeyman; but would be considered a station where the scientific artist might display his skill and his most successful ingenuity.

Our observations have hitherto been applied to the political and physical circumstances of Ireland. We shall conclude an article, already but too long, by some remarks on the state of the moral and religious instruction of the Irish peasantry. No person at all acquainted with the country can doubt that there is in Ireland to the full as great, if not a greater proportion of the peasantry instructed

* Spenser, p. 117.

in mere reading and writing, than can be found on the eastern shores of the Irish channel. This general diffusion of the education of letters has proceeded from various causes, unnecessary at this moment to particularize. One of these causes may however, from its singularity, be noticed. We are convinced that the paper currency has contributed materially to the extension of education, and the diffusion of the English language; a result which it would have required some ingenuity to anticipate.

But though education is widely diffused, it is a species of education of the most questionable advantage. The books read, are frequently prejudicial to the best interests of society. We have now in our possession the *Life of a noted highwayman*, containing a most vivid picture of his adventures and crimes, "his hair-breadth 'scapes and perilous instances" from the first opening of his career, and closing by a cheering account of his pardon through the influence of a noble protector. In order to render such a publication more classically attractive, an Appendix is subjoined, containing what bears the title of "*The History of Sir John Falstaff.*" This work we found in an Irish country school, forming the text book for the instruction of the young, bearing the name of a printer who promises in the title page "great encouragement to country dealers." We have only selected this book as a specimen; others of the same character, but of a still more objectionable tendency, are in many instances placed in the hands of the young, whose principles and feelings are thus tainted at the source. Is it wonderful that the youth of the country, who have thus learned to admire as heroic the deeds of rapine and violence of the robber and murderer, should imitate the acts on which their minds have been accustomed to dwell with interest and delight? Trained up in such a school, we may but too frequently find among the peasantry of modern times, a representative of the kerne and gallowglasses of the days of Spenser, or of those chieftains "who did never eat their meat till they had won it by the sword; who made the day their night, and the night their day; who did light their candle at the flames of their foemen's houses, and whose music was not the harpe nor layes of love, but the cries of people, and the clashing of armor."

It is not of the want of education, but of its misdirection among the Irish poor, that we complain. Is it surprising that bad principles thus carefully instilled into the youthful mind, should, in after life, be openly professed and daringly exemplified? The instructors who direct this course of study are a peculiar race of men, rarely to be found in any country. The portrait of one of these apostles of mischief has been lately drawn by a most vigorous pencil; and the resemblance is so correct, that we are tempted to extract the entire passage.

passage. "The country schoolmaster is independent of all system and control; he is the scribe as well as the chronicler and pedagogue of his little circle; he is the centre of the mystery of rustic iniquity; the cheap attorney of the neighbourhood; and furnished with his little book of precedents, the fabricator of false leases and surreptitious deeds and conveyances. Possessed of important secrets and of useful acquirements, he is courted and caressed; a cordial reception and the usual allowance of whiskey greet his approach; and he completes his character by adding inebriety to his other accomplishments*." The question in Ireland is not whether the people are, or are not, to be educated; that, they have decided for themselves: it is, whether education is to be of a nature to bind them to the laws in virtue and happiness, or whether it is to be such as to render them enemies of social order, morality, and religion. This question the legislature and the higher classes must decide for them.

Under the present course of instruction, it is not wonderful that the national character should become degraded. "In what land can there be met so melancholy a combination of causes, all tending to excite every bad passion and impress every evil habit! a land from whence the marks and remembrances of its civil broils have not yet passed away—a people full of zeal indeed for religion, alive to every thing kind and generous, hospitable, good-humoured and warm-hearted;—but with what melancholy combinations do they possess these fine qualities! They can combine them with dissoluteness and depravity, with fraud and deceit; with an habitual disregard of truth, and frequent violations of the sanctity of an oath†." The commitments for perjury in England during the years 1815, 1816, 1817 and 1818, have been 44, the convictions 11. In a similar proportion the commitments in Ireland should be 28, and the convictions 7. What is the fact? During the four years under consideration, 219 have been committed in Ireland under charges of perjury, and 76 have been convicted; exceeding in a tenfold degree the number which might have been expected.

It is a singular fact, that this dearth of proper establishments for the education of the young in Ireland, by no means proceeds from the want of good laws, nor from any deficiency of pecuniary liberality on the part of the legislature. But the laws which we allude to, are not properly acted on, and the liberal grants of parliament have been so misdirected as to produce mischief rather than good. By the statute law of Ireland, (12 Eliz. c. 1. 28 Hen. 8.) the charge and duties of national education are to a very considerable extent

* *Thoughts on the Education of the Poor*, p. 12.

† *Ibid.*
intrusted

intrusted to the established church. The protestant clergy are bound by law, as well as in conscience, to contribute to this great work of Christian love and charity. Schools are by law directed to be established in every diocese (12 Eliz.), one-third of the support of which ought to be supplied by the ordinary, and the remaining two-thirds are made a charge on the clergy at large. Yet it was stated by the Irish secretary in 1811 (Mr. Pole), that 10 only out of 22 dioceses were provided with such schools. In other words, it appeared that 12 out of 22 of the richly endowed bishops of Ireland have neglected one of the most important duties of their high station.

By the 11th Report of the Irish Commissioners of Education, (reprinted 10th July 1821), it also appears that every incumbent appointed to a living in Ireland takes a solemn oath to the following effect:—

“I, A. B., do solemnly swear that I will teach, or cause to be taught, within the said vicarage or rectory of ———, one school, as the law in that case requires.”

It also appears, that *a great proportion of the regular clergy have altogether omitted to perform this solemn engagement, ratified as it is by an oath.* This is a most melancholy and awful fact; and the result unfortunately is, that the parish schools, which Mr. Pole considered in 1813 as calculated to educate 120,000 scholars, did not at that period contain above 23,000. Thus the richest church establishment in Europe is that which furnishes the most extraordinary and unpardonable instances of indifference to the obligations which its ministers are bound to fulfil. Ought not these errors to be corrected, if the church wishes to deserve public confidence and esteem, and to be protected in the enjoyment of its immense revenues?

To the work of education, the established clergy should be called on to contribute most liberally. A suggestion on this subject has already been made, and sanctioned by the highest ecclesiastical authority in Ireland. It is subjoined to the 14th Report of the Irish Commissioners of Education, and is contained in the following important words: “It might not, it is submitted, be unreasonable that the clergy should be rated at a sum not exceeding 2 per cent. of their respective incomes, to be ascertained by the bishops.” This recommendation is entitled to the highest respect: it is invaluable; and was most properly made the foundation of the suggestions thrown out in parliament by Mr. Pole in 1811.

We have already stated that the public grants have been most liberal in support of Irish schools and charities. Three establishments, chiefly devoted to education, have, since the Union, swallowed up 1,242,514*l.* of the public money. Had this sum been wisely appropriated,

appropriated, and prudently administered, but little would now have been wanting for the establishment of schools in Ireland. Till the administrations of the two last secretaries, (Mr. Peel and Mr. Grant,) the favoured objects of the public bounty were sought for among schools established on principles hostile to the catholics, and useless to the protestants. This selection of schools devoted to proselytism, or liable to suspicion, has contributed to increase religious jealousies, and has made every interference of government a cause of distrust and alarm, which the enlightened policy of one secretary, and the liberal benevolence of his successor, have scarcely been able to remove.

We trust that a comprehensive plan of national education may at length be carried into effect in Ireland. In other times, benevolence would have pointed out such a course; it is now prescribed to the legislature by necessity.—“A liberal system of education should grow out of the government of the country. Taught to respect the laws, the people would then be happy*.”—Nor should this system be founded on a cold exclusion of all religious instruction: liberality requires no such unnatural and indefensible sacrifice. Education, independent of religion, is but too liable to become education inconsistent with it. Religious instruction will be found the most powerful corrective to the violence and insubordination created by misgovernment and oppression. “Without this, there can be no safety. Acts of Parliament will become waste paper, should the great machine of the state receive but a momentary shock, or its powers be loosened for an instant†.” It is not religious instruction which has alarmed the catholics; it is the spirit of proselytism they deprecate, and seek to avert. Their opponents have, it is true, imputed to them an enmity to education itself; but, fortunately, the facts of the case refute this calumny, and the efforts made by the catholic priesthood very generally, are notorious and praiseworthy. It so happens also, that the two most liberal and rational pamphlets which have ever appeared on the subject of Irish education, have proceeded from the pens of catholics‡. To these we most earnestly refer our readers who wish to pursue this interesting subject further.

It may be asked, whether the catholic clergy are not fully equal to the religious instruction of the flocks committed to their charge: Feeling a sincere respect for the ecclesiastical orders of the Roman catholic church, we doubt their powers, though we have every

* Mr. Plunket's Speech in 1813.

† Thoughts on the Education of the Irish Poor.

‡ Thoughts on the Education of the Irish Poor. Cadell, 1821.—Address to the Catholic Clergy, on the Religious Instruction of the Poor. Dublin, 1821.
confidence

confidence in their inclinations. The catholic clergy are not, at present, sufficiently numerous for the duties they are called upon to fulfil. A priesthood, applicable in point of numbers to a population of 3,500,000 in 1791, is insufficient for the religious instruction of 6,000,000 of catholics in 1822. The mere official duties of the catholic priesthood are so laborious and arduous, as very nearly to prevent the discharge of that personal and immediate superintendence essential to the moral and religious improvement of their flocks.—“The errors which have taken the deepest root require a more particular and patient agency for their destruction than the priest can bring to the task. He feels the utter impossibility—Day and night without rest and intermission, in the summer heats, in the cold and the storm, in the rains and snows of winter, he traverses the mountain and the bog, on foot and horseback, in the ordinary course of his ministration. He returns to his humble dwelling fatigued, exhausted; and finds perhaps one or more messengers from distant parts of his extensive parishes, requiring his immediate attendance on the sick:—If he hesitates, they entreat; if he is obstinate, they threaten, and he is forced to comply. In the morning, he fixes his station on the brow of some distant hill. Here multitudes on multitudes come crowding to be confessed, and night brings him home again, if he is permitted to sleep, only to renew with the morning in a more distant quarter the labours of the past day. On Sunday, mass is to be celebrated at two or more chapels, perhaps many miles asunder; no matter how bad the weather, the roaring torrent, or the broken way. The last mass and service are not finished till late in the day, and till then the priest is not permitted to touch food; no matter though he is sick, old, or infirm. Can such a life of labour and exhaustion afford means or opportunity for the improvement of the people*?” Such is the question asked by a most respectable catholic, and there can be no doubt as to the answer—it demands; nor do we feel any doubt as to the necessity which exists of augmenting the number of the Romish clergy, and of providing for them sufficient and independent support. It is not by a miserable economy in the annual grant for Maynooth college; it is not by salaries of 25*l.* to professors, and a daily stipend of 1*s.* 4*d.* to 250 students, that the wants of the catholic church can be supplied. That church has already shown itself disposed to make every sacrifice which the interests of the public may require; and means should be taken to give to the priesthood such augmentation of numbers, as shall render it efficient in the cause of religious instruction. The ancient foundations on the continent of Europe, for the instruction of the Irish

* *Thoughts on the Education of the Poor.*

clergy, were more liberal than the establishments supported by the Imperial parliament. Four hundred and seventy-eight Irish students were formerly educated in the catholic universities abroad, four hundred and twenty-six of whom were supported gratuitously. Are the interests of the public so slightly connected with this subject, that the generosity of foreigners will not produce a generous rivalry, leading to a more liberal support of the candidates for preferment in the Roman catholic church of Ireland? Looking back to the history of the last twenty years, we shall find that the exertions of the parish priests have been, at every risk and sacrifice, devoted to the support of the laws, and the maintenance of peace and good order. During the late fever in Ireland, the ravages of which almost resembled a pestilence, no mention occurred in which the catholic clergy shrunk from the performance of their duty, though it brought them into immediate contact with the dead and the dying. One example of their excelling virtue was stated by Mr. Grant, in the house of commons:—"A Roman catholic priest was called upon to visit a small cabin, in which six individuals were lying, all violently affected with the typhus fever. The priest had no other means of receiving the dying man's communication, and of administering to him the consolations of religion, but by throwing himself on the wretched pallet on which the sick man lay, and thus inhaling contagion at its source*." Such have been the merits of the catholic clergy, such have been their exertions. That these exertions have not been more successful, may be traced to the counteraction of powerfully exciting causes, and to the inadequacy of the numbers of the clergy for the great task they have shown themselves ready to undertake.

If we could allow ourselves to complete our sketch, it would be necessary to point out the injustice and oppression resulting from the local taxation levied by the grand juries. It would also be necessary to explain to English readers, the perjuries and corruption, the moral, physical, and political evils originating in the fraudulent multiplication of freeholds, for the purpose of making the entire mass of the peasantry, the tools of political speculation. But we cannot allow ourselves to enter into further details, though perfectly aware that the subjects alluded to are most important, and that they would confirm our general argument.

Our object has been not only to call, as far as lies in our power, the attention of our readers to Irish affairs, and to give them whatever information we have been able to collect; but to persuade them that a calm and dispassionate consideration of this question is the duty both of individuals and of the legislature. It is impe-

* Parliamentary Debates, 1819.

riously called for, by the calamitous state of Ireland at the present moment: acts of outrage and of atrocious violence have occurred in various districts; and there is but too much reason to apprehend that a scarcity of provisions and the ravages of disease may be added to the wretchedness of the people during the spring and summer. "We wish to engage a portion of the beneficent spirit which abounds in Britain, to direct its attention to the wants of the sister country. There is no where a field which will repay its labour more abundantly, no where one which more needs cultivation. In other cases, efforts are a generous and gratuitous offering—in Ireland there is a debt to be repaid, and injuries to be atoned for*." If we have been correct in our views, remedies exist, and remedies of no difficult application. They appear to us, fully within reach of the legislature, if parliament will, *for the first time*, undertake the task of extending its inquiries to Ireland. We do not despair of seeing such an inquiry instituted; and if undertaken with intelligence, benevolence, and integrity, we have no doubt but that a new order of things will be created and maintained. We do not think a miracle can be effected, or an *instant* remedy afforded by virtue of those words of might "*Le roi le veut*," even when applied to the most philosophical and enlightened code of laws. But we feel certain, that a system may be devised, correcting the most grievous of the existing abuses, and tending gradually, but surely, to the improvement and happiness of the Irish people. An oblivion of religious distinctions; an extinction of factious bigotry; security to property; a commutation of tythes; a criminal code milder in its principles but more strict and unbending in its administration; a police efficient in the prevention of crime; facility in obtaining civil redress, and a cheap and simple mode of legal procedure; reduction of taxes, which, pressing on the poor, leave them without the power of commanding the comforts of life; such additional dignity for the minister of Ireland, as may secure the services of men the highest in political character:—these, with a liberal and comprehensive system of education, are the measures of reform on which our confidence is placed. Such were the remedies which the administration of 1806 had it in contemplation to apply†. Such were the remedies recommended by Mr. Grattan.

If the power of securing the affections of a great though a dependent nation—if the power of conferring happiness and diffusing knowledge—be the noblest prerogatives which Providence can intrust to the most favoured nations, England is called to a high destiny. She possesses the means of becoming the minister of good

* Thoughts on the Education of the Poor, page 10.

† See Mr. Elliott's Speech, August 4, 1807.

to millions; she possesses the means of securing for ever the confidence of the Irish people. Hers may now be an unsullied triumph—a moral conquest over the principle of evil, for centuries the bane of one country, and the reproach of the other. During the late war, Ireland has taken her full share in the national glories and in the national sacrifices; she has poured out the blood of her bravest children, in the common cause of the empire; no list of the fallen has appeared, in which the losses of Ireland are not recorded; no victory has been won, in which her sons have not been distinguished. In the cause of Spanish independence, they showed themselves worthy of the noble struggle in which they fought, and of the English brethren in arms by whom they were supported. Without the aid of their military spirit, and the exhaustless supply their population afforded, how could the late contest for existence have been maintained, or triumphantly closed? And can the British people now turn round with heartless ingratitude, and refuse to Ireland that fair hearing and immediate redress, which are due to her wrongs, no less than to her services? Will the British public and the legislature tell the Irish people, “True, you have fought and bled for us;—true, your national resources have been profusely expended in our service; but we require your aid no longer; we cast you by as a rusty and an useless weapon; we consider you only as *food for powder*; and cannot condescend to attend to your complaints, nor to sympathize with your afflictions.”

If such should be the language and feelings of the public, or of the legislature, fatal indeed must be the result. Nations, like individuals, cannot neglect their duties, without exposing themselves to a severe retribution. The stream of population, which well directed might have diffused fertility throughout the land, may cut for itself new and unnatural channels, through which its waters may rush like a wasting and irresistible torrent. If the restraints of religion and of law are broken through in Ireland—if the rights of property cease to be respected—if the constitution is overthrown,—security cannot long continue to be enjoyed in this more favoured island. A *servile war* may be fatal to Ireland, but the consequences of such a warfare must react upon Great Britain. “Never has a great nation been ill treated with impunity*,” was the declaration of a statesman who knows Ireland well, and to whom she may offer her tribute of esteem, affection, and gratitude, as it cannot now be considered the tribute of mean adulation, nor of interested selfishness.

* Mr. Grant's Speech on the Insurrection Act, in 1819.

ART. III.—*The Police of London.*

THERE is perhaps no subject of greater importance to society, than that on which we propose to offer a few observations; and certainly there is none which, for its best interests, has been more fatally misunderstood. It has hitherto been the fashion in England, to consider an organized system of Police as the offspring of all that is despicable and odious; the creature of vexatious and arbitrary authority, and inconsistent with a government of liberty and law: yet a little reflection might teach us that it is the abuse, and not the use, of this power, which warrants the application of these terms; and, like all other questions of good and evil on which the practical legislator may be called upon to decide, the point at issue is, by what means the good may be raised, and the evil avoided. It must at all times, surely, be taken for granted, that no society can exist without a restraint upon evil-doers; protection for the weak against the strong, and for the unwary against the fraudulent. The question then is, how can these necessary securities be obtained? There are but two ways for that purpose: the one, by the infliction of punishment after the crime is committed; the other, by preventing the perpetration of it;—the first operating, by the rigour of its penalties, in the way of terror, to prevent the commission of crime; the second, by the shield and protection which it gives to all classes of society, the criminally disposed being assured that the eye of the law is ever watchful and vigilant, and that detection and punishment will inevitably be the consequence of crime. The latter system is then the proper object of that branch of executive government which is designated by the word Police; and which means not the execution of penal laws, but the prevention of offences, by vigilance, and a constant scrutiny on the conduct of offenders. Indeed, if we were to plan a mode of governing a people the most conducive to their happiness and prosperity, “assuming that the laws were humane and rational, and the administration of them pure and impartial,” we should enumerate the establishment of a domestic police, or the selection of fit and able persons as conservators of the peace, among the means best calculated to attain that end. In our view of the duties of the governors to the governed, no greater shame can attach to the institutions of a nation, than a necessity for the constant recurrence to punishment, for the waste of life, and for the infliction of pains and penalties, which ought never to be resorted to, until every other means to prevent the commission of offences have been tried and exhausted.

True it is, that there exists in foreign countries (in France for example) a rigid police, which mischievously and vexatiously meddles

dies in all the concerns of domestic life; and by its perpetual "espionage" is ill-suited either to the forms or feelings of a free people. Yet even this, odious and repulsive as it is, has this advantage in its use,—that in great cities persons and property are indisputably better secured, than under the strange and anomalous system which prevails in this country.

We are by no means advocates for the adoption of this intricate and disreputable system of police, which sows discord in the bosoms of families, rendering every servant a spy on the actions of his master; but we contend, and are prepared to show, that with the means we legitimately possess—keeping always in view the rights and liberties of a free people—greater security than exists at present can be given to property and life.

First, then, there already exists in these kingdoms a voluntary police, unknown elsewhere; and which, even allowing largely for the errors occasionally committed by it, is of the highest value;—we mean the magistracy, which is, in fact, composed of the resident gentry and principal persons in each district, who, by their property, character, abilities, and station, may be considered as the natural leaders of the people, and whose advice and opinion would, on all occasions, have necessarily the greatest weight with them. This institution, with the subordinate agencies of high and petty constables, and with all the authority which the law has placed in the hands of magistrates for the preservation of the peace, constitutes, in our mind, as numerous and as effective a body of domestic police, as the ordinary circumstances of the country demand. In times of emergency, the sheriff has the whole power of the county at his disposal; and should the civil authorities be not sufficiently strong (which is scarcely possible), the military force can be called in, and the army placed in array under the orders of the magistrate.

We have given this general outline, to show the nature and form of our police establishment; and, as far as the country is concerned, we do not think it can be much improved, and it may be considered as working well. The case is, however, different in great towns. In the first place, the class of persons who officiate as magistrates is materially changed; and secondly, the subordinate officers are by no means of the station and character of those who fill similar situations elsewhere. Gentlemen of considerable fortune decline the fatigue of devoting any portion of their time to the painful details of municipal police. The inferior offices are principally executed by deputy, and consequently but too often the duties are carelessly, if not corruptly, performed. It was found, therefore, in the metropolis, about the middle of the last century, that a description of persons had been placed in the commission

of the peace for Surry and Middlesex, who were designated by the name of "trading Justices," and whose administration of law was corrupt and disgraceful. To correct this terrible abuse, the late Lord Melville, in 1793, established seven Police Offices, with three salaried magistrates to officiate in each, and which, with some trifling alteration, exist at the present moment. The principle of a salaried magistracy being once established, the system was extended to Manchester and other large towns. And we now propose to consider whether the experiment has answered, and if any alterations are required.

Independently of the police of the city of London (which is under the orders of the mayor and court of aldermen, and entirely free from the controul of Government), the following offices are established in the metropolis* :—

First, that of Bow-street, consisting of three magistrates and eight constables; the horse and foot patrol, the former consisting of a chief, one conductor, five inspectors, and seventy-five rank and file; the latter of one inspector, sixteen conductors, and one hundred rank and file: these are under the direction of the above magistrates, and may be considered as part of an establishment which does not solely confine its duties to London and its vicinity, but which occasionally furnishes assistance, when required, to all parts of the kingdom.

Secondly, the seven police offices, with three magistrates attached to each office, and, divided among the whole, fifty-nine constables.

Thirdly, the Thames police, established to prevent robberies on the river; and which consists of three magistrates, five head constables, twenty-three surveyors, and sixty-five watermen.

Thus, then, the whole police of London, exclusive of the city, salaried by the Government, amounts in numbers to twenty-seven magistrates and three hundred and fifty-one subordinate officers.

The expense is for Bow-street, ex-	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
clusive of fees, which amount to	422	17	6	—	24,591	10 11
The seven police offices, ditto ..	4,238	11	5	—	21,002	19 11½
Thames police ditto	711	2	9	—	8,616	19 1

Total 54,211 9 11½

Having thus stated generally the amount of force, and the cost, of that establishment of police which is salaried by the Government, we now proceed to remark on its constitution, or the mode of its appointment. We wish, however, thus early to pay our tribute of thanks to Lord Sidmouth, for the great change he has effected in the mode of selection by which the magistrates were nominated. Soon after the

* Parliamentary Returns, 30th June, 1821.

creation of these offices,—as might have been expected,—the appointments to them fell into the hands of persons who used them to gratify private partialities, or for the less excusable purpose of political influence. Poets, news-paper writers, pamphleteers, were quartered upon the establishment; some of the magistrates, in their turns, were not backward in pursuing a similar course of jobbing, and instances occurred of their domestic servants being appointed constables to police offices, receiving the salary but not doing the duties of their situations. Lord Sidmouth has corrected these abuses. At his entrance into office, he laid down a rule to appoint no one to the magistracy who was not a barrister of a certain number of years' standing at the bar; thus securing at least the possession of some legal knowledge for the public service; and we believe that he has rigidly adhered to his original plan. Now the first improvement we venture to suggest is an alteration in the tenure by which the magistrates hold their appointments. As it is, they are completely dependent on the secretaries of state. We feel convinced that they should hold their offices as the judges hold theirs—by the tenure of "*quamdiu se bene gesserint*," and not be removeable at the pleasure of the Government: much of their usefulness is lost by the known dependence of their situations. They are most important public functionaries; they decide questions of the greatest moment, of the extent of which those who have not seen the daily routine of duty can have no adequate conception; the arbiters in the first instance of the character and property of the greatest assemblage of human beings on the face of the globe. It is, therefore, neither decent nor salutary that they should be even nominally under the direct controul of the secretary of state.

Mr. Mainwaring, a police magistrate himself, in his admirable pamphlet, presses this point with the strongest arguments; and, as a practical proof of the subjection under which the class of public officers to which he belongs, is supposed to be, he states*, "that he has more than once known a dissatisfied suitor, upon a decision adverse to his wishes, publicly threaten an appeal to the secretary of state." He naturally asks,—who ever heard even a whisper in the presence of a judge, that his decision should be subject to ministerial revision? Indeed the very circumstance of these magistrates being stipendiary, is, to our mind, the reason why they should be immoveable, except from bad conduct. It is because they are paid by the State, that every other means should be taken to secure their independence. The truth is, they are not looked upon by the people as belonging to the same class of men as the unsalaried magistrates of the country. They are considered to be the hired servants of the Government,—creatures of its patronage, and subject to its controul; and their

* Page 130.

opinions are neither as much valued, nor their decisions regarded, nor their character or stations estimated in the proportion which their own public and private worth entitle them to expect, and which the interests of the community demand they should receive. We know well all the plausible arguments in favour of dependence; but we appeal to the history of all times, as decisive against judicial subserviency. It is not only the reality of that base condition which is to be avoided, but even the bare suspicion of its possibility is deeply injurious to the cause of justice. The distinction between a salaried and ordinary magistrate is clear and decisive. The office of the first is his profession; to entitle him to hold it, the duties of his station must be the business of his life; whereas the other exercises his calling rarely and occasionally. It is, besides, a duty of voluntary labour and trouble; and here the country does not pay, but receives; for it is greatly obliged to the nobility, gentry, and clergy, who so usefully and honourably fill that important situation.

To deprive the latter of his office, is to ease him of trouble and labour; to take away the situation of the former, is to deprive him of his means of subsistence. Thus the one is unexposed to any inducements to swerve from his duty; the other is at the mercy of those who are his masters; and, if they command, it is at the price of his income if he disobeys. The salaried magistrate is as liable to do wrong as the salaried judge; and the only way to prevent his sacrificing the interests of the people to the mandates of their governors, is to make him, like the judge, independent in character, estimation, and income.

The next point for improvement is in the salary allowed. The chief magistrate of Bow-street has 1,200*l.* per annum, and all the other magistrates 600*l.* each. When we consider the responsibility of these public officers, their arduous duties, their constant vexations, and almost degrading occupation, the situation in life which is becoming them, for the credit and usefulness of their stations, to keep up, we cannot but regard them as the worst-paid functionaries in the kingdom. Let us compare the payment here with that which takes place elsewhere. In the insolvent debtors' court the chief commissioner receives 2000*l.*; the two assistants 1,500*l.* a year each. In the customs and excise, the chairman 2000*l.*, and the other commissioners each 1,400*l.* In the auditorship of accounts, the chairman 1,500*l.*, the other members 1,200*l.* each. Above all, when we meet with clerks of public offices with salaries of 1000*l.* a year, and deputy retired secretaries with 1,500*l.* and 2000*l.*, we are at a loss to imagine upon what scale of apportionment of salary to duty, either the one or the other has been constructed. Take the labour performed, the real duty done, the constant unremitting occupation, its nature and character, as important to the public which profits by it, as it is painful to the individual who performs it—consider the very climate they

they live in, the noisome air they breathe,—and we feel convinced that the niggardness of their salaries must strike every man of common sense, who considers the labourer as worthy of his hire; and that it is a wise policy to pay liberally the attention, talents, and acquisitions, of these public servants.

We should have named, some time back, 1000*l.* a year as the minimum of allowance to all the magistrates, and 1,500*l.* to the chief at Bow-street. At present, from the fall in the price of most of the articles of general consumption, and the probable diminution of the expense in living, in every respect, we shall be content to leave the salary of the chief at Bow-street as it is, and to augment that of the remaining magistrates to 800*l.* a year each. We are the more inclined to do this, as we are convinced that the discretion of the Government will dictate the reduction of the salaries we have contrasted with those of the magistrates, and the whole additional cost to the country would be little more than 5000*l.* We are besides of opinion, that a consolidation of these offices may be made, which would lessen the present expense of the whole police establishment.

In the new police bill of the last session, the Shadwell office was discontinued, a new one being established at Mary-le-bone, and the Government took the power of making such alterations as they should think proper, in the places where the different police offices should be situated. We are by no means satisfied with this alteration; for though it might be quite right to close the office of Shadwell, it by no means followed that a new one was required at Mary-le-bone. We believe, on the contrary, that the Marlborough-street office, with a considerable augmentation in the number of its constables, might have executed, as it did before, all the duties of this new establishment.

In addition to this, one magistrate might be removed from each of the offices of Worship-street, Hatton-garden, and the Thames police, and the whole of the duties of Queen-square might be managed in the office of Bow-street. In this way there would be a saving (even if the new office of Mary-le-bone is continued) of six magistrates, and, if that was also abolished, of nine; the salaries of whom, even allowing for a retirement to each, would nearly defray the cost of the augmented salaries of the remaining magistrates.

We have heard, indeed, of an argument advanced against this plan of reform,—that there will not be a sufficient number of magistrates to perform the daily duties at their respective offices. But the fact is, that there are at present a considerable number of country magistrates who assist at the public offices; some from the pleasure of occupation which the business affords; others as a species of training to perform these duties elsewhere; others to qualify themselves as candidates for any vacant seat upon the bench.

Indeed

Indeed the great number of salaried magistrates has a tendency to keep the country magistrates away; otherwise, there can be no doubt that, from the number of Surry and Middlesex magistrates resident in the metropolis, the attendance would be numerous and constant. Besides, if pains were taken by the lord-lieutenants of the home counties to stipulate (in the appointment of the resident magistracy) that they should engage to give some attendance at the offices on other occasions besides those for the licensing of public houses, no complaints, like those which we have referred to, could be made; and the public business would be much forwarded, and be done much more to the satisfaction of the suitor. One of the evils, indeed, which have resulted from the constitution of these offices, has been,—that along with the trading justices, magistrates of a better description have been driven away from the bench; and that the whole of the business of the metropolis has been placed in hands which, however pure and clean, are for many considerations not esteemed by any class in the State, to the degree which the parties themselves are entitled to by their conduct.

Officers of the Police.

THE next important subject for regulation is the payment of the officers of police.

There is established in each office a certain number of regular constables; but upon what principle the amount is fixed we cannot conjecture. The office of Great Marlborough-street,—when the Mary-le-bone district was attached to it, the busiest and most comprehensive establishment in the metropolis,—had only six constables at it; while Queen-square, which had the least to do, has eight. The regular pay of each constable is one guinea per week.

This salary appears to us to be totally inadequate, and necessarily (from the scantiness of the payment) to lead to the perpetration of all those acts to obtain money which the public are but too apt to accuse the officers of the police of committing, and which, in more than one case, has been legally proved. Until the last Police Act passed, no extent of service, no disability from wounds, no loss of life, entitled a police officer to a recompense, or secured a provision to his family. Mr. Vickery, a very intelligent officer, and of an excellent reputation, informed the police committee, that he had held a situation in the police for twelve years; and that, with all his exertions, he had not been able to make any thing to leave to his family in case of any accident happening to him. "I got myself," he said, "cut all to pieces two years ago, in an attempt to take two men who had committed a murder, and I did not expect to live. I was laid up for six months; the police office made me no allowance for my wounds, in fact they had it not in their power. Sir N. Conant said

said he would have done all in his power for me, if he could: there is no allowance for old age or infirmities; there is to the magistrates and clerks, but the officers are considered nothing in the thing*."

By the new Act, the secretary of state has the power to reward extraordinary service on the part of the constables; but there is no legal provision in case of sickness, or length of service, or for the families of those who lose their lives in the performance of these duties.

Thus, then, there still remains much to be done, to secure to the honest officer that pecuniary reward for his exertions which will prevent him from looking to dishonourable means for obtaining it. As it is, he is placed in a situation of constant want, and as constant temptation to commit acts to relieve it. Though we make no doubt there have existed, and do now exist, many excellent and trust-worthy police officers, yet the system has a direct tendency to make bad ones; and we cannot help suspecting that there is a permanent alliance between many of these officers and the thieves of the metropolis. There is no remedy for this dangerous evil, but constant watchfulness on the part of the magistrates to prevent it, and a liberal salary to those who are now led into the temptation from the inadequacy of their appointments.

The city of London allows thirty shillings per week to each constable:—let the same payment be made to each of the constables of the police offices. This regular salary, with handsome rewards for successful exertions to prevent or to discover crime, and a provision for old age, for wounds, and, in case of loss of life, for the support of their families, will, we have no doubt, enable honest men to fill these situations, and execute their difficult duties, with credit both to themselves and their employers. The truth is, no branch of the public service requires more looking-into than this. Officers of the police are, in general, intelligent, active, and needy. They have had, hitherto, no inducement to be honest, beyond the satisfaction of their own consciences. In the scale of honesty, were small pay, much hazard, and no reward; to connive at offences was more profitable than to detect them; to associate with criminals, than to bring them to justice; to commute felonies, than to detect felons; and to have the crime perpetrated, than to prevent its commission.

We contend, that prevention is better than punishment; and that a liberal remuneration is due to him who arrests the arm of the criminal before he commits the offence. But at present it is the interest of the officer of justice to have the crime perpetrated;—by detection he may make a fortune, by prevention he will hardly receive thanks.

* Police Report, p. 177.

It is upon these grounds, among many others, that we rejoice in the repeal of all the statutes which gave specific rewards upon the conviction of criminals. But, because the precise sum of 40*l.* is taken away, it did not therefore follow, that the diligent and meritorious officer was to receive no extra remuneration; and we see with great satisfaction, that a power to assign a fit recompense is given by the new Act to the secretary of state. The duty of the constable is to be constantly on the patrol; to keep watch and ward in the streets of the metropolis; and, from their numbers, to carry conviction in the mind of every one who walks the streets by night or by day, that, if honest, his person and property are protected,—but if criminal, that the eyes of the police are upon all his actions, and a pursuer at his heels. Why, we would ask, has the system of footpad robbery, which prevailed to such an extent in the vicinity of London some years ago, entirely ceased?—Surely for no other reason but that the robber knows that patrols are abroad; and he feels that while he commits the crime he may be seized in the act, or pursued so closely that flight is impossible. By no magic has this system of robbery ceased:—crime has tripled in amount since that period; but the highwayman and footpad are aware, that a strict look-out is kept upon their proceedings on the high road; and, however disposed to plunder, they dare not gratify their inclinations. We say then—adopt this system in the streets of the metropolis; patrol the leading thoroughfares and streets by day and by night; do not keep the chosen band of constables in their respective offices plying, like watermen, for fares. Their duty is abroad, and in regular watch, not only to detect, but to prevent. Of course it is difficult to specify the precise quantum of force required in each office or district; but we are sure that the present force is greatly deficient, when Mr. Mainwaring says that he has six constables at Marlborough-street, and a district to watch over, containing above two hundred thousand persons, and a great proportion of those among the most ignorant and indigent inhabitants of the metropolis; that he knows above an hundred receiving-houses in his division; and, to use his own energetic phrase, “it is necessary to watch at the pit’s mouth.” When Mr. B. Allen states that he has nine constables for the charge of one hundred thousand inhabitants, and the watch of not less than three hundred resident thieves, we are not surprised at the disgraceful scenes which hourly occur,—neither life nor property being safe;—or that the inhabitants of particular streets should voluntarily subscribe to provide watchmen to secure against the connivance of their domestic police, and obtain that protection which the miserable parsimony of the stipendiary police denies them. Our notions of an effective police, are in the union of constant inspection on the part of the magistracy, to a strength of numbers of inferior

inferior agents, in order to enable them to arrest the criminal propensities of individuals before they break out into overt acts, the whole well organized and well remunerated. With these two materials in active operation, we do not say there will be no crime, but we are sure that the amount will be much diminished; and few, if any, of those outrages which now daily and nightly disgrace the metropolis, will be perpetrated. There is another part of this question to which we feel compelled to refer;—we mean the increased disposition that exists to compound with criminals on the restitution of the property stolen. No part of the system of police requires more investigation than this. Several statements on this fearful topic are now lying before us. We have the names of all the parties; but for the present, at least, we shall not publish them.

(A) a merchant in the city was robbed of shawls, &c. of the value of 1000*l*. On the discovery of the robbery, he went to one of the principal police offices, and applied for assistance to search after the robbers. He met, however, with little encouragement to proceed in his inquiries; but was advised to offer a large reward, and was told that not less than 5 or 600*l*. would answer his purpose. He objected to the amount of the sum; but at last was persuaded to give 400*l*., upon the assurance that all the goods stolen would be restored. He accordingly paid into the hands of the constable (B, one of the officers of police,) eight 50*l*. notes, and within a few hours a covered cart drove up to his warehouse, a package was left, which being opened contained all the property stolen. We ask,—is it possible to doubt that the thief and the police were in some way connected in this business? Again: we have heard of bills to a large amount having been stolen, and the parties suspected of the theft being in custody and committed for re-examination: during the interval a negotiation took place; and in the anti-chamber of the police office a sum of money was passed from the hands of one of the officers into the possession of the person who held the bills, which were restored immediately to the legal owner;—the parties were brought up to be examined, no one appeared against them, and they were discharged.

These are acts of common occurrence, and require the strictest attention on the part of the magistracy to correct them. Their causes are,—the trouble and expenses of prosecution, the severity of our punishments, and the secret understanding which subsists between the protectors of the property of the community, and the regular spoilers of it. But be the causes what they may, these things shake the confidence of the public in the integrity of the police, and affix a stigma on the character of its instruments,—on the innocent as well as on the guilty. They make men think it wiser and safer to sit down contented with the original loss, or to trust to their own exertions to discover the criminal, rather than employ the agency of persons

sons who, for aught they know, may have been the instigators of the robbery, and sharers in the spoil. We beg not to be misunderstood. We by no means intend to charge all the police officers with being guilty of these practices: on the contrary, we know several, in whom we place great trust. But we speak of the system in general, and of its effects on the public mind; and we appeal to those who attend our courts of justice, for the truth of our assertions. We again wish to urge the necessity of securing the integrity of these "dangerous creatures," as Townshend, a celebrated officer, styles his fellows*.

By giving them the means of an honest livelihood, and by making it their interest to continue in the possession of it, they will be enabled to aid in the detection of offenders more gratuitously than they do at present. Observe the difference between the police of London and Paris:—A gentleman's house is broken open in the latter city; he applies to the police; the greatest exertions are made to discover the criminals; and all this search and inquiry is conducted free of expense to the complainant. In London, the same event entails upon the sufferer a heavy expense, and, in great robberies, an enormous cost in the nature of reward. What then is the reason of this difference between the two countries? Surely because in France the police considers a private robbery as a public evil, as a state offence, in which the Government is implicated, being charged by its constitution with the protection of the persons and properties of its subjects: whereas, in England, the police lets itself out for hire, at the cost of individuals; opens a sort of shop for the sale of its commodity; and, if it is not well paid, will by no means interfere. This system cannot be right. It was, however, attempted to be justified or explained away before the police committee; but it still remains a common complaint in the mouths of the people, and is one of the causes of the impunity which criminals enjoy.

We have thus, as shortly as the extent and importance of the question would admit of, stated the defects of the present system of stipendiary police as existing in the metropolis. Wherever any establishment of a similar nature has been set on foot, the evils, we have no doubt, are of the same character; and, without again recurring to a specification of them, we venture to suggest the remedies we have proposed, as those most likely to effect a cure. Yet, before we conclude, there are some topics connected with this great subject, upon which we wish to offer a few remarks, more particularly as His Majesty's Government are pledged to institute an inquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons prior to the re-enactment of the present Police Bill (which has only

* Police Report, 1817.

one year's duration). We beg, in the first place, to urge the investigation of the manner in which, first, the high-constables in the Middlesex and Surry districts of the metropolis are appointed, and in the second, the way in which the duties are performed. The same investigation to be entered into in respect to the petty constable of each parish in the metropolis. This effected, we venture to affirm, that more abuses will be brought to light, and more foul corruption manifest, than even those who have most inquired into the present practice of the police can imagine. It was proved before the former police committees (in 1816, 1817, and 1818),* that these persons have troublesome offices and no salaries; that the high-constables generally (we had almost written uniformly), even if they are not embarked in a trade of that description, already engage in one, which enables them to command the custom of persons who are under their inspection and controul. They are, in fact, generally coal-merchants; and we have now before us printed circulars from three out of four of these police functionaries, which were left at the alehouses in their respective divisions, soliciting the custom of the occupant. The bulk of their custom is to be found in houses of this description, and in brothels. Deal with the high-constable, and you may live as you choose, and do what you will;—but woe betide your license, if any other tradesman is employed! Again: the petty constable, in almost every division, acts by deputy, who receives a small sum of about five guineas for undertaking that duty:—indeed we have heard of instances where money has been paid for the appointment.

This officer, too, has no salary; and his trouble is to be repaid by levies on alehouses, brothels, billeting of soldiers, attendance on courts of justice to swear away life and character, and all the various devices by which money can be extorted, protection given to vice, or profit extracted from misfortune. We once more refer our readers to the evidence taken before the Police Committee in 1818, particularly to that of Mr. Charlesworth and Mr. Lindsay; and we ask,—who can be surprised at the state of our streets; the insecurity of life and property; the outrages that daily occur; and the impunity of crime? There is yet one more topic for investigation, and that is,—the protection given to those sinks of infamy and vice, the flash houses in the metropolis. We have now before us a list of some hundreds, all of which are notorious receptacles of thieves and prostitutes, which are known to all the parish constables, headboroughs, high constables, and po-

* Vide Mr. Baker's Evidence, p. 76, Report, 1816. Mr. Collins, p. 205, 1817.

lice officers, to be so. Many of them are brothels, and places for "fencing" stolen goods, as well as alehouses, and have been so, under the same or different tenants, for years. Why then, we demand, are they suffered to exist? Is it because they pay for their impunity; or because the police can there hunt down thieves, as gentlemen go to their preserves for game? Or is it because the owners of this species of property find the means of securing the favour of those whose duty it is to suppress these sources of the corruption of youth—these plagues that destroy the poor and the industrious? We do not wish to exaggerate: let those who doubt these statements read the evidence taken before the Police Committee, and judge if all that we have written does not fall short of the truth. We trust that the House of Commons (which is about to institute an inquiry into these subjects) will probe them to the bottom; and we feel confident that a large proportion of the crimes which disgrace our national character may be traced to causes which an honest and effective police can controul. Let it, however, never be forgotten, "that the police of a free country is to be found in rational and humane laws; in an effective and enlightened magistracy; and in the judicious and proper selection of those officers of justice, in whose hands, as conservators of the peace, executive duties are legally placed: but, above all, in the moral habits and opinions of the people. And in proportion as these approximate towards a state of perfection, so that people may rest in security; and though their property may be occasionally invaded, or their lives endangered by the hands of wicked and desperate individuals, yet the institutions of the country being sound, its laws well administered, and justice executed towards offenders, no greater safeguard can be obtained, without sacrificing all those rights which society was instituted to preserve*."

ART. IV.—*Some Account of M. Jean Frederic Oberlin.*

THAT beneficence is a virtue imperative upon all who have the means and opportunities of exercising it, cannot for a moment be doubted. The sentiment is congenial with the dictates of reason; Revelation exhorts us to "do good, and to communicate;" and practical christianity mainly consists in loving our neighbour as ourselves. Neither will it be denied that all endeavours to promote the welfare of man are accompanied by a pleasurable enjoyment of the purest and most exalted nature. It is a wise ordination of Providence, that the work and the reward of kindness go

* Report of Police Committee, 5th June, 1818.

together. Hence the animated glow of delight and satisfaction which may be seen on the countenance of him who is aiming day by day to lessen the sum of existing wretchedness, and whose best energies are devoted to the sacred cause of benevolence. The countenance is most assuredly, in this case, the index of the mind. Such an individual cannot but be cheerful: no remorse corrodes his bosom; the blessings of the widow and the fatherless attend him: he is beloved by man, approved by God. On the other hand, he is indeed to be pitied, who enjoys not the "luxury of doing good," and has not contributed his exertions for the removal or mitigation of human woe: for however exalted his rank, and however varied the sources of his gratification, he has yet to learn that the highest honour, as well as the purest felicity, is to be found in the exercise of that kindness and generosity wherein man most nearly resembles his Maker.

Still, the number of truly philanthropic individuals is but small, perhaps much smaller than most imagine. Many whose influence and property are advantageously employed for the benefit of their fellow-men, are unable to give their personal attention. They may be ready to lend pecuniary aid, but excuse themselves from actual labour. The *onus* of benevolence lies upon the few. The consequence of this is, that there is a greater demand upon the zeal of the active than they are at all times prepared to meet; and, not unfrequently, the backwardness of those of whom better things had been hoped, and the overwhelming pressure of objects, somewhat tend to dishearten. In such circumstances, whatever facts or considerations may be useful to encourage the well-disposed, to animate the depressed, and to quicken declining energies, should be carefully sought after, and judiciously employed. And perhaps nothing can be more suitably adduced as a stimulus to action, than the examples of persons distinguished by the variety and extent of their philanthropy; and especially of those who, having had to encounter difficulty and opposition, have not suffered any obstacles to subdue their ardour, and check their progress. We are happy in presenting to the notice of our readers some account of one whose life has realized the truth of these observations.—*M. Jean Frederic Oberlin*, the father of the Ban de la Roche, is a man who will ever be ranked among the benefactors of his race*.

The Ban de la Roche, in the department of the Vosges, is a mountainous district in the N. E. extremity of France, on the

* For the information contained in this article, we are principally indebted to a pamphlet published by the Rev. Mark Wilks, entitled—"The Ban de la Roche, and its Benefactor M. Jean Frederic Oberlin."

borders of Germany, and about 220 miles E. of Paris. It consists of two parishes, Rothau and Waldbach: Rothau is placed at the height of 1360 feet above the level of the sea, and Waldbach at about 1800. Upwards of one third of the district is covered with wood; the remainder is partly pasture and partly arable land. "The temperature varies according to the elevation and position of the villages. At an elevation of 1200 feet above the level of the sea, the climate corresponds to that of Geneva, and is called the *warm* region. Above that, and as high as 2400 feet, is the *temperate* region, which answers to the thermometer of Warsaw and Wilna: the cold, at 2700 feet above the same level, corresponds with the temperature of Stockholm; and, ascending again from thence, it is as intense as at Petersburg." The produce varies in a similar manner. There are in each commune three degrees of fertility, according to the position of the lands,—as the low grounds, those on the sides, and those near the summits.

A hundred years ago, this country was uncultivated, and scarcely accessible. Fourscore families gained a scanty subsistence from its precarious produce, but lived in a state of deplorable wretchedness, being destitute of all the comforts, and provided with but few of the necessities, of life. Now, the population consists of upwards of three thousand, who procure their livelihood by the labours of agriculture and manufacture, and appear to be in every respect a contented and happy people. This great change is to be chiefly ascribed to the philanthropic exertions of M. Oberlin, who has been pastor of Waldbach more than half a century.

Oberlin's predecessor, M. Stouber, began the work of reformation. Rightly judging that a good education is the basis of all social improvement, he directed his attention in the first instance to the state of the schools. He found them miserably conducted: the masters themselves could neither read correctly nor write legibly; and the time of the pupils was wasted by an entire want of method. M. Stouber instructed the masters, and at his own expense brought a teacher from the neighbouring country to introduce proper modes of tuition. Notwithstanding the prejudices of an ignorant people, who were averse to all innovation, much good resulted from these measures: the parents saw that the progress of their children was much more rapid than it had before been, and by degrees learned to appreciate the advantages they now enjoyed.

The wife of M. Stouber entered into his plans with spirit, and was his willing associate in every benevolent exertion. They had been united but three years, when death tore her from his arms. The afflicted husband paid the last tribute of affection by causing the following

following epitaph to be placed upon her tomb :—"After three years of marriage, Marguerite Salomée, wife of G. Stouber, minister of this parish, expired at Ban de la Roche, in the simplicity of a peaceful and useful life, (the delight of her benevolent heart,) and in the prime of youth and beauty. She died August the 9th, 1764, aged twenty years. Near this spot her husband has deposited her mortal remains, uncertain whether he is more sensible of the grief of having lost, or the glory of having possessed her." Three years after this, Stouber was succeeded by M. Oberlin.

M. Oberlin is descended from a learned family at Strasburg, in the university of which town he received his education. Having determined to devote his talents to the cause of religion, he became pastor of Waldbach in 1767. Here, secluded from society, and almost out of the reach of his connexions, a fine opportunity presented itself of prosecuting his literary researches to an extent which in a more public situation would have been impracticable. The temptation was powerful and fascinating,—a cultivated mind must have felt its force. But Oberlin was swayed by nobler motives. As soon as he perceived the situation of his parish, and the great room for improvement, his resolution was formed. The good of his flock became the paramount object of his regard; to them his best energies have been devoted; for their welfare he has laboured with unwearied solicitude; and he has lived to see his exertions crowned with success.

When this estimable man entered on his pastoral functions, there was not one school-house in all the five villages of his parish. A miserable hut with one little room was the only accommodation afforded. This difficulty was soon removed. Partly at his own expense, and partly by the assistance of some benevolent friends at Strasburg, M. Oberlin procured the erection of a suitable building in one of the villages. In the course of a few years the example was imitated, and there is not now a village without a school-house. Having engaged competent masters for these schools, M. Oberlin was anxious that the children should be in some degree prepared for the instruction they would now receive. For this purpose he hired governesses in each village, and placed under their care the younger children. Here they were taught to spin, to knit, and to sew. The conductresses were furnished with engravings of sacred and natural history, of which the worthy pastor himself gave the explanation, to be communicated to their juvenile pupils. In summer, they gathered plants, and learned their names, properties, and uses; in winter, they painted little maps of the Ban de la Roche, France, Europe, &c. Thus trained, the children entered the public schools, where the masters taught them reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and

sacred and profane history. A weekly meeting of all the schools was established at Waldbach, when M. Oberlin inspected and examined them, communicated to them useful knowledge, and distributed prizes of valuable books, furnished by the generosity of his friends at Strasburg. Other improvements followed. A public library was formed; an electrical machine and mathematical instruments were procured; a collection of indigenous plants was arranged; and care was taken that the botanical knowledge already acquired by the children should be extended and put into practice. When they walked in the fields, they were instructed to mark such plants as were useful for food, and to destroy such as were poisonous. This knowledge proved so beneficial, that "during the disastrous months of 1817, when the harvest failed, and potatoes were extremely scarce, the accurate acquaintance of the people with the vegetable productions of their canton, contributed to prevent the most distressing diseases."

M. Oberlin has been successful in materially improving the *agriculture* of the Ban de la Roche. The first object of his care was the repair and widening of the roads,—a most useful undertaking in a country where the torrents pouring down from the summits of the mountains frequently cause considerable landslips, to the great loss of the cultivator. In furthering this important business, the pastor laboured with his own hands, selecting for himself and his domestic servant the most difficult and dangerous spots. Animated by his example, the whole parish set about the work; walls were raised to prevent the sliding of the earth; the torrents were stopped or diverted, and intercourse permanently established between the five villages. When this was accomplished, they proceeded to open a communication with the great road to Strasburg. In effecting this, rocks were to be blasted, a wall built, a bridge erected over the river Brusche, and funds for the whole were to be procured. Nothing was impracticable; every difficulty yielded to the enthusiasm of the villagers. They laboured with an energy that braved danger and despised fatigue. Implements were wanting, their pastor procured them; expenses accumulated, he interested his *bourgeois* and his distant friends, and funds were provided; and in two years, in spite of every obstacle, the work was completed.

When the poor labourers broke any of their tools, they were often at a great loss through want of money to purchase new ones. M. Oberlin opened a warehouse, where he sold every article of this kind at prime cost, and gave the purchasers credit till their payments came round. He selected lads of suitable talents, clothed, and apprenticed them in neighbouring towns, and thus succeeded,

succeeded, in a few years, in introducing into the country wheelwrights, masons, smiths, joiners, and glaziers, of which trades there were no persons before in the neighbourhood.

In 1767, there was no fruit in Waldbach but wild apples. M. Oberlin was anxious to induce his parishioners to plant trees of various kinds. The method he adopted on this occasion was singularly ingenious. Aware of the reluctance of country people to be instructed by citizens, he silently took advantage of their curiosity. Two fields belonged to his parsonage, which were crossed by a public foot-path. "Here he worked with his servant, dug trenches, planted young trees, and placed round them the earths which he thought most likely to promote their growth: he then obtained slips of apples, pears, cherries, plums; and nuts, made a large nursery ground, and waited with patience the period when his parishioners, observing the success of his experiments, would come and request him to assist them in rearing trees for themselves. His expectations were not disappointed; the taste for planting was diffused, and the art of grafting, which he taught the people, was generally practised."

Various other advantages have resulted from the labours of this extraordinary man. The improvement of the breed of cattle; the successful introduction of the artificial grasses, sainfoin, and clover; the great increase in the growth of potatoes, which form the principal subsistence of the Rochois; the employment of the young, during the winter months, in manufacturing useful articles from straw, knitting, dyeing, spinning cotton, and weaving; the culture of flax; the establishment of an agricultural society, of a dispensary for the sick, of a loan fund for the necessitous, and for the liquidation of debts;—the happy termination of a law-suit between the *seigneurs* and the peasantry, which had been prolonged for more than eighty years, and which had impoverished the parties by enormous expense, and diffused a spirit of litigation and intrigue:—all bear testimony to the zeal and disinterestedness of M. Oberlin, and the invaluable benefits which the inhabitants of the Ban de la Roche have derived from his counsels and his exertions.

It might be reasonably expected that such conduct as this would excite emulation, and induce others to tread in the steps of the worthy pastor of Waldbach.—The following is an account of an excellent female, transmitted by M. Oberlin, about 16 years ago, to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

"*Sophia Bernard* is one of the most excellent women I know, and indeed an ornament to my parish. While unmarried, she undertook, with the consent of her parents, the support and education

of three helpless boys, whom their wicked father had often trampled under foot, and treated in a manner too shocking to relate, when, nearly starving with hunger, they dared to cry out for food. Soon afterwards, she proved the happy means of saving the lives of four Roman catholic children, who, without her assistance, would have fallen a prey to want and famine. Thus she had the management of seven children, to whom several more were added, belonging to members of three several religious denominations. She now hired a house and a servant girl, and supported the whole of the family entirely with her own work, and the little money she got from the industry of the children, whom she taught to spin cotton. A fine youth, of a noble mind, made her an offer of his hand; she at first refused, but he declared he would wait for her even ten years, when she replied that she could never consent to part with her poor orphans: he nobly answered, 'Whoever takes the mother, takes the children too.' This he did, and the children were brought up by them in the most careful manner. They have lately taken in other orphans, whom they are training up in the fear and love of God."

In the pleasures of benevolence, the esteem of his flock, and the approbation of Heaven, M. Oberlin has already enjoyed a rich reward;—and a still nobler recompense awaits him. More than eighty years have rolled over his head; but, if life be measured rather by actions than by time, his has been indeed a lengthened existence; much longer, in the course of nature, he cannot survive; but whenever he shall be called to hear the cheering words—"Well done, good and faithful servant"—may Divine Providence raise up successors, who, animated by the same spirit, and following his honourable example, shall perpetuate the felicity of the Ban de la Roche!

ART. V.—*Slave Trade.*

AT the commencement of the present session of parliament, Dr. Lushington announced his intention of bringing in a bill for the consolidation of the Acts relating to the abolition of the slave trade. We are disposed to attach considerable importance to this measure: and though fully sympathizing in the distaste which we suppose our readers in general feel for mere legal discussions, we must request their indulgence, if, on so momentous a subject as this, we should engage them in an investigation of a series of Acts of Parliament. We shall not be often found in so sterile and uninteresting a region.

From generation to generation, Englishmen have been complaining of the obscurity of the laws by which they are governed: many have even supposed, that the legislature, willing to promote the selfish ends of those who live by expounding the law, has deliberately set itself to bewilder common understandings, and that the mists in which our statutes are involved, have been wilfully raised by a succession of crafty and designing spirits. The truth, however, we take to be, that in this, as in other cases, "we buy our blessings at a price." In a free country, laws will necessarily be more obscure than in other states: the jealousy of trusting too much to judicial interpretation; the necessity of defining crimes and their punishments with precision; and the severity with which advocates are permitted to criticize the law in favour of their clients, are among the permanent sources of that cautious and redundant phraseology in which our Statute-book abounds. Other causes may be found in the peculiar constitution of the House of Commons, and in the magnitude of the commercial and financial affairs of the empire. But although this inconvenience is, we think, intimately connected with that which constitutes the peculiar glory of our country, far be it from us either to deny the magnitude of the evil, or to withhold our thanks from those who endeavour to mitigate it. Among the means of cure, the consolidation of all the laws relating to the same general topic is one of the most easy and effectual; and as no Acts of Parliament are more important than those which relate to the abolition of the slave-trade, so none more deserve or more urgently require a careful revision:—it may, however, be permitted us to doubt whether the time is yet ripe for the accomplishment of this task. The consolidated Slave Trade Abolition Act should, as far as possible, be the permanent immutable law of Great Britain: it should stand as a model for the imitation of other legislatures; and should not contain any thing at enmity with

with those great principles of justice and benevolence on which the whole fabric is built. Now is such the present state of the abolition laws? or are there not rather some important corrections, which should precede any attempt at consolidation? These questions, we apprehend, will best be answered by the compendious summary which we shall attempt to give of this title of the law of England. The very learned and amiable person who has taken on himself the duty of superintending the proposed revision of these Acts of Parliament, will, we trust, regard us as zealous though humble labourers in the same field; happy if we should be able in any measure to assist him in the pursuit of his benevolent and patriotic object.

We are the rather disposed to defer the more interesting views of the present state of the slave trade, in favour of this inquiry, because many of our cotemporaries have placed within reach of the public, in a convenient and most impressive manner, the substance of all the recent information from the coast of Africa. We refer, especially, to Mr. Clarkson's pamphlet entitled "*The Cries of Africa*,"—to a tract circulated by the society of Friends, entitled "*Information concerning the Slave Trade*,"—to a Report made by a committee of the directors of the African Institution, and published as a supplement to their Annual Report for 1821,—and especially to an admirable paper to be found in the last number of the *British Review*, and lately reprinted in the form of a separate tract. These few pamphlets will convey, to all who are anxious to understand the merits of this question, a body of information of the most deep and painful interest; stated with a perspicuity, force, and feeling, which would be necessarily impaired by any abridgement. Leaving then for the present, to these powerful writers, the task of rousing the consciences and stimulating the zeal of our fellow-countrymen, we turn aside to the humbler but not, we trust, unserviceable office which we have proposed to ourselves.

At an early period of the twelve years war, which commenced in the year 1803, the whole of the French and Dutch colonies were surrendered to Great Britain. It being a principle of the Law of England, that the king has a legislative authority over a conquered country, the difficulties which impeded the abolition of the slave trade by parliament, did not exist with regard to these conquests.

Their restoration, on the return of peace, was an event which in those times it would have been absurd to doubt; and the policy was obvious, of preventing the use of British capital in extending the culture of foreign colonies, destined, as it then appeared, to become at no remote period the rivals of our own. The friends of the abolition had therefore the less difficulty in obtaining a law
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for preventing the introduction of new labourers into these settlements. Accordingly, on the 15th of August 1805, an order in council was issued, prohibiting the importation of slaves into any of the colonies, either on the continent of America or in the West Indies, which had "surrendered to his majesty's arms during the present war."

Although the king in council had power thus to prohibit the slave trade in any conquered colony, yet his authority was insufficient to establish all those regulations which were essential to ensure obedience to the prohibition. At an early period, therefore, of the following session, the subject was brought before parliament, when the act usually known as the Foreign Slave Trade Act (46 Geo. III. c. 52.) was passed in order to give effect to the preceding order in council. The act, however, was not confined to this object; and the cause of the abolition was now able to gain a second triumph, of more extensive influence and of greater importance than the first. Not content with supplying her own colonies, England had long engrossed much of the carrying trade in slaves, between the coast of Africa and countries not subject to her own dominion. The waste of capital and of human life in this commerce had so frequently been demonstrated, as to force conviction even on the most prejudiced; and it was at length admitted, that to engage in the African trade, without any view to the culture of our own colonies, was an act of gratuitous and unprofitable wickedness. The foreign slave trade act, therefore, supported as it was by the influence of Government, encountered no formidable opposition in parliament. It passed on the 23d May 1806.

By this law, the actual importation of slaves into the conquered countries, and the shipment of slaves in British shipping, or on British account, with an intent so to import them, were prohibited. Thus far it only gave effect to the order in council: but it also forbade all persons amenable to the law of Great Britain, to carry slaves from any place whatever to any place under the dominion of any foreign power; and thus prevented, not only the great carrying trade between Africa and the colonies of foreign states, but also the supply of such colonies by means of any redundant population of our own.

Hitherto the direct trade between the British colonies and the coast of Africa was subject to no restraint; but the hour was approaching when the parliament of Great Britain was to make to Africa the great though tardy atonement for the injustice and cruelties of nearly two centuries. On the 25th of March 1807, a day to be held in everlasting remembrance, was passed the "Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade," the precursor and in some sense

sense the model of those laws which all the maritime states of Europe have since adopted;—the most solemn acknowledgment to be found in the history of legislation, of the submission due by nations to the great laws of justice and humanity;—the statute which, whether we regard its immediate or its indirect consequences, may be justly considered as the most important which was ever deliberately enacted by any human legislature.

By this Act, the African Slave Trade was “utterly abolished, prohibited and declared unlawful.” No subject of his majesty, nor any person resident in the King’s dominions, was thenceforward to remove, or assist in removing, to any place whatever, as slaves, or for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves, any inhabitant of Africa, or of any foreign territory in the West Indies or America. Neither was any such person to be received or confined on board of any ship for the purpose of being so dealt with. Such was the general prohibition of this statute. The provisions framed for ensuring obedience to it were unavoidably complicated,—in some particulars defective,—and perhaps in some few subordinate points, as time and experience have shown, injudicious. Yet no candid man will, we think, deny that the act, even in its minor details, was worthy the great occasion on which it was introduced, and that it exhibits an extent of caution, of practical knowledge, and of foresight, of which it would be difficult to find any other example. Our space will not afford a lengthened explanation of these subsidiary provisions: we must be content to touch very briefly on some of the more important.

As the war with France was at its height in the year 1807, and as maritime captures made in the prosecution of that war would unavoidably introduce into the colonies natives of Africa found in the slave ships of hostile nations, it was necessary to provide for the treatment and disposal of them: the same difficulty arose respecting slaves who might be imported in violation of the law, a practice reasonably to be feared, since the assembly of Jamaica had deliberately asserted, that the whole united navy of Great Britain would not be able to prevent it. It was therefore provided, that all such Africans should be prosecuted either as prize of war, or as forfeitures to the crown, and should be condemned to the use of the king, not so as to deprive them of liberty, but for the purpose of barring any claim which any other person might assert. They were then either to be enlisted into the king’s service as soldiers or seamen, or were to be bound apprentices for any term not exceeding fourteen years.

It required but an ordinary measure of sagacity to foresee the objections to which this plan was open, and the result has justified

fied the fears which we have reason to think the authors of it originally entertained. It could scarcely be expected, that the distinction between an apprentice and a slave would be much regarded in colonies which had shown such an inveterate aversion to the whole system of which this formed a part. Yet with all the assistance of experience, it would probably perplex the best informed friend of the abolition even now to suggest any scheme to which the objections would not have been yet more formidable. The means which have lately been adopted for investigating the abuses of the master's power over his apprentices, we may hereafter explain.

A second great object for which provision was to be made, was the encouragement of seizures. The ordinary inducement of confiscating the captured property, for the benefit of those by whom it was seized, being inapplicable to this case, parliament, with that liberality which is not merely consistent with an enlarged economy, but even essential to it, provided a scale of very considerable bounties to be paid to the captors or seizing officers, and to the governors of colonies in which any seizure and condemnation might take place.

A third difficulty in framing the Abolition Act, was to make due provision for the execution of it in colonies where the law itself was in the highest degree unpopular. For this purpose, it was declared that all forfeitures might be prosecuted and recovered in the colonies in the same manner as offences against the laws of trade were proceeded against under the statute 4 Geo. 3. c. 15. The statute thus referred to gave the informer or prosecutor the right of proceeding, at his election, either in the courts of Admiralty, or in the courts of record in the colonies, and therefore relieved him from the risk to which the prejudices of a colonial jury might expose him.

The penal sanctions provided by the two preceding statutes, consisted in the forfeiture of property and direct pecuniary penalties. So long as England continued the great emporium of the slave trade, and even while the memory of her participation in it was yet recent, any man who had proposed to restrain this offence by ignominious punishment would have been regarded as mad. Such is the effect of self-love in rendering us unable to perceive the enormity of any crimes which we habitually commit. But, in the short space of four years after the abandonment of the trade, juster views of its real character were generally diffused, and men were now prepared to reprobate as infamous a system which had for many preceding years been represented as a main pillar of the commercial greatness of the country. The Slave Trade Felony Act was passed almost by acclamation.

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This statute (51 Geo. III. c. 23.) declared all persons guilty of felony who should be convicted of any of the following offences; viz. the removing from any place whatsoever of slaves, or of persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, into any place whatever; the embarkation or confinement on shipboard of any persons, with a view to their being removed or dealt with as slaves; the employment or the letting or taking to freight of ships to be used in carrying or importing slaves; the fitting out, or embarking on board any such ship in the capacity of captain, mate, supercargo, or surgeon, with knowledge that the ship was to be employed in the carriage or importation of slaves.

The following offences were by the same act declared misdemeanors: navigating or embarking on board a ship, used or intended to be used in the carriage of slaves, in the capacity of a petty officer, a servant or seaman, and the underwriting or effecting insurances on ships or goods, or on the freight of any ship so employed. In each of these cases it was essential to the crime, that the party accused should have known the purpose of the voyage.

It was too obvious to escape the most cursory attention, that the execution of this act would be attended with great difficulties in the colonies where the offence would probably be committed. It was therefore provided, that all offences should be inquired of, either according to the ordinary course of law, and the provisions of the "Act for Pirates" passed in the 28th year of Henry VIII, or according to the provisions of an act of the 33d of the same reign, or according to those of a statute passed in the 11th and 12th years of King William the Third.

As this enactment has given rise to much confusion in the administration of the law, and as the subject itself is somewhat intricate, it will not be inconvenient to give a short explanation of the statutes by which the trial of offences against the abolition acts is regulated.

In ancient times all crimes committed on the high seas, or in havens or estuaries of the sea, were considered as falling exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Lord Admiral. Offenders were prosecuted before the commissioners of this great officer of state, who proceeded according to the rules of the civil law. It was a settled maxim of this jurisprudence, that no man could be capitally punished, except upon a *plena probatio*; i. e. either the confession of the accused party, or the concurrent testimony of two eye-witnesses of the crime. But as it was frequently difficult to obtain proof of this nature, an act was passed in the year 1536, (28 H. VIII. c. 15.) by which it was provided, that crimes committed within the jurisdiction of the Lord Admiral might be tried according to the
common

common course of the law of England, which admits of indirect or circumstantial evidence. As, however, the common law required that the criminals should be tried in the shire in which their offences had been committed; and as crimes committed within the admiral's jurisdiction could not be referred to any particular county, the statute further declared that the trial might be held in such place within the realm of England as the king might appoint. A commission ascertaining this place, was to issue under the great seal directed by the admiral or his deputy, and three or four such other substantial persons as the lord chancellor of England for the time being should name, requiring them to hear and determine the alleged offences.

Five years after this statute had been passed, another act was made (33 H. VIII. c. 23.) which enabled the king to issue commissions for the speedy trial of offenders who might have been examined before his council, or any three of them, and whom the council "should think to be vehemently suspected" of any treason, misprision of treason, or murder. These offenders, whether their crimes were committed within or without the king's dominions, were to be tried in such place as should be limited by the commission, the opposite rule of the common law of England being in this instance also subverted. The difficulty of procuring indictments of state offenders, appears to have been the real inducement to this act.

For more than one hundred and fifty years from the date of this enactment, all crimes committed by English subjects on the high seas were tried under the one or the other of these acts; but in the reign of William III. with the extended navigation of England, a race of buccaniers and pirates had grown up, whose offences were committed upon the seas in very remote parts of the world. These criminals, according to the then state of the law, could be tried only by being brought to England; for the statutes of Henry VIII. had either abrogated the authority of the Lord Admiral, or caused it to fall into total disuse. The consequence was, that the pirates who infested the shores of South America and of India usually escaped punishment. The remedy for this mischief was provided by an act passed in the year 1700 (11 and 12 William III. c. 7). This statute declared, that all piracies, felonies, and robberies, committed within the jurisdiction of the admiral, might be tried at any place either at sea or on land in any of the colonies, which should be appointed by a commission to be issued for that purpose under the great seal of England, or under the seal of the Admiralty. The commissioners were to be seven in number, and their proceedings were to be regulated by the civil law. As at this period the colonists derived
material

material advantages from their intercourse with the buccaniers, and were not likely to administer the law with much rigour against them, the act declared, that either the commissioners under the statute of Henry VIII. (proceeding in England and according to the laws of the realm), or the commissioners under that act (proceeding as we have seen according to the civil law), should have the sole authority of trying the before-mentioned crimes and offences. The criminals in the one case were to be sent into England to be tried there: in the other case they might be proceeded against in the colonies; but in no case could they be tried by the ordinary colonial courts of criminal justice.

We conceive that when the slave trade felony act was passed, it was the intention of parliament to remit the trial of all offenders against it to the one or the other of these jurisdictions: that is, slave traders were to be tried, either by the commissioners in England, under the 28 Henry VIII. c. 15, the indictments being previously presented by a grand jury; or by the commissioners appointed under the 39d Henry VIII. c. 23; on the commitment of the privy council, and without any previous presentment; or, finally, by the commissioners for trial of pirates according to the course of the civil law.

It seems, however, not to have been remembered at the time of framing this act, that in the year 1806 a statute had been passed, (46 George III. c. 54,) which had partially repealed the act of King William. It provided, that offences of whatever kind, committed within the jurisdiction of the admiral, might be tried in the colonies, according to the common course of the laws of England used for offences committed upon the land within the realm of England, *and not otherwise*. Such trials were to be held by virtue of a commission to be issued under the great seal; and the commissioners were to have the same authorities within the colony, as the commissioners under the statute of Henry VIII. have in England. From the inadvertency committed in framing the slave trade felony act, without reference to the act of 1806, two consequences followed. First, it referred the trial of offenders to commissioners to be appointed under the statute of King William, which itself was virtually repealed so far as respected crimes committed within the jurisdiction of the admiral. Secondly, it did not refer their trial to the commissioners appointed under the act of 1806, whose jurisdiction over persons accused of slave trading was therefore questionable. To remove the doubt which had arisen respecting the competency of this latter tribunal, an act was passed in the year 1818, (58 George III. c. 98,) which declared, that all offences against the slave trade felony act, which

which might be committed within the jurisdiction of the admiral, might be tried by virtue of any commission under the act of 1806.

It is not to be denied, that our Statute-book affords a very singular illustration both of the insufficiency and the redundancy of human language. All the diligence which had been used to provide a competent jurisdiction for the punishment of every offence which slave traders could commit in every place, was not yet effectual. It appeared, that there was still one case more important perhaps than any other, over which neither the commissioners acting by virtue of 46 George III. nor any other of the courts already noticed, could exercise any controul;—that case was slave-trading by his majesty's subjects on the land of Africa, or in any of the rivers of that continent. These places not being within the jurisdiction of the admiral, the offenders were not amenable to any of the commissioners specially appointed for the trial of crimes committed within the limits of that jurisdiction. Not being within the local limits of the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of the King's African settlements, they were not subject to prosecution in those tribunals. The only remedy was to send such criminals to England, to be there tried under a commission issued by virtue of the statute of Henry VIII. The expense and difficulty of this proceeding, and perhaps also the hardship it inflicted on the accused party, rendered it necessary to pass another act. Accordingly, by the statute 59 George III. c. 97, it was declared, that such offences might be tried under any commission issued according to the directions of the act of 1806.

The next statute which passed for giving effect to the abolition of the slave trade was the statute 53 George III. c. 112, by which it was declared that actions might be brought, or indictments prosecuted, for the penalties imposed by the acts of the 46th and 47th years of George III. at any time within three years after the commission of the offence by which the penalty was incurred.

In the following year a more important addition was made to the law, by the enactment of the statute 54 George III. c. 59, which declared all ships which might be forfeited under the abolition acts entitled to the privileges of British built ships, in the same way as ships condemned as prize of war; an important encouragement to captors and seizing officers, as it enabled them to introduce condemned vessels into the regular trade of Great Britain.

The next addition to this code of laws arose out of circumstances which strongly illustrate the calamitous nature of this traffic.

traffic. Certain ships had been seized and brought in for condemnation before the Court of Admiralty in the island of Tortola. They were crowded with Africans; and it became an object of great importance to ascertain what was to be the fate of these vessels and of their human cargoes.

Unfortunately, it was found impossible to decide, upon the original evidence, whether the property was liable to confiscation or not, and the claimants were therefore allowed by the court to adduce further proof of their title. The question then arose, at whose expense the negroes were to be maintained during the suspension of these legal proceedings. Both the captors and the claimants disavowed the obligation of providing for their maintenance. There was no dwelling in which they might reside on shore, and scarcely any provisions by which they could be maintained on board. The hurricane season was approaching; and neither party chose to encounter the responsibility of landing the negroes, fearing lest they should render themselves liable for the loss which their escape would occasion. The result was, that these unhappy people continued many months confined in the hold of the slave ship, exposed to the fury of the elements, the disorders of the climate, and the want of sufficient or wholesome food. A frightful mortality ensued.

To prevent the recurrence of similar calamities, the statute 55 George III. c. 172, required, that all persons held and treated as slaves, who might be proceeded against for adjudication in any court, should be put on shore by the claimants: and if they should neglect to supply sufficient food and necessities for the maintenance of the slaves during the proceedings, the governor was to authorize the officer of the customs to take these duties on himself, until the court should have made its decree condemning or restoring the slaves. If the definitive sentence should be delayed in consequence of further proof being required, authority was given to the court to direct a valuation of the slaves, the amount of which was to be paid to the claimants, if they should ultimately obtain a sentence of restitution. In this case the negroes were to be treated in the same manner as slaves condemned under the abolition acts.

In tracing the history of the slave trade abolition laws, it next becomes necessary to advert to the act for the general registration of slaves, passed in the year 1819, the stat. 59 Geo. III. c. 120. Upon this subject, which embraces a very wide field of inquiry, somewhat remote from our present purpose, we shall only give such explanations as will be necessary to render the provisions of this statute intelligible.

On the 26th March 1812, an order in council was passed for registering the slaves in the island of Trinidad. This order was unavoidably of great length : it required, in general, that every proprietor of slaves in the island should render on oath a return of their number ; in which were to be contained the names of each slave, with a specification of every circumstance, such as age, stature, and sex, which would most effectually serve to identify the individual. These returns were to be made to an officer, to be called the registrar of slaves, who was to transcribe them in books, to be called the books of registry. The original or primary registration being closed, would exhibit a complete statistical description of the whole slave population of the colony. At the end of each subsequent year, other returns were to be made to the same officer, exhibiting all the intermediate variations in the state of the slaves belonging to each proprietor. These periodical returns being registered, would carry on from year to year a progressive history of the whole slave population of the island. Obedience to this law was enforced by a great variety of penal sanctions, admirably adapted to their end. Of these, the most important were the provisions that any slave omitted in the registry should become free, and that no title to slaves could be acquired except by conveyances, unless the slaves to be conveyed were accurately registered.

It will probably be unnecessary to remind our readers of the controversy which arose between the authors of this measure and the colonial assemblies, respecting the proposed extension of it, by act of parliament, to all the colonies in which slavery is known. For this purpose a bill was introduced by Mr. Wilberforce. During this discussion, however, it appeared to his majesty's government, to be a convenient mode of avoiding the inconveniences which they apprehended from passing such a law, to recommend to the different colonial assemblies to undertake this office for themselves. These bodies, from whatever motive we do not now stop to inquire, acted upon this suggestion ; and in the years 1816, 1817, and 1818, passed different acts for the registration of their slaves ; and all, with the exception only of that from the Bahama Islands, were confirmed by the king in council. No one who has not made the comparison for himself, can form any adequate judgment of the crude, imperfect, and evasive style in which these colonial acts are framed. Each differs widely from the rest ; and all depart to an immeasurable distance from the original model upon which they were founded. This mass of confusion and inconsistency, however, became the settled law of the colonies.

The islands of Mauritius and Saint Lucie, and the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, have, as is well known, no internal legislative

legislative body ; but are governed either by orders in council, or by ordinances made by the governor, under the sanction of the crown. The same is the constitution of the colonies of Demerara and Berbice. With regard to the system of registration, however, a difference was made between these colonies, the principle of which we are unable to explain. In the Mauritius and St. Lucie, and at the Cape of Good Hope, registries were established by the authority of orders in council, promulgated for each particular colony. In Demerara and Berbice, the immediate legislative authority of the crown was not exerted for this purpose, but the registry laws were enacted by the authority of the governor and his council. The consequence of this difference in the origin of the laws was such as ordinary foresight might have predicted. The orders in council copied (though with some important variations) from that of Trinidad, were minute, and in general effective : the local ordinances resembled those of the other colonies, or were even more vague and deficient.

By these various means, all the colonies of Great Britain in which any slave population exists, with the single exception of the Bahama Islands, possessed a registry of slaves. In all, the same general rule requiring an original and subsequent periodical return, was in force ; but in none, with the exception only of Trinidad, were any regulations established sufficient to ensure a punctual obedience to the law. In this respect, the orders applying to the Cape, to St. Lucie, and the Mauritius, had greatly declined from their original model. To remedy this general deficiency of the colonial laws, with respect to what has been called their executory principle ;—in other words, to supply an adequate motive to ensure the exact registration of the slaves in each colony, —the statute 59 George III. c. 120, was enacted. By this act, an office was established in London, in which copies of all the colonial registers were to be deposited ; and it was enacted, that no subject of the crown in the united kingdom might purchase slaves in any of the colonies, or lend money on the security of such slaves, unless they should be first registered in the office in London : but that every conveyance executed within this kingdom to any of his majesty's subjects, should be void in respect of any such unregistered slaves. It was further required, that no such conveyance should be valid, unless the registered name and description of the slaves were set forth in the conveyance. Still further to ensure obedience, it was declared, that whenever any slaves were sent from one of his Majesty's colonies to another, the exporter should produce at the custom-house of the port of embarkation, a certificate from the register of the colony of their having been registered.

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The last branch of the general code of laws adopted by Great Britain for enforcing the abolition of the slave trade, arose out of the treaties between this country and foreign powers. Our space, however, will not allow us to enter now into any explanations of this system, which, though closely, is not indissolubly connected with the slave trade abolition code of Great Britain.

We have now, however, to advert to certain laws, for which we believe the advocates of the abolition are in no sense responsible, unless indeed they have to answer for remissness in not opposing them.

We have already shown that the importation of slaves into the conquered colonies, was prohibited by the order in council of the 15th August 1805, and by the foreign slave trade act of the following year. This trade also fell within the general prohibition, and was not embraced by the partial exceptions of the slave trade felony act.

The importation of slaves from the British West India Islands into Demerara, was therefore a felony, and subjected the importer to the penalties of all these different statutes. This salutary rule was now, however, to be partially infringed. The new British colonies in Guiana contain extensive tracts of uncleared land, and present a very strong temptation to speculators in sugar. The culture of the cane requires the richest soils, and rapidly exhausts the land in which it is carried on. Many of the old colonies, especially Grenada, Dominica, and Barbadoes, have gradually ceased to yield the abundant harvests which they once produced, and the difficulty of cultivating their plantations to advantage has for many past years been progressively increasing. Hence arose a strong temptation to transfer the labour of the slaves of those islands, to the virgin mould of Demerara and Berbice. In the Bahamas, the cultivation of the sugar cane is scarcely known. The lighter labours of the fisheries, of the salt ponds, and above all of cotton-planting, form the principal occupation of the slaves in this archipelago. Their numbers have therefore increased with unusual rapidity, and their price has of course proportionably diminished. To the Bahama planter, it therefore became an object

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of great interest to find a market where his redundant slave population was in demand. Now if it be assumed that the African race were only called into existence to labour for the natives of Europe; and that they can have no interest opposed to that of their masters, or none which it is fit to consult; and that perpetual banishment from the land of his birth, attended with a change from the lightest to the most severe labour, is an evil not to be regarded where a negro is the sufferer; and that he is a useless incumbrance on the ground the moment he ceases to be a merchantable commodity;—these things, we say, being taken for granted, it followed that nothing could be more just, than to transport the natives of Dominica and the Bahamas, to labour in the pestilential swamps of Guiana, for the benefit of their owners in Great Britain. The only obstacle was the code of laws for the abolition of the slave trade. There were not, however, wanting those who thought fit to disregard this difficulty. We read, in the statute 58 Geo. III. c. 49, the following preamble:—“Whereas divers persons have, contrary to law, imported into His Majesty’s possessions on the continent of South America, certain negro-slaves from other possessions of His Majesty.” What follows? a denunciation of vengeance against such criminals? or more exact precautions to prevent the recurrence of similar abuses?—“And whereas it is expedient that all persons who have been concerned in advising, authorizing, or making such importations of negro slaves as aforesaid, contrary to law, should be *indemnified*;—inasmuch as such importations have been made under a belief, that they were authorized by law.” We have heard from very great lawyers the maxim *Ignorantia legis non excusat* applied to the offences of criminals, whose ignorance no man living could doubt. Yet in this case, for some reason which the legislature has not thought fit to explain, we find this sage maxim reversed. Merchants, planters, governors, and custom-house officers, with the abolition acts before their eyes, are permitted to urge their ignorance of the law as an excuse for felony; and, stranger still, are not only to plead this defence in bar of punishment, but even in bar of investigation. All indictments and prosecutions which had been commenced against any persons for having advised or made any such importation, at any time before the passing of the act of indemnity, were thereby “discharged and made void.” Any one therefore who, with the fullest knowledge and most wilful defiance of the law, had imported slaves into these colonies from any other possession of the crown, might take shelter under this indulgent statute. But it was not thought enough to indemnify the criminals; parliament regarded them as entitled to favour, and seems to have reserved its whole indignation for those who should have been

been guilty of the crime of enforcing the abolition laws. The act directed, that if an action had been already commenced against any person for any such importation, the Court was not only, on the application of the defendant, to stay all proceedings, but was to award him *double costs*, which the presumptuous prosecutor was to pay. Still it may be imagined, that at least the slaves who, without the imputation of a fault, had been thus illegally transported from their native or adopted countries, were, by the justice of the British parliament, restored to their native homes. Not only is the criminal indemnified,—not only is his prosecutor punished, but, more singular still, the offender is protected in the enjoyment of the profits of his crime :—"It is enacted, that the said importations be, and be deemed valid and of due force in law." The legislature, however, adopted means to prevent the recurrence of the offence? For the honour of the British parliament, we wish we could answer in the affirmative. Listen, however, to the preamble of the third section : "Whereas it has been represented that there is in the Bahama islands, and on certain estates in the island of Dominica, a considerable quantity of land which from length of cultivation has become exhausted. And whereas it has in consequence become impossible for the proprietors of such lands to find profitable employment and subsistence for the negro slaves, who are their property and have hitherto been supported by cultivating the said land; and whereas it might tend to ameliorate the condition of the said negro slaves, if they could by law be transported to certain of His Majesty's possessions on the continent of South America, to which by law they cannot now be transported. Be it enacted," &c. Now we would ask those who are among the most forward (and no one can be too forward) to reprobate the wholesale transportations to Guiana which distinguished the later years of the French revolution, whether any of those acts of oppression were covered with a slighter pretext than this. It is not suggested that Dominica and the Bahama islands would not have afforded a maintenance for their population. The representation is, that profitable employment and subsistence could not be found; in other words, the master's profit is the single circumstance to be considered when the banishment for life of his slave is in question. The Dominica slave was no longer merchantable, nor capable of producing articles of a profitable commerce. What then? He could have cultivated his provision grounds; he could have reared cattle, pigs and poultry; he might have raised maize, bananas, plantains, and the various other indigenous products of the climate; he could have converted his native island, from an unprofitable sugar plantation, into farms capable of maintaining its own population in ease and abundance;

but *profitable* employment,—that is, employment yielding consignments to the planter in England—there was none, and the unoffending slave must therefore be carried to lands where his sinews and his spirit could be converted to some profitable use. The slaves, however, were to be imported with licenses to be granted by the king in council upon proof that they might be so transported without disadvantage to themselves, and bond was to be given to remove them in families. But whence was this proof to come? From the “proprietor:” and who was to check the truth of his statements, or to act as advocate for the absent slave? No one. Need it then be said, that this affected precaution was but a mockery? There is not an African slave trader, who, if his unopposed, uncontradicted, tale is to be received, will not prove that his victims are transported “without disadvantage to themselves.” And as to the bonds for moving the slaves in families, we would ask, What is meant by a *family*? Does it include a bosom friend, or betrothed wife, a decrepid mother, the orphan child of a brother, or a sister? does it include all lineals and all collaterals? And if not, what are the degrees excepted? Is the master to give bond for transporting those members of a family who are not his own property? Are the family to be sold together on their arrival in Demerara? In what penalty is the bond to be given? When, how, and by whom, is proof to be made that its conditions are complied with? To these questions the act affords no answer; and why? because they who drew it knew that the clause was not to be enforced, but was framed merely to give a colour to what was utterly indefensible and unjust.

We have dwelt upon this Act, the rather, because, in the first place, it affords a strong illustration of the danger of inattention to the proceedings of the enemies of the cause. We are quite certain that these clauses were not permitted to disgrace our statute-book with the assent of any one of the old steady friends of the abolition: we believe that they never heard of their existence till they learnt their effects. It is well known that many a law is passed “by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled,” of which, neither the Spiritual nor Temporal Lords nor Commons in Parliament are much more aware than is the Emperor of China. We are firmly persuaded that this was of the number.

Our second object is to urge the repeal of this law. We are well assured that if the case were distinctly laid before parliament, an Act so iniquitous could not for one moment be sustained. A disinclination to appeal to parliament with the urgency and reiteration which the magnitude of the occasion requires, may, we fear, be numbered among the errors of which the advocates of the cause of

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Africa have latterly been guilty. It only remains to notice the sequel of this violation of abolition principles. The legislature of the Bahama islands having refused for several years to imitate the example of the other colonies, by passing a registration act, it became impossible to make use of licenses which had been granted for the exportation of slaves from this colony to Demerara, since the certificate required by the general Slave Registration Act could not be procured. It might have been supposed that parliament would have judged it equitable to insist on the compliance of the legislature of the Bahamas, and would steadily have withheld from the proprietors in that colony, relief from the inconvenience to which their own contumacy exposed them. The legislature, however, judged otherwise: by the stat. 1 Geo. IV. c. 50, it was declared, that notwithstanding the want of a registrar of slaves in the Bahama islands, the persons on whose behalf licenses for the removal of slaves to Demerara had been granted before the 1st January 1819, might remove them accordingly.

The preceding narrative will afford a general view of what may be termed the English Abolition Code. Our space will not permit us at present to prosecute the subject further than by subjoining the following summary of these Acts. It is arranged in five distinct sections.

SECTION I.—PROHIBITORY REGULATIONS.

RULE I. § 1.

It is illegal to remove or assist in removing as a slave, or for the purpose of being dealt with as a slave, any person, *from any place whatsoever*, or to import or assist in importing any person for any such purpose *into any place whatsoever*. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1.

EXCEPTIONS.

1st. Slaves may be imported *from one British colony in the West Indies to any other British colony in the West Indies*. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 13. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 4. 59 Geo. III. c. 190. s. 11.

But in this case a bond must be given to His Majesty, and a license obtained from the governor or chief officer of customs of the exporting colony, and a certificate of importation from the chief officer of customs of the importing colony must be produced in the exporting colony, in the manner directed by the clauses above referred to. A certificate of registration must also be obtained from the registrar of the exporting colony, and produced to the chief officer of customs both of the exporting and importing colonies in the manner prescribed by the statute 59 Geo. III. c. 190. s. 11.

2d. Slaves may be imported into any of His Majesty's possessions on the continent of South America *from the Bahama islands and from Dominica*.

But in this case a license must be obtained from His Majesty in council, and

and bond must be given to remove the slaves in families, and a certificate of registration must be obtained from the registrar of slaves of the exporting colony, and produced to the chief officer of customs both of the exporting and importing colony in the manner prescribed by the statute 59 Geo. III. c. 120. s. 11.

3d. Slaves convicted in any British colony of *any transportable offence*, may be transported to any foreign colony. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 5.

But in this case a copy of the judgement, certified by the court before which the offender was convicted, is to be put on board the ship in which he may be transported.

4th. Slaves may be imported into any place where the importation entirely arises from stress of weather, peril of the sea, or other *inevitable accident*. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 5.

But in this case it is to be proved to the satisfaction of the court in which the forfeiture may be prosecuted, that the prohibited act entirely arose from some one of the above-mentioned circumstances, and the whole burden of proof is to lie on the defendant.

5th. The penalties of the Slave-Trade Felony Act are not incurred by the removal of slaves from one part of any British colony in the West Indies to *any other part of the same colony*, or from one part of any foreign colony to any other part of the same colony. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 4.

6th. The penalties of the Slave-Trade Felony Act are not incurred by importing slaves *into* any British colony in the West Indies which is *the place of their birth*, or into which they may have been at any former time lawfully brought. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 4.

7th. Slaves may be employed in *navigation, fishing*, or in their ordinary occupation on the seas. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 13. 58 Geo. III. c. 49. s. 5.

But the number of slaves employed in one boat or vessel are not to exceed those usually employed in navigating such vessels or boats; and if such sailors or fishermen are carried in any ship from any British colony to any foreign or British colony, their names and occupations are to be inserted in the clearance of the ship by the chief officer of customs of the port from which the vessel clears outwards, who shall certify that the slaves so carried were reported or described to him as seamen or fishermen.

The owner of any such mariners is also to obtain from the registrar of slaves of the exporting colony, the certificate required by the 59 Geo. III. c. 120. s. 12, which certificate is to be always on board the ship.

8th. Any slave who is truly the *domestic servant* of any person residing in any of His Majesty's dominions, may attend his owner or any part of his family by sea to any place whatever. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 13. 58 Geo. III. c. 49. s. 5. 59 Geo. III. c. 120. s. 12.

But the names of such slaves are to be inserted on the clearance, and such certificate is to be given by the chief officer of customs as is necessary with respect to seamen and fishermen. This clearance and certificate are not necessary for slaves attending on the person of any passenger on board, if the number of such attendants does not exceed two for every passenger. The master of every domestic

maestic slave is to obtain from the registrar of the exporting colony the certificate of registration required by the statute 59 Geo. III. c. 120. s. 12., which is to be produced to the registrar of slaves of the importing colony.

9th. The commander in chief, either by sea or land, in any territory under His Majesty's dominions, may order any slaves to be put on board any ship, in order to be employed in *His Majesty's military or naval service*. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 13.

RULE II. § 1.

It is unlawful to trade in; *to buy or sell, or to contract for* buying or selling, any slave or person who is to be dealt with as a slave, in the manner prohibited by the preceding Rule No. 1. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 1.

RULE III. § 1.

It is unlawful *to ship, or receive, or confine on board* any vessel, any person for the purpose of his being removed or imported, or dealt with as a slave, or to assist in any such act. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 3. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1.

RULE IV. § 1.

It is illegal to use or to permit the use of, or *to take to freight or to hire any vessel* which is to be employed in the removal, importation or exportation of slaves, or of persons to be dealt with as slaves. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1.

RULE V. § 1.

It is unlawful *to fit out, or to cause to be fitted out, or to command, or to navigate, or to enter* any vessel as master, captain, mate, supercargo, or surgeon, knowing that such vessel is employed, or is, in the same voyage on which the officer shall embark, intended to be employed, in the removal, importation or exportation of slaves, or of persons to be dealt with as slaves. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1.

RULE VI. § 1.

It is unlawful *to enter as a petty officer, servant, or seaman, on board any vessel* used or intended to be used in the removal, importation, or exportation of slaves, or of persons, to be dealt with as slaves, knowing that such is or shall be the purpose of the voyage. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 2.

RULE VII. § 1.

It is unlawful to *underwrite, or procure to be underwritten, any policy of insurance* on any ship, or goods, or on the freight of any ship employed or intended to be employed in the removal, importation, or exportation of slaves, or of persons to be dealt with as slaves. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 7. 47 Geo. III. c. 26. s. 5. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 2.

RULE VIII. § 1.

It is illegal to *employ any sum of money or any goods* in carrying slaves to any place under the dominion of any foreign power, or to any colonies surrendered during the late war, or to *lend money, or to become security* for any loan of money or goods, where it is known to the lender, or surety, that such money or goods are to be so employed, or to become security for any factor employed in the sale of slaves for the supply of any such foreign or conquered

conquered place, or colony, or to engage in any manner in supplying with slaves any such foreign place or conquered colony. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 6.

EXCEPTION.

All the nine cases which are stated as exceptions to the general Rule No. I.

§ 1. may probably be also regarded as exceptions to the 2d, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Rules. In other words, the acts prohibited by these rules are not illegal when done in any of those nine excepted cases.

RULE IX. § 1.

It is unlawful for any British *ship* or her crew to be *engaged* in or at Africa, or on the coast of Africa, in *supplying* with slaves *any foreign ship* or factory, or in so supplying any person concerned either on account of such ship or factory, or on account of any foreign country. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 8.

RULE X. § 1.

It is unlawful for *any foreign ship* employed, or intended to be employed, in the African slave trade, *to be fitted out* at or dispatched from any port in *His Majesty's dominions* for a voyage to Africa, whether that be the immediate place of destination, or not. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 9.

RULE XI. § 1.

It is unlawful to *put on board any foreign ship*, when destined directly or indirectly to Africa, at any port in His Majesty's dominions, *any goods* with intent that the same shall be there bartered for slaves or employed in the African slave trade. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 9.

SECTION II.—PENAL SANCTIONS.

RULE I. § 2.

All the penalties imposed by the several statutes, 46 Geo. III. c. 52, 47 Geo. III. c. 36, and 51 Geo. III. c. 23, may be enforced, although the last of these statutes has given the character of felony to many of the acts prohibited by the two former. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 7.

RULE II. § 2.

In case any person should be removed or exported as a slave, *in violation of the preceding Rule No. I. § 1*, the persons offending, and their abettors, are felons, and are liable to transportation for any term not exceeding fourteen years, or to imprisonment and hard labour for any term not exceeding five nor less than three years, at the discretion of the court. The offender is also liable to a penalty of 100*l.* sterling, for each slave unlawfully removed or transported, of which one moiety is to be paid to the king, and the other moiety to the informer. The slaves illegally imported are to be forfeited to the crown. The ship in which the slaves may be removed, with her boats, and furniture, are to be also forfeited to the king. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. § 3 & 4. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 3, 4.

RULE III. § 2.

If any person trades in slaves, or contracts for buying slaves, *in violation of the Rule No. II. § 1*, he will incur the penalty of 100*l.* on every slave purchased or agreed for. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 1.

RULE

RULE IV. § 2.

If any person is taken on board any ship for the purpose of being dealt with as a slave, in *contravention of the rule* No. III. § 1. the same penalties are incurred as are stated under the Rule No. II. § 2. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 3. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1.

RULE V. § 2.

If any person shall use, charter or hire a ship in *violation of the rule* No. IV. § 1. such person is guilty of felony, and liable to transportation or imprisonment to hard labour in the manner mentioned under Rule II. § 2. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1.

RULE VI. § 2.

If any person shall fit out, or navigate, or command, or enter any vessel in *violation of the Rule* No. V. § 1. such person is guilty of felony, and liable to transportation or imprisonment to hard labour in the manner mentioned under Rule II. § 2. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 1.

RULE VII. § 2.

If any person enters any slave-vessel as a petty officer, servant, or seaman, in *violation of the Rule* No. VI. § 1. such person is guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding 2 years. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 2.

RULE VIII. § 2.

If any person subscribes or procures the subscription of any policy of insurance in *violation of the Rule* No. VII. § 1. the insurance is void; the offender, if the importation is to take place into any foreign country, is to forfeit 500*l.*, in every other case the sum of 100*l.*, and treble the premium insured, and he is also liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding 2 years. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 7. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 5. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 2.

RULE IX. § 2.

Any person employing money or goods, or lending money, or becoming surety in the manner *prohibited by the Rule* No. VIII. § 1. is liable to a forfeiture of double the money or goods so lent or employed, and all securities so taken are void, except only in the hands of a *bona fide* holder for valuable consideration without notice. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 6.

RULE X. § 2.

If any British ship is engaged in supplying foreign ships or factories with slaves in the manner *prohibited by the Rule* No. IX. § 2. the vessel, her boats, and furniture, are liable to forfeiture, and the master is subject to a penalty of 100*l.* 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 8.

RULE XI. § 2.

If any foreign ship is fitted out at, or dispatched from, any port in His Majesty's dominions for a voyage to Africa, in *violation of the Rule* No. X. § 1. the vessel with her boats, furniture, and cargo, is liable to forfeiture; and the persons engaged in fitting out or dispatching the ship are liable to a penalty of 100*l.* 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 9.

RULE XII. § 2.

If any person shall put on board any foreign ship destined to Africa, any goods to be employed in the slave trade in *violation of the Rule* No. XI. § 1. the offender is liable to a penalty of 100*l.* 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 9.

SECTION III.—SUITS AND INDICTMENTS.

RULE I. § 3.

All actions, indictments; or informations, for the recovery of any of the penalties or forfeitures imposed by the 46 Geo. III. c. 52, and 47 Geo. III. c. 36, may be commenced and prosecuted at any time within 3 years after the offence committed. 53 Geo. III. c. 112.

RULE II. § 3.

All ships, slaves, and goods, which may be forfeited for any offence committed against the 46 Geo. III. c. 52, and 47 Geo. III. c. 36, may be seized by any officer of the customs or excise, or by the commanders or officers of any of His Majesty's ships of war, or by governors or commanders in chief of any settlements or factories belonging to the king or to the African Company in Africa, or in any African Island, or by any persons deputed by any such governor or commander in chief. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 18. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 14. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 8.

RULE III. § 3.

The pecuniary penalties and forfeitures imposed by the Foreign Slave Trade Act, and the General Slave Trade Abolition Act, may be recovered in any court of record in Great Britain, or in any court of record or vice-admiralty in any part of His Majesty's dominions where the offence was committed. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 17. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 13.

RULE IV. § 3.

In all cases of seizure of ships, slaves, or goods for any forfeiture under the two last-mentioned Acts, the same may be prosecuted and recovered in any court of record in Great Britain, or in any court of record or vice-admiralty in any part of His Majesty's dominions in or nearest to which the seizures may be made, or to which the ships or slaves may be most conveniently carried for trial. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 17. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 13.

RULE V. § 3.

The prosecutor may proceed at his election for these penalties and forfeitures either in the courts of admiralty or in the courts of record of the colonies. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 17. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 13. 4 Geo. III. c. 15.

RULE VI. § 3.

All offences against the General Slave Trade Abolition Act may be prosecuted as misdemeanors committed within the county of Middlesex. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 15.

RULE VII. § 3.

Defendants in any action brought for any thing done in pursuance of the 46 Geo. III. cap. 52, or 47 Geo. III. c. 36, may plead the general issue, and, if the plaintiff is nonsuited, shall recover treble costs. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 19. 17 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 18.

RULE VIII. § 3.

Felonies or misdemeanors against the Slave Trade Felony Act may be committed—either, 1st, in England—or, 2ndly, in some of His Majesty's colonies—or, 3dly, in any place on shore out of His Majesty's dominions other than the continent of Africa—or, 4thly, within the jurisdiction of the admiral—
or,

or, 5thly, on the coast of Africa beyond the limits of any of His Majesty's African colonies. In the 1st of these cases the trial must take place in England, either under the statute 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15, or under the statute 33 Hen. VIII. c. 23. In the 2nd and 3rd cases it may take place either in England under one or other of the two last-mentioned statutes, or in the colonies under the 11 and 12 Will. III. c. 7.—In the 4th and 5th cases it must take place either in England under one or other of the statutes 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15. and 33 Hen. VIII. c. 23, or in the colonies under the 46 Geo. III. c. 54. *vide* 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 6. 58 Geo. III. c. 98. 59 Geo. III. c. 97.

SECTION IV. — BOUNTIES AND ENCOURAGEMENTS.

RULE I. § 4.

Officers and others making and prosecuting seizures under the Abolition Acts, are to have the *benefit of the provisions* made by any act of parliament for the protection of officers seizing goods imported in violation of the laws of trade. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 18. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 14.

RULE II. § 4.

Forfeitures and penalties are to be *divided* between the governor, the seizing officer and the crown, in the same manner as *penalties* incurred for violations of the laws of trade. 46 Geo. III. c. 52. s. 17. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 13.

RULE III. § 4.

Ships of war, or privateers duly commissioned, capturing as *prize of war slaves* which are finally *condemned* to the crown, are entitled to bounties of 40*l.* for each man, 30*l.* for each woman, and 10*l.* for each child, delivered in good health to the proper officers, on producing the proper certificate from those officers. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 8 and 9.

RULE IV. § 4.

Commanders of His Majesty's ships *seizing slaves* which are *condemned* not as prize of war, but under the *Abolition Acts*, are entitled to 20*l.* for each man, 15*l.* for each woman, and 5*l.* for each child, on producing the proper certificate. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 11.

RULE V. § 4.

Persons prosecuting slaves seized and condemned to His Majesty not as prize of war, but under the *Abolition Acts*, are entitled to 13*l.* for each man, 10*l.* for each woman, and 3*l.* for each child, on producing the proper certificate; and the governor of the colony in which the seizure is made is to have similar bounties. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 11.

RULE VI. § 4.

Where any ships engaged in the slave trade in *violation of the conventions* with Spain, Portugal, or the Netherlands, shall be seized by any ship belonging to the king duly authorized to make seizures, one moiety of the proceeds in case of condemnation is payable to the captors, with a bounty of 10*l.* for each man, woman, and child, seized on board such ships and condemned. 1 & 2 Geo. IV. c. 99. s. 5.

RULE VII. § 4.

Ships forfeited under the Abolition Acts, or condemned by any Commission Court under the conventions with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, are

are *entitled to a certificate of registry* and all the privileges of British shipping, but subject to the same conditions as are in force with respect to ships condemned as prize of war. 54 Geo. III. c. 59. 1 & 2 Geo. IV. c. 99.

RULE VIII. § 4.

Petty officers or seamen on board slave ships *giving information* within three months after the arrival of such ships in port, that offenders dealing in slaves may be apprehended, are *not liable to any punishment*. If such information is given at any place out of His Majesty's dominions, to the king's ambassadors, envoys, &c., within the same time of three months, the informer is also discharged from all punishment; and the ambassadors or consuls are to transmit the information to one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state. 51 Geo. III. c. 23. s. 9.

SECTION V.—MANAGEMENT AND PROTECTION OF CAPTURED SLAVES.

RULE I. § 5.

During any prosecution of slaves under the Abolition Acts, the claimant is to place the slaves on shore; and should he neglect to supply them with sufficient maintenance during the proceedings, the governor may authorize the chief officer of the customs to supply proper food and necessaries until a definitive sentence:—the expenses to be a charge on the slaves, to be defrayed by the person receiving possession of them under the decree of the court. If the court directs further proof, and the claimant shall neglect to maintain the slaves, the court may direct them to be valued and delivered over as condemned to His Majesty. In the event of a decree in favour of the claimant, restitution is to be made to him,—not of the slaves themselves, but of the amount of the valuation, after deducting the charges of maintenance. A similar proceeding is to take place in the event of an appeal either by the captor or prosecutor, or by the claimant or defendant. The court may nevertheless award costs or damages against the captors or prosecutors. 55 Geo. III. c. 172.

RULE II. § 5.

Slaves illegally imported into His Majesty's dominions, and there sold or *kept in a state of slavery*, may be seized and prosecuted in the same manner as goods unlawfully imported under the laws of trade and navigation. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 4.

RULE III. § 5.

Slaves condemned to the crown, either as prize of war or as forfeited under the Abolition Acts, are forfeited for the purpose only of barring the title of all other persons, and *shall in no case be dealt with as slaves*. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 7.

RULE IV. § 5.

Such condemned slaves are to be either *enlisted* into the land or sea service, or *bound apprentices* for any term not exceeding fourteen years, subject to such regulations as the king may direct by any order in council; and after the term of apprenticeship has expired, the king in council may make regulations for their future disposal and support. 47 Geo. III. c. 36. s. 7.

ART. VI.—*House of Correction at Preston, Lancashire.*

THIS prison was erected in 1792: its plan does not therefore partake of some of the advantages which have since that period been introduced into gaols. There is no inspection; and the classification is not so complete as is desirable, especially among the females, who are often much crowded. The effects of these disadvantages in the construction of the building, however, are greatly counteracted by the general management, and especially by the spirit of industry that prevails throughout the prison. An idle hand is rarely to be found; and so conveniently is the prison situated, with regard to a market for labour, that the governor states, that if he had a thousand looms he should have no difficulty in finding work for them. There were, on a recent visit, one hundred and fifty looms in full work in the prison, from each of which the average weekly earnings are 5s. About 150 pieces of cotton goods, from twenty-four to forty yards each in length, are worked off per week. The particulars of the amount of earnings may be seen by the accounts annexed.

The supply of work is thus obtained: Three or four of the most respectable houses in Preston furnish the raw material, viz. the *wafsts* and *wrests*, which are received from the cotton spinners, and for which, after being regularly weighed out, the governor is responsible in case of deficiency. This responsibility gives him some preference in the market; and by the constant attendance of his turnkeys over the prisoners, he has the means of protecting himself against embezzlement or damage. The supply of work has as yet been unfailing. The next object is the machinery. Of the one hundred and fifty looms, a considerable portion are of the prisoners' own manufacture, made from timber purchased wholesale. On completing some late additions to the prison, the scaffolding timber was transferred to the carpenter's shop (a very busy department in the prison); and an additional number of good loom-frames were made out of it, which cost about 40s. each; but which would probably have cost 3*l.* or 4*l.* out of doors.

The hours of labour amount to about ten per day; but in winter, the time is shortened. In the winter quarter the prisoners do not work by candle-light. The work-shops surround the yards, in low buildings; a turnkey attends in each; and several prisoners are engaged as overlookers or instructors of the prisoners recently committed. In one month, an inexperienced workman will be able to earn the cost of his gaol allowance of food; and in two months he will become a good weaver. The noise of the shuttle prevents much intercourse, and the progress of the work requires the eye almost incessantly.

It

It is much to be wished that these work-rooms had been so constructed as to radiate from a centre of inspection, as there is great facility in seeing the countenances of a long range of prisoners directly through the frames of their looms. There were at this time one hundred and thirty-four men at the looms, twenty others winding and supplying bobbins; and of the females, twenty were at their looms, four winding, and thirty-two were seated in a close apartment, picking the waste cotton, which is the worst species of employment in the prison: a large collection of very depraved women, so disadvantageously employed, and exposed to the conversation which the silence of the employment itself almost invites, must be exceedingly corrupting. There are no better means of preventing this evil, than by the kind, gratuitous attendance of some benevolent females, who might alternately visit the prisoners, read to them the Scriptures, &c., and otherwise promote their moral and religious improvement.

The various domestic arrangements of the prison appear unexceptionable; the night-cells, the bedding, &c. are in great order; and the kitchen department (which supplies the whole prison) is conducted on a very efficient plan.

A considerable part of the building has been erected and completed by the labour of the prisoners,—the carpentry, the painting, and slating, being their own. There is an excellent mangle, which was made in the carpenter's shop, for the service of the laundry, in which are several women in full occupation.

The prisoners' share in the profit of their labour is one-half of their net earnings (which is equal to about one-fourth of their gross earnings), and which is paid on their discharge; but when they stand in actual need of necessities, as shoes, stockings &c., they receive a part at once.

The accounts are kept with admirable order and method, and the general state of the prison is such as to reflect the greatest credit on the humanity and intelligence of the governor.

Preston House of Correction.

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An Abstract of the printed Account of Earnings and Cost of Food, with the average Numbers of Prisoners in the House of Correction at Preston, for the Year ending 2d May, 1821.

Quarter ending	Average Number of Prisoners.	Total Cost of Food.	Total gross Amount of Earnings.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
13th July, 1820, being 13 weeks,	341	491 5 5½	540 8 5
19th October, being 14 weeks,	373	593 15 1½	641 10 0
10th Jan. 1821, being 12 weeks,	361	424 15 2½	389 0 0*
2d May being 16 weeks,	321	478 12 8	578 15 0
Average for the Year	349	1988 8 5½	2149 13 5

Appropriation of Earnings.

For the Year ending 2d May, 1821.	Amount paid the Governor, as Inspector, at 10 per cent.	£ 214 18 6
Gross Amount, as above.....£ 2149 13 5	Disbursements, including half of each prisoner's net earnings, paid them on their discharge.....	£ 536 5 10
	Balance, being clear profit to the county...	£ 1398 9 1
		£ 2149 13 5

The above sum has been actually earned by weaving and cleaning cotton. All white-washing, flagging, slating, painting; also carpenters', tailors', and labourers' work; making the shirts, shifts, &c.

* The prisoners do not work by candle-light, which occasions this diminished amount.

required

required in the prison, is done by the prisoners; but no account is rendered of such labour, although the county derives the whole profit of it.

Cost of a Week's Diet for each Prisoner, for Quarter ending July 1821.

	s.	d.
7 Loaves of bread, each weighing 20 oz. and costs 11s. 10d. for every 100 loaves	0	10½
1 Pound of Beef	0	4
¼ do. Stew, at 2d. per lb.	0	1½
2 do. Oatmeal, at 26s. per load, is nearly ...	0	2½
¼ do. Cheese, at 6d. per lb.	0	1½
¼ do. Salt, at 4d. per lb.	0	1
2 do. Potatoes, at 5s. per load of 240 lbs. ...	0	0½
Total per head weekly,		1 9½

ART. VII.—*Establishment of the School of Industry at Homel in Russia.*

THE establishment of this institution, for the ignorant and destitute children of the peasantry at Homel, in the government of Mogiloff, was one of those experiments which are considered as merely visionary schemes, until experience has placed their practicability beyond a doubt.

On the first introduction of the British system of education into Russia, Mr. Heard, an intelligent school master was sent out from England; but arriving at Homel*, the estate of Count Romanzoff, where the first school was to be established, an unforeseen obstacle presented itself: not more than thirty or forty boys could be collected in one village, and the villages were so distant from each other, as entirely to preclude the possibility of the children of one village attending the school of another. Count Romanzoff being informed that the advantages of the new system would not be conspicuous in a school of forty boys, and that two hundred would be necessary to display it to advantage, was quite at a loss how they were to be collected; and this circumstance seemed for a while to becloud Mr. Heard's prospects of success. Having, in his journeys through the different villages of the Count's estate, observed a number of children miserably ragged and dirty, begging from door to door,

* There are 17,000 male peasants on this estate, one town, and between eighty and ninety villages.

and being informed that they were orphans, who had no means of support but by soliciting charity, he conceived the benevolent plan of rescuing these poor little creatures from misery, ignorance, and vice, by the establishment of a school of industry, in which they might, by their own labour, contribute something towards their support. This plan was objected to by many, as being impracticable : the chief objection urged was, that the children, being accustomed to a life of vagrant idleness, could never be brought to contribute, in any material degree, toward their own support. But, fortunately, the two principal persons of the place were of a different opinion, and upon a proper statement being made to Count Romanzoff and General Derabin *, it was resolved to erect a large building for the accommodation of the boys ; and to inclose a considerable piece of land for a kitchen-garden, in which they were to labour during the summer season. The erection of the building necessarily occupied a considerable time, but the count granted Mr. Heard the use of the right wing of his own house, and he soon collected fifty boys from the villages : the barbarous rudeness of their manners corresponded with their miserable appearance ; the generality of them had long filthy hair swarming with vermin ; dirty faces, and tattered garments which scarcely covered their nakedness ; no shoes, no stockings ; their looks were expressive of hunger and misery. Such were they, and such would they have continued to be : accustomed to a wandering, idle, vicious life, and quite unfit to fill any useful station, they would have turned out pests to society, had they not thus been rescued from the abyss of misery by the benevolence of their noble master, who raised these miserable orphans to habits of industry, virtue, and happiness. About a fortnight afterwards, they were all neatly clothed, and on the 9th of December, 1818, the school was publicly opened, and consecrated according to the rites of the Greek church. The ragged little beggars were now metamorphosed into clean orderly scholars, who seemed to pride themselves not a little in their improved appearance. They had all by this time learned the alphabet, and some to write upon slates, and they performed the evolutions of the system to the admiration of the spectators, who began to be convinced that peasants, though slaves, are human beings. Mr. Heard's chief object in taking these fifty boys under instruction before the school-room was built, was to prepare them to act as monitors, and the rapidity with which they learned was truly astonishing. Their excessive natural stupidity had been urged as a reason for not attempting to instruct them ; but it now appeared that human nature is the

* General Derabin, a gentleman of eminent talents and liberal sentiments, had the entire management of the estate, the count being too infirm to take an active part. The general had been in England, and spoke English well.

same in every country and in all classes, and that the difference which we observe between the highly polished inhabitants of France, England, and other countries of Europe, and the barbarian, arises principally from education, habit, and example. Order was soon introduced into the new institution, and the children arranged into different classes of labour according to their age and strength; the eldest of the boys were appointed to be carpenters, shoemakers, or smiths, according to their own choice, while some of the younger and more feeble were employed in splitting the bark of the linden tree, others in plaiting it into shoes; some plaiting straw for hats, others preparing willows for making baskets, and some had learned to make fishing-nets. The hour of assembling in school during summer was seven in the morning, and they came out again at ten; three hours in the day being amply sufficient to teach them reading, writing, and the four first rules of arithmetic, in two years: from ten to eleven they were allowed to play; at eleven the dinner-bell rung, and they proceeded two-and-two to the dining-room, where grace was distinctly pronounced by the monitor of the day, whose duty it was to read to his companions, while eating their dinners, a portion of the holy scriptures. At twelve o'clock they arranged themselves in classes according to their employment, and proceeded to their different masters to work, from which they generally returned about eight in the evening; at nine they supped, and immediately after supper their names were called over by the monitor-general, and those absent marked down for inquiry the following day. This being done, and the Evening Hymn sung by them, they retired to rest. Eight months after the opening of the school, more than sixty children went in procession to their benefactor, Count Romanzoff; dressed in clothes and shoes of their own making. His Excellency, on this occasion, ordered them a better dinner than usual, and promised to partake of it with them; which promise he fulfilled, to the inexpressible pleasure of the poor children. From this time, the institution continued to prosper, and even those who had opposed joined in praising it; the children made rapid progress both in learning and their trades, and became cheerful, obliging, and industrious.

A strict observance of the sabbath was not forgotten in the institution, and that part of the day not spent in church was appropriated to reading extracts from the holy scriptures.

By means of the school at Homel, the British system of education spread to Poland, where hitherto the strongest prejudices had existed against instructing the peasantry. Mr. Radovitch, a young man of an amiable disposition, was sent by the university of Vilno to study the system, which he did with the greatest assiduity; and soon after his return, three schools were established for the poor

poor, upon this plan; and, according to the last accounts from thence, they were actively employed in the establishment of more.

In April 1821, the school at Homel being completely established, and a plan laid down for extending the means of instruction to all the villages of the count's estate, Mr. Heard left Homel to return to England; and in giving this interesting narrative he adds, "Never shall I forget the artless demonstrations of sorrow and affection which were manifested by the children at my departure. The little fellows waited more than two hours in the court before the school, to bid me farewell; and not a few shed tears, and followed me with their eyes until I was quite out of sight. O, may He who careth for the poor and the fatherless continue his protection over these poor orphans, and incline the heart of their master and benefactor to persevere in the good work which he has begun, until the amelioration in the condition and morals of the peasantry shall prove the advantages of an industrious and moral education!"

ART. VIII.—*Prison Labour.*

THE laudable exertions which have been recently made by the magistracy throughout the kingdom, to introduce labour into prisons are highly gratifying; and in the manufacturing counties, where there are fewer difficulties in this respect than in other districts, the employment of prisoners has been carried on at a considerable profit. The following particulars will furnish the reader with a general idea of the trades and occupations at which prisoners have been employed.

At the new house of correction at Bedford, very considerable alterations and additions are making, and a stepping mill is building, in which the prisoners are to be employed, in separate classes. In the county gaol also, employment is provided by the establishment of a mill.

The employment of the prisoners at Knutsford is very various and considerable; viz. weaving of woollen, silk, and cotton articles, blankets and druggets; tailoring, shoe-making, joinering, loom-making, coopering, whitewashing, painting, nail-making, bricklaying, masonry, blacksmith's-work, straw-mattress and chip-hat making. At this prison, the net earnings, from 25th December 1820 to 25th March 1821, (for which period the average number in confinement amounted to 125 daily,) were 196*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*, the cost of food 167*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*,—being a clear profit to the county, beyond the cost of food, of 28*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

At Bodmin, the prisoners are employed in threshing and grinding corn, sawing and polishing stones for chimney-pieces, tomb-stones,

&c.; also in making clothing, shoes, and blankets. The females are employed in spinning and knitting; making, mending, and washing clothes for the service of the prison.

The county house of correction at Exeter, although deficient in space for accommodation, presents a gratifying scene of systematic industry. The prisoners are employed in sawing, grinding, smoothing, and polishing marble. Vases are turned, and beautiful specimens of chimney-pieces executed. The flax manufactory also in this prison is well-managed, and carried on from the first process of dressing the dried vegetable to that of weaving it. To this manufacture those prisoners are placed who are committed for long periods of confinement: those for shorter terms are employed at dressing hemp. This process is carried on by means of a bruising-mill, which is worked by the manual labour of twelve men in a set. Vagrants are also kept at hard labour. The women are fully employed in washing, making, and mending, the prison clothing.

At Durham gaol, weaving, spinning, beating flax, and making door mats, are the general employments.

At Chelmsford county house of correction, a master-weaver is employed by the county to teach some of the prisoners to weave coarse linens. A corn-mill has been erected, at which the prisoners work in companies of twenty at a time. Shoemaking, spinning, and weaving, have also been introduced.

At Gloucester, a mill has also recently been erected, and there is a forcing-pump, worked by a tread-wheel. The prisoners weave and manufacture cloth, sacking, saddle-girths, towels, and stockings.

At Winchester house of correction, two corn-mills are in daily operation, which employ twenty-eight men at one time. The convicts' dresses and shoes are made in the prison; and the women card and spin, and make the clothing.

At Hereford penitentiary, a corn-mill has been built; and the prisoners are employed in making clothing, shoes, bedding, and in the manufacture of bags, for sale, from the raw material.

At Lancaster Castle, from thirty-eight to fifty pieces of Manchester cottons are worked off per week. The amount of earnings for the last year is stated to be 860*l*.

At the Manchester New Bailey, weaving is the general employment of the prison. The amount of earnings, up to July 1820, for one year, amounted to 2056*l*. 6*s*. 10*d*.

Preston house of correction is justly distinguished by the industry which prevails.

At Leicester county house of correction, the employments are grinding corn, carding wool, spinning, and a stocking manufactory.

At Boston, the prisoners are employed in the manufacture of worsted, and the grinding of corn.

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At the Millbank penitentiary, a mill has been erected for grinding corn consumed in the establishment; also a machine for raising water; and another mill, with a similar machine, is to be erected, for the employment of other prisoners, in a distinct part of the building. The amount of the prisoners' earnings, during the last year, was 4047*l.* 4*s.*

At Shrewsbury, a mill has been erected, which employs eighteen men at one time, and the prisoners change this labour three times in the day; the remaining prisoners are employed in weaving laces, making list shoes, &c. The female prisoners are employed in baking, washing, spinning, knitting stockings and gloves, also making the sheets and wearing-apparel consumed in the gaol.

At Stafford, all the prisoners, excepting those before trial, are employed in dressing flax, spinning, weaving cloth for prison clothing, rugs, blankets, knitting stockings, heading pins for the Birmingham manufacturers, shoemaking, tailoring, and grinding corn.

At Lewes house of correction, the prisoners are employed in dressing flax and beating hemp.

In the house of correction at Warwick, work appears to be carried on with much spirit. The mill for grinding corn employs twenty men or upwards, and from a bakehouse adjoining supplies of excellent bread are regularly conveyed to this and the county gaol, and the saving to the county from this alone is estimated at some hundreds of pounds per annum. Wire-drawing is carried on, and the prisoners perform the whole process. They are also employed in a woollen manufacture, which is very successful. Rugs, blankets, horse-cloths, carpets, girths, and other coarse articles are also made. The females are chiefly employed in spinning and carding wool.

At Devizes, some of the prisoners, in their working-cells are employed in knitting their own stockings, making gloves, shoes, straw hats, weaving shirting, blanketing, and cloth. Another class of prisoners is employed at various kinds of work for the use of the prison—tailoring, shoemaking, &c. There is a corn-mill, at which sixteen men work at one time.

At Worcester county gaol, the system of employment is admirable. Every article of dress worn by the prisoners here is made from the raw material: sacking and bags are the only articles made for sale. Much corn is ground here; and so excellent have been the effects of the mill, that the magistrates are about to erect another.

At Wakefield, and Beverley, the prisoners have been fully employed on the extensive works carried on in the new houses of correction at those places.

At Northleach, Gosport, Huntingdon, and Louth, mills have been erected for the purpose of employing the prisoners, although not on the tread-wheel system.

REVIEW OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ART. IX.—*A Voyage to Africa; including a Narrative of an Embassy to one of the interior Kingdoms (Ashantee), in the year 1820: by WILLIAM HUTTON.*

MR. BOWDICH'S book, relative to the Ashantees, though written with considerable vigour, showed too young and arrogant a spirit, to secure the attention and credit to which the general accuracy of its information now seems deservedly to entitle it. The writer of the present narrative,—a person of a more subdued temperament, placed in nearly the same circumstances, engaged in nearly the same occupations, and encountering nearly the same impediments, persons, and places,—confirms, with very few exceptions, his predecessor's descriptions, and scarcely casts a doubt upon any of them. The youthful eyes of Mr. Bowdich were dazzled by the glare and gilding of the Ashantee court, and saw rather more splendour than met the steadier gaze and more practised vision of his successor. The glow and colouring of the first artist is sobered by the quieter pencil of the second; but the picture remains essentially the same.

Our readers generally, it may be presumed, are not very familiar with the state of the British settlements on the Gold Coast. Since the abandonment of the slave trade, they have fallen into comparative insignificance. As establishments merely subservient to the advantages of a trading company, and that of inferior importance, they excite no general interest: it is only when coupled with the great object of African civilization, that they present any title to public consideration. In this momentous view, nothing is insignificant; though altogether incapable, in their present constitution, of advancing the great purposes of the friends of humanity, they may possibly be converted into very useful instruments. In their origin, nothing was thought of but the advantages of trade, and therefore we are not entitled to complain of their being incompetent to the production of effects which were never contemplated. These settlements, or rather forts and factories, were established for the promotion and protection of the slave trade;—gold, and gum, and ivory were very inferior objects. They extended along the line of the Gold Coast, a length of 250 or 300 miles, and have varied, in number and position, according to the exigency of circumstances. When the main branch of the African trade was abandoned, these forts still subsisted. Public establishments are indeed not always reducible in exact proportion as the necessity for them diminishes: in the present case, we believe, at the time, there was no attempt whatever at reduction. The expense attending

tending the maintenance of these forts soon exceeded the profits of all the trade now transacted through the agency of the factors ;— they were, however, a source of petty patronage, and not hastily to be rejected : the several governments therefore continued to be placed in the hands of needy adventurers, whose management corresponded with what was naturally to be expected, and exhibited an odious course of corruption and imbecility. Expense, instead of being lessened as the occasion lessened, increased year by year, till the profusion became too remarkable to be longer suffered with impunity. The African committee in 1820 was at length annihilated ; the forts were reduced from eight to four ; and, under the general controul of the Board of Trade, were subjected to the immediate orders of the commander in chief at Sierra Leone. This reform, so far as it goes, is advantageous ; the expense will be at once lessened, and the trade no doubt will be equally well protected : in the opinion of some, the trade would be as well conducted without the forts as with them. We would, however, have them by all means retained ; they are favourable points, at least some of them, for establishments of a different description ; and it is always easier, in things of this kind, to convert than to create.

Some time before the extinction of the African committee,— which, it is known, consisted of nine members, merchants of the three principal British ports,—it was considered desirable to send an embassy to the chief of the Ashantees,—a tribe of ferocious savages, situated on the rear of the Gold Coast settlements,—and, if possible, conciliate his good-will and friendship. Under the direction of their secretary, Mr. Cock, a gentleman of high respectability, and apparently the only efficient person of the committee, the arrangements were made, and the embassy dispatched in 1817. In this embassy, Mr. Bowdich held a subaltern appointment, and in the vigour of his mettle usurped the quality and office of his superior. On his return to England, he published a defence of his conduct, and an agreeable but highly coloured account of the progress of the undertaking. The objects of this mission had been, generally, to promote the intercourse of Cape Coast Castle (the principal of the British forts) with the interior, by means of a resident at Coumassie, the capital of Ashantee. The partial success of this embassy was very short-lived ; the Ashantees went to war ; Coumassie was in a manner abandoned ; the new resident, Mr. Hutchinson, returned to Cape Coast ; and things reverted to their original state without further diplomatic communication. Soon afterwards, some of the king's agents were treated with great insolence by the natives of Cape Coast Town and Commanda, (places in the neighbourhood of our forts,) which the king chose to consider as under the dominion of those forts, and demanded satisfaction of the
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the governors for the insult. This was refused, on the ground of the novelty of the demand. The necessity, however, of some arrangement of this matter being made, concurring with the wishes of the African committee, to renew their attempts to effect a further intercourse with Coumassie, they determined to send another embassy; and Mr. Dupuis, a person of great experience in African affairs, was appointed consul and chief of this second mission. Mr. Hutton was named a sort of *charge d'affaires*, to step into Mr. Dupuis' shoes, in case of accident to that gentleman. Three or four other persons, factors and writers of Cape Coast, constituted the *cortège* of this imposing embassy; and furnished with a set of presents—some of them most injudiciously selected—the party proceeded. They were, however, conveyed and escorted by an assemblage of between three and four hundred Ashantees, granted them as a guard of honour by the king's nephew, who had just before arrived, with a considerable force, in the vicinity of Cape Coast, to arrange the point of satisfaction. The distance to Coumassie is about 140 miles: the journey was completed, and the party admitted to a first audience in about three weeks from the day of their departure from the fort; they were received with abundance of preparation and display; the crooms, or villages, (collections of mud buildings,) were emptied of their contents, and the natives driven together, to add to the rude solemnity and barbarous splendour of the court; caboceers, pynims and warriors, the king and his nobles, all gold and silk, feathers and bones—no wonder Mr. Bowdich's head had turned a little at the bewildering spectacle. At different interviews, the ambassador stated his proposals, which (independently of the matter of satisfaction, which the king insisted on being entirely separated from the business of the embassy,) consisted chiefly of a request for an English resident at Coumassie, which was acceded to with great readiness; and a permission to establish a school and factory at Paintrey, a croom in the line—road there is none—to Coumassie, 19 miles from the coast, enforced by the usual persuasive of a monthly allowance of an ounce or two of gold, and the assurance of the utility of such an establishment to the Ashantee traders. But this proposal was rejected without ceremony or debate—his sable majesty suspecting no good could be intended, nor any advantage be gained, by admitting strangers into the heart of his dominions. The party were therefore dismissed, with the main objects of their mission unaccomplished: the king of Ashantee sent with them some of the chiefs of his court, to be conveyed with a return of presents to the king of England; but owing to some misunderstanding between the head of the embassy and the governor of Cape Coast, or some mal-arrangement, a passage was refused them by sir George Collier; and

and they returned disappointed to Coumassie, to make their own report. Thus the objects of the embassy, important or otherwise, appear to have been defeated, chiefly through the want,—no uncommon occurrence,—of a little vulgar wisdom and official union. The probable effect of this repulse will by and by be an invasion of the fort by the Ashantees, and the whole of the establishment will be swept away by a torrent of ruthless barbarians.

The author's account of this embassy is preceded by a hasty sketch of his voyage from England to Goree; his journey with Major Peddie to Senegal, with whom he engaged to act as secretary in the expedition then preparing for the interior, at a great and absurd expense*, and from whom he separated on a pecuniary dispute; and his voyage from Senegal to Cape Coast, including a slender description of the settlements of different European powers, and brief accounts of two or three native kingdoms, between Goree and Cape Coast. To complete his review of the line of coast eastward as far as the Gaboon, and of the small islands which lie parallel to the coast, at the distance of two or three days sail, he gives, we presume, his recollections, having been long in the African service, made several voyages, and visited most of these places at different periods.

So much for the general contents of Mr. Hutton's book, and the state of affairs on the Gold Coast. We may now turn to what will be more peculiarly interesting to the readers of this journal,—the civilization of Africa. Mr. Hutton's intercourse with this devoted country has been frequent and familiar; and his opportunities of forming an opinion on the best mode of promoting the designs of humanity not inconsiderable. The sentiments expressed in his book are of a humane and manly cast: the long observance of the negro form has not seduced him to look with scorn on human degradation, nor to regard the means of amelioration with an ignorant and thoughtless contempt. He has not carelessly meditated on the measures that are most likely to contribute to this desirable object: the hints of such a man therefore are not to be lightly regarded. He has not drawn up any distinct and detailed plan; but collectively his suggestions amount to this—That colonies should be planted in certain positions, some of the most favourable of which are pointed out, and among them some of the present factories—after the manner, we suppose, of the Sierra Leone establishments;—and that two of the islands, Fernando Po and Annabona, be taken possession of as dépôts for a naval force; the former particularly, the harbours of which are excellent. The colonies are to operate by example, encouragement, and instruction; the naval

* Not less than 50,000*l.* H.

force to be employed in cruising along these latitudes—the chief seat of the slave trade—and capturing the vessels concerned in that traffic. These suggestions are of the same cast as those of Robertson and M^cQueen; but the more those who are personally acquainted with these countries concur, the more attention do they naturally demand. At present, the scheme is unquestionably no very practicable one; so many people of different nations are interested in the trade, and so little reliance, we fear, is to be placed on the governments of these nations. With the Portuguese and Spaniards we have a right to remonstrate sharply, and to insist on the fulfilment of their bargains; not less than a million was prospectively paid to them by this country, as an indemnity for the loss to be sustained in withdrawing their capital from this profitable and humane pursuit. With these nations too, and the Dutch, there exists a right of mutual search, which is however continually defeated by the inefficacy of the arrangements which regulate this right, but which surely might easily be made more efficient. With France and America the concession of mutual search might be urged with more persevering seriousness. The greatest opposition is to be looked for from France. According to sir George Collier, the French are by far the greatest traders both in eastern and western Africa, and the most protected by their own Government. The right of search, it is evident, must first be mutually conceded by every power, or no hope of final success can be entertained. With this concession, we might effect the utter extinction of the trade. It would be idle to wait for co-operation. It is obvious, that nothing short of a force capable of scouring the African seas will do;—we have the means, and ought to employ it. The hazard must exceed all chance of profit, before the trader will be deterred from the pursuit of it. Prohibitory laws are useless, unless they can be enforced; appeals to humanity—reliance on the better feelings of men, where the very principle of humanity is renounced, are mockeries. Expense is not, ought not, to be regarded, where such expense would be efficient; nor is the cost to be contemplated as interminable: two or three years actively employed, would smother all hope of success, and the trade be abandoned in despair as a luckless and unprofitable speculation; their capital would be turned into other channels; the countries now cultivated by slaves, no longer depending on fresh importations, would cherish their present gangs (when shall we be warranted in using a more decorous expression?); their emancipation might gradually proceed; and sugar, coffee, cotton and tobacco, like other boons of the earth, be at last produced by free, hired, and independent labourers.

So far as the African chiefs are excited to war and plunder by
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the hope of profit from the captives, the total ruin of the trade would go directly to further the civilization of the country, by removing the temptation to war. But it has always been affirmed by the interested parties, that profit was not a cause of these wars; but that there were other causes, operating in the breast of Africans with the steadiness of laws of nature,—revenge, retaliation, the desire of heaping victims for the celebration of funerals.

“His majesty the king of Ashantee,” says Mr. Hutton, “expressed a desire to have the slave trade re-established; and on being told it was impossible, as the king and parliament of England would never consent to such an inhuman traffic, he expressed his regret, and said that the embassy would have given him more pleasure, if the slave trade were again permitted. In reply to an observation that one great objection to the slave trade originated from a belief, that it encouraged the different chiefs to go to war for the purpose of making prisoners to sell to the slave dealers, the king denied that such was the fact, observing, as a proof to the contrary, that since the abolition there had been constant fighting.” 260.

But while he renounces profit as the cause of war, he wishes for the re-establishment of the trade; and for what conceivable purpose but that of gain? Though multitudes of these captives, through the obstacles which the sale encounters, do become victims, yet it is notorious, that the trade is still carried on to a very great extent; and it may well be believed, that profit would outweigh the pride of sepulchral splendour, that the king would more readily sell the rest of his captives than sacrifice them. Besides, a tax on slaves purchased for the coast still forms a material branch of his revenue. 330.

Effect the destruction of the trade,—and if America and the different European powers would concur, or were only sincere in their professions, that might be accomplished by vigour and activity in a comparatively short time;—and the way would be open for African civilization. Then let the attention of the British Government be turned to the establishment of colonies: these must be of a respectable character: all that the Africans have hitherto seen of the English has been little calculated to elevate their opinion of our character, or win their affection, whatever respect they may entertain for our power. Till within these few years, we have ourselves been the most active in the traffic, which we now profess to abhor. To the injured and unenlightened African the very change of sentiment must be suspicious;—gain has hitherto been obviously our sole object, and he will naturally think that to be our sole object still. He will think that we have only changed the means, and that our purpose remains unalterably the same,—to be effected by conquest, instead of kidnapping and trafficking. Many of our countrymen are still, it is very probable, engaged under other flags,
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in this detestable commerce. Therefore these colonies, if ever they should be established, must be, we repeat, of a respectable character; they must be of a peaceable cast,—farmers, labourers, artisans, &c. But we will give Mr. Hutton's too brief account of the present state of Sierra Leone, from which we shall see how successfully that colony is advancing in the accomplishment of its grand object; and then we will allow him also to express in his own words, his more detailed opinions on the measures to be adopted, if the projected establishment at Paintrey proceed.

"During my stay at Sierra Leone, I witnessed His Excellency's (Sir Chas. McCarthy) great attention to the discharge of his various public duties; and on one occasion I had the honour of riding into the country, as far as Regent's Town, in company with His Excellency, to lay the foundation-stone of one of the public buildings there. Among other improvements in this colony, may be mentioned the markets, the prison, the court-house, the police, the hospital, and the establishment of a gazette. But these improvements are trifling in comparison with the education of so many of the natives. In riding up the mountains, I met nearly 200 children, and was highly gratified to see them so neatly dressed, and so correct in demeanour. The inhabitants daily solicit admission for their children into the schools. Many hundreds are annually instructed to read and write, and the girls are taught to sew. The eldest boys are instructed in mechanics during certain hours in the day, which do not interfere with their scholastic (school) duties. The streets are broad and well-arranged, but the houses, generally, are built of wood, and raised about half a foot or more from the ground, so as to let the water, during the rainy season, pass under them. These houses, indeed, differ in one particular from any other that I have seen, in being moveable from one part of the town to the other; and I was surprised when I first saw about 300 men, all in a body, moving along with a house upon their heads and shoulders. These men were principally Krew men (inhabitants of Settra Krew), who go to Sierra Leone and other places for work, although their own country is at least 400 or 500 miles distant."

This is all of any importance that Mr. Hutton gives of Sierra Leone and its establishments; but it is highly gratifying, and proves how much may be accomplished by judicious management.

"If the king of Ashantee can ultimately be prevailed upon to allow factories to be established at Paintrey, the gentlemen at Cape Coast would find this a delightful country retreat, as they could ride out one day, and return the next; which, from experience, I am convinced would contribute greatly to their health, during their residence in Africa. Indeed, if a good road were once cut, the merchants and officers at Cape Coast might ride to Paintrey in their carriages. This, as well as being a great improvement, would act as an example to the natives, and the Ashantes in particular, who visit the coast, to keep the paths open, and make similar improvements throughout the country.

"As His Majesty's Government have now taken the forts from the African Committee, I am induced to recommend their attention to this part of Africa, particularly as a free and open communication might so easily be made all the

the way to Paintrey; between which and Cape Coast an extensive field is open for cultivation and civilization. I say cultivation and civilization, because I am decidedly of opinion, that to civilize the natives of Africa, we must first show them how to cultivate the country, by employing a number of persons expressly for this purpose, when the incredulous and ignorant negro will be convinced of the advantages which will result from industry, and civilization will then follow as a matter of course. I conceive it would be an object of great importance to establish a missionary or a school-master at Paintrey, as the situation is desirable; it being only nine hours ride from Cape Coast; the town pleasantly situated, and the people peaceable, cleanly and well-behaved.

"In short, here is all that can reasonably be desired in a country like Africa, and no country is better provided for by nature. On the sea coast there is an abundant supply of fish of almost every description; great quantities of which are dried and conveyed into the interior; and there is no want of poultry, sheep, hogs, and goats, although in some parts there is a scarcity of bullocks, and in this part of Africa, in particular, there is not a horse to be procured. But the country spontaneously produces the most delicious fruits, consisting of pine-apples, oranges, guavas, paupaus, bananas, sugar-apples, sour-soups, &c.; besides game of almost all descriptions, such as deer, bush-hogs, hares, partridges, wild-ducks, pigeons, &c.; and there is no want of beautiful lakes and rivers to refresh the soil. Neither is there any want of rain for nearly six months in the year. It has also been proved that the soil is capable of producing the choicest vegetables. In a word, there can be no doubt that, by cultivation and industry, our settlements in this part of Africa may not only be the means of civilizing the natives, but also become as valuable to our nation as any of our colonial possessions.

"I would suggest, on the transfer of the African forts to His Majesty, that at least from fifty to one hundred persons of different descriptions, such as farmers, mechanics, and labourers, be sent out to our head-quarters at Cape Coast, to be distributed and disposed of at Coumassie, and in various parts of the country, as the governor-in-chief shall think most advisable. And as it is understood that our affairs in that country are in future to be under the command and direction of Sir Charles McCarthy, the governor of Sierra Leone, if we may judge from the advantages which have resulted to that colony from the wisdom and humanity which have characterized His Excellency's measures during his late government there, we may hope for the most beneficial effects from the new arrangement which has taken place;—not that, in making this observation, I would wish to be understood as reflecting in the slightest degree upon the measures of the present chief-governor, who, I have already stated, has made many excellent improvements.

"Should I be told that there are many mechanics and labourers sufficient at Cape Coast, I deny that there are enough, and those who are there are only Company's slaves, who have been very imperfectly taught. There are, however, neither farmers nor turners, who are highly necessary. For example, among the presents for the king of Ashantee was a turning lathe; but what was the use of it without a mechanic who perfectly understood how to work it? If indeed such a person had accompanied the embassy, the Ashantees might then have been taught to turn ivory, and the king would have been able with greater facility to have carried into effect his grand design of
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building a palace, the door-posts and pillars of which were to be of ivory, and the windows and doors to be cased in gold." 147—152.

Mr. Hutton believes that a considerable check may be given to the wanton sacrifice of life, by a direct representation to the chief of the Ashantees, in the name of the king of England, expressive of his displeasure, and backed by presents, with the assurance of his continued friendship, if he refrain from such barbarities. Nay he thinks, that much good was actually done by the first embassy, when our horror at the executions was very strongly expressed. At least, no cruelties were exhibited in the presence of the second embassy, either for their entertainment, or for the display of the chief's unresisted despotism. The Moors Mr. H. affirms to be as hostile to these barbarities as ourselves, and are ready to second our representations. But how is this singular alliance to be brought about?

"The most effectual arguments, which I conceive could be urged to the king of Ashantee, to abolish human sacrifices (and which I have no doubt would be successful, at least in reducing the number of victims, if it did not remove the practice altogether,) are the following : *First*, that the sacrifice of so many people gives great offence to the king of England, who is surprised that the king of Ashantee, of whom he has heard a high character in other respects, should consent to the immolation of so many of his subjects, this being contrary to humanity, and to his own interest and happiness as a great king. It should also be represented that the life of the meanest subject of the king of England is as sacred as his own, and that he cannot himself injure any individual with impunity. At the same time, it would have great influence with his sable majesty, if a portrait of our sovereign were sent out with this message,—that the king of England, on being informed of the king of Ashantee and his captains having taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain, and that no human sacrifices were allowed during the visit of the late embassy, was so well pleased that he had directed, among other presents, a portrait of himself to be sent to the king, as a mark of his approbation of the great improvement in the manners and customs of the Ashantee Court since the visit of the former mission.—A message to this effect would no doubt have great influence with the king of Ashantee, who has the greatest reverence for the name of the king of England. A portrait, therefore, coming directly from His Majesty in this way, accompanied by other presents, would most probably be successful. *Secondly*, as an additional inducement to the king of Ashantee to comply with our wishes, an offer should be made to double the amount of the pay he annually receives from the forts, which is only 288*l*. And what is this sum annually to our Government, in consideration of the humane object of saving the lives of so many human beings, as well as the advantages which must, in every point of view, result to the nation from our connexion with so powerful a monarch? *Thirdly*, it might be urged to the king, that in sacrificing so many of his people he weakens his own power, and destroys those who might otherwise be of the greatest service to him in battle, or in clearing and cultivating the ground, and making a road to Cape Coast, which His Majesty has promised to do; and it might also be added, that

that a compliance with the king of England's wishes, would always secure His Majesty's friendship and good-will for the king of Ashantee: but if human sacrifices were continued, His Britannic Majesty could not any longer continue his friendship, or allow his officers to visit Ashantee again."

If barbarity can be checked by such influence, in the name of humanity, let that of the king of Great Britain be so employed! Let all practicable means be put into execution: The object is divine. Repress the traffic in human blood by force; this is the first step. Establish colonies at favourable points; that is the second. Let the colonists be of an industrious and peaceable character; let missionaries judiciously selected be sent out,—then, with the blessing of God upon their persevering efforts and kind sympathies, superstition, grossness, and barbarity, will retreat before their labours, as the shades of night before the advancing sun.

We cannot suffer a flippant remark of Mr. Hutton's,—the only one in the book to be sure,—to pass without reprobation. In speaking of the improvements made at Cape Coast by the governor, he censures him for allowing an old fetish tree (*i.e.* a consecrated object) to stand in the way of some changes which he thinks desirable. "I can see no sufficient reasons why the improvement of the town should be prevented by a fetish tree, when the natives have so many other places to worship their wooden gods." Let Mr. Hutton consider the feelings that would be roused in catholic countries by the cutting down of a cross by the road side; or in his own by the wanton removal, or the overthrow, of a tomb-stone. Let their superstitions for the present be respected: better information will wear out these feelings of reverence for 'vain things that cannot profit,' while insult will only impress them the deeper.

ART. X.—"*Théorie des Peines et des Récompenses, par M. J. Bentham; rédigée en François, d'après les Manuscrits, par M. E. Dumont.*"

"*QUAND un Anglois et un François pensent de même, il faut bien qu'ils aient raison;*" "When an Englishman and a Frenchman think the same, they must be in the right," says a witty philosopher. If there be any truth in this observation, it is a presumptive argument in favour of the work now before us,—the work of an Englishman given to the world by a Frenchman, who not only think the same on one subject, and for one moment, but for a long series of years, and on all the points of a complicated and extensive system. M. Dumont, the editor of Mr. Bentham's works, evidently is a man of a philosophical and profound understanding: he writes in such a lively and elegant, and yet in such an accurate style,

style, that he might be secure of success and celebrity in any line of literature. But, impressed as it appears with a conviction that he could do more important service to mankind by making known to the world Mr. Bentham's writings, than by any composition of his own, he generously devoted himself to this object. He undertook a most laborious task, attended with peculiar difficulties—difficulties which to almost any other person would have seemed, and would not only have seemed but would have been, insuperable. When Mr. Bentham's manuscripts were confided to the care of M. Dumont, he found them (as he informs us in his preface) in a state utterly unfit for publication. In some parts the sense was so compressed as to be scarcely intelligible, except to an adept; in other places there were only a few notes or hints to supply the connexion, whole chapters were wanting, and the author was little disposed to afford assistance in supplying these deficiencies. His mind leading him to new things, he was averse from the retrograde labour of revision. Besides, whatever he had done never appeared to him worthy of himself or of the public; so that in all probability many of his works would never have been known to the world, if they had not been brought to light and life by his able and zealous friend. It was most fortunate for the author and for the public, that he found an editor in whom he could entirely confide, and who completely justified his confidence. Fully possessed of his system, and master of the art of writing, M. Dumont dilated what was compressed, explained what was obscure, supplied all that was deficient, and gave to this translation, or rather to this illustration, of Mr. Bentham's works, all the ease and freedom of an original composition; preserving in every part such a perfect unity of design, that we can hardly believe it to be the production of two minds.

In the year 1802 first appeared the "*Traité de Législation civile et pénale, par M. J. Bentham, Jurisconsulte Anglois, publiés en François par E. Dumont, d'après les Manuscrits confiés par l'Auteur.*" At that time Mr. Bentham's name was little known on the continent: but his editor had the satisfaction to find that his own high opinion of the work was supported by the judgement of the foreign public; and in his main object, in his hope of diffusing widely the useful knowledge it contained, he was fully gratified. In a much shorter time than could have been expected, three thousand copies of the book were circulated; and it cannot be doubted that the work has considerably influenced public opinion on the continent, since it has been frequently cited in many official compositions on criminal and civil codes of legislation.

Encouraged by this success, he publishes this "Treatise on Punishments and Rewards." This, with the previous work, though they are given only as parts of his extensive design, form the most solid

solid foundation for a system of philosophical jurisprudence which has ever yet been accomplished by the perseverance of human genius. . We admire the uncommon union of intellectual talents and habits, the comprehensive power of generalization, and the patient accuracy of detail, which they evince. As the production of an Englishman, our national pride may also glory in the superiority of this original work. Montesquieu's "*Spirit of Laws*," and Beccaria's "*Essay on Crimes and Punishments*," have obtained a just share of admiration and of celebrity. Their authors first attracted and fixed the attention of the public on these subjects, by the persuasive charms of eloquence and the irresistible force of truth.

Our countryman Bentham, disdaining the graces of style, applied himself sternly to the examination of facts and data, till by rejecting all that could not stand the test of evidence and reason, he established one just and universal principle. By pursuing and demonstrating the application of this principle to every known case, he has enlarged beyond previous conception the bounds of the practical as well as the theoretic science of jurisprudence.

Former writers have talked of the perfect good, the perfect fair, the fitness of things, the innate sense of truth or of virtue; natural law, individual conscience, duty, the rights of man, and equality. But we see the impossibility of establishing any of these as the basis of a code of legislation; since the moment we inquire what is duty or conscience, what are their dictates, where is this innate sense of truth or virtue, the answers are contradictory, inaccurate, or unintelligible. If an innate sense of moral beauty or virtue be part of the constitution of man's nature, or if there exist an *à priori* rule of right, incontrovertible by human reason, these must every where and at all times be the same. They should at least be similar in the general opinion of the majority of mankind, or in the unanimous coincidence of judgement and feeling among the most enlightened of all ages and countries. Yet, on the contrary, we find that the idea of virtue has so varied in different countries, and at different eras in the same country, that conscience, the moral sense of individuals, and we may say of nations, has been so influenced and altered by different circumstances, of institution, government, and education; that it is impossible by any appeal to the general feeling, belief, or practice of mankind, to obtain an unalterable standard of virtue and vice. The virtue and vice of a savage, of a Spartan, of a Chinese, of a Hindoo, and of an European, differ essentially. Revenge is the virtue of the savage. Theft was not vice with the Spartans. The Chinese think it no crime to murder their infants. The Hindoo thinks it no crime to stop the mouth and nostrils of his aged parent with mud, and to leave him to perish by famine. We recoil at the bare mention of such actions.

Before we go a step further, it is necessary here to premise that we are speaking of the ideas of virtue and vice, as they are found in human beings, independent of our own religious principles. The laws of God, as far as they are revealed to man, must form an immutable standard of right and wrong: To the will of God, wherever we have sufficient evidence of its revelation, every rational creature must submit: and as the most enlightened will ever be the most conscious of their ignorance of the limits assigned by their nature to human knowledge, they will submit with the most profound humility and devotion.—This explicitly declared, we can proceed with confidence, free from the apprehension of being misunderstood or misinterpreted.

We may observe, that though what is called the moral sense or moral sentiment may differ in various times and places as to certain actions, yet there is one circumstance in which all nations agree—in endeavouring to promote what they believe to be *useful* to their society. From ignorance, passion, prejudice, they may err in their means; but their universal aim is utility. Here is a fixed principle, to which the legislator can refer in deciding upon the nature or tendency of any given action or of any proposed law. It is; or it should be, his object to prevent by wise laws those actions, to repress those dispositions, which are injurious, and to encourage those which are beneficial, to the general interests of mankind. Utility then becomes at once his test for human actions and for human virtue. Referring to this principle, he can make out one common standard of "*moral weight and measure*." It is on the solid basis of utility that Mr. Bentham rests his system. It is by this principle he has made out his scale of good and evil, of rewards and punishments. To obtain the measure of universal utility, he examines what constitutes the sum of human happiness and misery.

Whatever serves to increase the sum of happiness must be considered as useful—whatever tends to diminish that sum must be accounted injurious to mankind. Human happiness and misery are found to consist of various pleasures and pains:—into the nature and comparative value of these Mr. Bentham next inquires; and by a careful analysis he reduces them to their primary elements, enumerates, appreciates, and classes them. He has recourse for his data to the *average* opinions and feelings of mankind, as these have been shown by their actions and recorded in their history. This table of the elements of happiness, this *catalogue raisonné* of human pleasures and pains, is not confined, as some who misunderstand or misrepresent Bentham assert or insinuate, to the sensual, or what are commonly stigmatized as the selfish pleasures; but it comprehends every intellectual, refined, exalted pleasure

pleasure of benevolence, patriotism, sympathy, sentiment, honour, generosity, and laudable enthusiasm. The term *selfish* cannot with any show of reason or justice be affixed to a system which requires that we should comprise in our estimate of happiness all that is most generous and noble; which requires from those who profess to think or act according to its principles, an enlargement of mind that shall comprehend what is best for the whole of society, a strength and fortitude of soul which shall keep the passions in just subjection, which shall on every trial be ready to sacrifice the immediate and inferior selfish gratifications to that which is for the permanent advantage of the great whole, of which individual happiness forms but a small part.

Instead of apprehending that such a system could be stigmatized as selfish—instead of dreading that the high-minded and generous should by any sophistry be prejudiced against it as base or below the dignity of human nature—there is indeed more cause to fear those who attack it on opposite grounds; who consider it as above and beyond the common standard of intellect and virtue; who represent it as dangerous in practice, because it requires from individual selfishness, sacrifices that in general are too great to be obtained; because its calculations may prove insufficient in most men to restrain the impetuosity of passion. It is true, that each individual might be apt to err in his estimate of what is for the general good; that which is most advantageous for himself or his friends, he might fancy would in many cases be most useful to society.

Hence the necessity that this estimate, on which the rules of moral conduct are to be founded, should not be trusted to the partiality of individuals or to the prejudices of any particular nation, but should be made after a cool and careful examination of the combined experience and wisdom of mankind. But even when this estimate is correctly made, to expect that the mere perception of abstract truth should act as a motive capable of resisting the force of temptation, would be as absurd as to expect from the operation of any one power, what we practically know can be the result only of the combined influence of many. When the astronomer or the geometrician has demonstrated the principles upon which he discovers truth, still there remains the difficulty of applying these principles to practice; and a variety of circumstances must combine with the abstract perception or demonstration, before truth can be rendered practically useful. The same difficulties await the moralist and the legislator. It is obvious that merely placing before the eyes of any person under the actual influence of strong passion or temptation, the demonstration that it is not for the general good of society that he should yield to it, would have but little power to

control his will or his actions. Precisely for this reason : Because sad experience has taught the wisest and the best to be aware of the infirmity of passion in themselves as well as in others, it is necessary to call in the aid of education, institution, laws, of all that can, against the hour of trial, form the conscience, habits, the disposition, strengthen the whole man in favour of virtue—or, in other words, in favour of that conduct which tends ultimately to the general happiness of society.

Many feel persuaded that abstract principles have little influence over the conduct of mankind, and that men warmly engaged in pursuit of interest or passion, seldom recur to the consideration of speculative truths. Yet all human beings who live in society must be governed by moral rules, by laws, or by education formed on the basis of certain speculative truths ;—it is therefore of the utmost consequence that this basis should be securely laid. Even those who believe that men are but little guided in the conduct of life by the conviction of the understanding, will not assert that it has no influence whatever ; therefore we contend that the superadding this conviction of the understanding, to the combined practical power of education, conscience, habit, laws, and religion, cannot possibly do any injury to the cause of virtue and religion ; but on the contrary may, beyond all other means, strengthen and consolidate the sense of duty, and give fresh vigour to every noble enthusiasm. What can tend more to strengthen the sense of duty, to give energy and permanence to every noble enthusiasm, than the conviction that the conduct, the object we pursue is most beneficial to society and most conducive to our own happiness ?

There are, indeed, persons who affect to treat all calculation of moral good and evil, all consideration of what tends to our own happiness, as something incompatible with the purity of virtue, as selfish, base, sordid, and utterly unworthy of exalted human nature. —Fine feelings ;—or fine words ! But mere assertion without proof or argument is best answered by an appeal to the common sense of mankind, who in high or low degree, in various forms, but with one consent, in prose and poetry proclaim "happiness our being's end and aim."

Some German metaphysicians have lately endeavoured to make themselves a name by reviving in new forms old absurdities, in a strange uncouth dress ; by which they hope perhaps so to have disguised what they have stolen, that the theft shall not be discovered. In a newly invented jargon they reproduce to the world exploded ideas, and would bring again into fashion Plato's visions and the whole system of innate ideas, long since successfully combated and overthrown. These German leaders in philosophy think they immortalize themselves, while they tell us that we must exclude
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from pure reasoning all which depends on experience ; that from the idea of morality we must subtract all that tends to happiness ; that *l'empyreisme*, which it seems is another name for experience, is only *sensation*, or materialism ; and that *eudemonism*, another name for happiness, is only *egoism*. Finally, in some of their systems it is proved, to the satisfaction, we presume, of their disciples, that atheism is not incompatible with religion ; because, say they, religion, morality, poetry, *beau idéal*, and enthusiasm, are only so many different exercises of the same faculty of the soul !—The force of folly can no further go.—Here are metaphysicians not a step advancing, but many steps receding—receding into ancient chaos !

Before any of our young readers, inexperienced in the ways of metaphysicians, engage in the study of these German systems, we recommend it to them to look at Massinger's description of the student who “wasted seven useful springs” in reading of “crossed opinions 'bout the soul of man”—“*And still his spaniel slept.*”

“ * * * * * The philosophers

Stood banding factions, all so strongly propped,
I staggered, knew not which was firmer part,
But thought, quoted, read, observed, and pryed ;
Stuffed noting books—And still my spaniel slept.
At length he waked, and yawned, and by yon sky,
For aught I know he knew as much as I.”

Seriously,—With whatever art these German system-vampers may have enveloped that which is old to make it appear new, the penetration of the public will soon detect the deception. The good sense of the English nation will discern the difference between truth and sophistry ; and until they are refuted by facts and logical arguments, they will abide by their own philosophers, and their own philosophy.—We should scarcely have deemed these *Kantians* and *Fichtites* and *Schellingites* worth turning aside to notice, had not their partisans ventured to speak irreverently of our own Locke, had they not further presumed to scoff at utility. They traduce that which they do not comprehend, and asperse by declamation that which they cannot confute by argument. They represent utility as a selfish and unworthy principle of action, and they would substitute in its stead the impulse of wild enthusiasm.—After all, what should we gain by admitting wild enthusiasm, or sentiment, or sacrifice, or *dévouement*, to be the first principle, the foundation of virtue and duty ? Must we not, before we can proceed a single step in applying it to practice, revert to the questions, What shall we sacrifice ? and how can we make these sacrifices desirable to any living creature, unless they are such as to ensure some interest or happiness of the individuals or the society for whom they are made ?

made? Here we are brought again immediately to utility for our test and measure of enthusiasm, if not for our own paltry happiness, at least for the felicity of those for whom we would gloriously devote ourselves. It will scarcely be maintained in these days, that mere sacrifice without any view to the advantage of human creatures is virtue.—Simeon Stylites, on his pillar, stiffening on one foot all his life, would now scarcely obtain admiration for his useless martyrdom. Curtius jumping into the gulf, sacrificing himself and his horse, would not even in those times of ignorance have been celebrated for his generosity, unless he had performed this feat for some object of national utility, or with some hope, however mistaken, of being useful to his fellow creatures or his country. In proportion to the advantage actually conferred on mankind, or in proportion to the probability of its eventually accomplishing some good purpose, will probably be the admiration and gratitude for any public sacrifice. In private life the same measure obtains: so that begin as far off as we will, we must end in some calculation of the utility of all actions and of all enthusiasm.—Is enthusiasm, is *dévouement*, more useful, more conducive to happiness, than prudence? Prove it to us, and we will cultivate, we will honour the disposition to enthusiasm, with all our powers, in morality as well as in the fine arts.—But prove it first, and explain what is meant by the terms; for, instead of having an impatience, a horror of definitions, we, slow, sober, English philosophers conceive, that till we have defined our terms we are reasoning or rather talking about we know not what. But the Enthusiasts will tell us they cannot define, or they scorn to define, enthusiasm: it must be felt to be understood. Alas! how shall we deal with these privileged sentimentalists? how can we hope to share this special grace of enthusiasm? how can we ever be enlightened by this dark lantern "which none see by but those who bear it?"—Since you will not; you cannot explain or define, we must endeavour to come round about your meaning. Let us try if we can embody these fine sentiments and put them into action. Let us try this theory in practice. Let us suppose this enthusiasm, this *dévouement*, showing itself in any of the relations or situations of life—Between lovers, for instance. Is it not always to obtain happiness, or to confer it, that this self-devotion is practised? As society is constituted, however, it is scarcely possible for man, and much less for woman, to make great sacrifices without involving the interests and happiness of a family, relations, or friends. Here we are stopped by puzzling contradictory motives: and how to manage between opposing sentiments we know not, unless we consider what is for the good of all the parties concerned.—But this is base. This brings us again to sordid calculations about happiness. And virtue in the
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code of sentiment consists in sacrifice—and love scorns every thing but enthusiasm. And what is the consequence of this scorn? Family quarrels, of course. And what next? It sometimes happens that the person for whom the sacrifice was made and the person who made that sacrifice feel its value differently. The generous usually expect a generous measure of gratitude. Love can be repaid only by love. But passion is not everlasting: then come disappointments of the heart, and reproaches the more severe and unanswerable because the offence or the injury is of an indefinite nature, to be estimated only by the sensibility of the person aggrieved. If, to settle the matter, any acknowledged measure of mutual interest or advantage be appealed to by either party, they both end exactly where they should have begun: they make, in the bitterness of disappointment and reproach, that calculation which they should previously have made for the preservation and security of the happiness which they have sacrificed, perhaps irremediably lost. Is not this the plain unvarnished history of the greater part of the enthusiastic, devoted lovers, of whose history we have ever heard the beginning, middle, and end?

But let us speak of patriotism, of that warm love of our country for which the best and the wisest are ready not only to hazard, but to sacrifice, to devote their lives.—Surely this is a noble enthusiasm, far superior to any base calculating moral prudence, and as such it is rewarded by the admiration, the enthusiastic gratitude of mankind. True—And it is so esteemed, so admired, so rewarded, precisely because it is useful, and in proportion to the degree in which it is of public utility. In Sparta, and in all states whose very existence depended on military courage and hardihood, and on the patriotism of their inhabitants, we find these virtues were in the greatest public estimation, and consequently in the greatest perfection. These dispositions were nourished from infancy with the fostering dew of praise: education, institution, laws, public opinion—all conspired to raise them to the highest energy.—Why? Because they were the virtues most useful to the state. But it may be said, They were not the virtues most useful to the individual—for he was called upon to sacrifice ease, pleasure, fortune, continually, for the service of his country, and was rewarded at best but with a triumphal arch, a few empty words, a crown of laurel, or a sprig of parsley. Would any man, accustomed coolly to make the calculation of what is most for his own happiness, the guide of his conduct, be capable of feeling such enthusiasm?—Would he be ready to hazard his life for rewards intrinsically worthless?

Worthless!—There is the mistake.—These crowns of laurel, these leaves of parsley, instead of being worthless, because of the
highest

highest value, because they were signs of the highest distinction. They gratified in the strongest degree the self-complacency, the honourable pride of those on whom they were conferred. From their birth, by all the combined powers of education, example, and sympathy, ancient heroes were taught to consider glory, the approving voice of their country, and the signs of this approbation as the highest happiness. The symbols, the fashion of glory may have altered in our times; but the same ardour for distinction, and for whatever becomes a sign of distinction, animates the patriot and the hero in modern days. Yet it is not from an innate passion, or with blind enthusiasm, that the hero devotes himself: he prefers the pleasure of glory to all other pleasures; and pursuing honour, he follows that which he believes, which he feels, to be most for his own happiness. How often must it be repeated that the sensual pleasures, and those usually called the selfish gratifications, are not the only pleasures which the supporters of the system of utility take into their estimate of human happiness? By straining the meaning of the word, all our enjoyments, the pleasures of exalted generosity and enthusiasm, may be called selfish, since they centre all in self. Abstract the idea of personal identity, and they cease to exist. This play upon words, this show of paradoxical ingenuity, is quite sufficient to give celebrity to a volume of epigrammatical maxims: but somewhat more of accuracy and good faith is requisite in philosophical discussion. The word *selfish*, as it is used in a popular sense, conveys the idea of blame and opprobrium incurred by one who without due attention to the interests or feelings of others pursues his own exclusively. But a man cannot with any propriety be called selfish because he pursues his own happiness by increasing the happiness of others. We may observe, that in the minds of those who are the most capable of appreciating their own feelings, the sensual pleasures are comparatively low in the scale; and even in the practice of the least refined of the lower classes of mankind, we see them frequently sacrificed when any hope of distinction is held in view. That cool calculation alone would not lead individuals to sacrifice themselves for love of their country, is admitted; but wherever such extraordinary sacrifices have been requisite for the good of that country, it has been usually the practice of the legislator to supply all the rewards and motives which can create and strengthen the virtue he requires.—By education he prepares those habits which become second nature, and which prove of force sufficient to balance the fear of danger and the instinctive love of life. If any further doubt remain on this subject, let us observe how those qualities, particularly useful in peculiar circumstances or in different stages of society, are raised in the scale of virtues, and rewarded either by law
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er opinion, with public *bounties* or applause in proportion to their utility during the time, and only during the time, when they continue to be eminently useful.—Look at the history of the rise and fall of chivalry. In the exigencies of turbulent times, and as long as the prowess of the knight was useful to supply the place of imperfect public justice, to redress private wrongs, and to defend the weak against the strong, the lofty language and demeanour, the valour, the spirit of adventure and romance, and all that characterized the knight and showed the enthusiasm of chivalry, were in the highest estimation. No sooner did the establishment of order, law, and peace, lessen the necessity for these exertions of individuals; no sooner was their utility diminished—than the esteem and admiration for the chivalrous virtues sunk. The useless knight was no longer the object of private favour or of public regard. Ridicule, the antagonist of enthusiasm, began to act, and chivalry was laughed out of countenance and out of fashion.

Were we to pursue this inquiry, we should find that the prevailing admiration for certain enthusiasms has constantly had a manifest or secret connexion with their utility, with the degree in which they contributed, or were supposed to contribute, to the sum of social happiness. In this point of view it seems scarcely possible that the partisans of enthusiasm and the adherents to utility should oppose each other; because, however the enthusiast may disdain what is merely useful, the friends of utility are ready to admire, and eager to cultivate, any species of enthusiasm the moment it is proved to increase human felicity.

We may, however, in the mean time observe, that the high value set upon *certain* virtues of the enthusiastic kind in *certain* states of civilization, is by no means a proof of the superior purity or exaltation of the human mind at those periods, but rather an evidence of some defect in the state of general manners or government. In proportion as society becomes more enlightened, and as laws are better adapted to promote the purpose for which they were intended, the security and good of the whole community, in proportion as each member of society understands and fulfills his duty, the necessity and value for what may be called virtues of *supererogation* diminish, and they fall into disrepute and disuse. If the circle of our duties in society were complete, there would be no need of those *compensations*, or rather of those compensating qualities which now supply what may be deficient. For example: If justice were perfect, there would be no need of mercy. If benevolence were universal, generosity would have no room for exertion.

It is singular, that some of those who deny or who hesitate to acknowledge utility as the foundation of morals, should unequivocally admit it to be the only solid and secure basis for jurisprudence.

dence. We thought that morals and jurisprudence rested on the same foundation. At all events, we might perhaps for our present purpose have been satisfied with the partial admission of the principle of utility, since the work now before us treats only of the theory of legislative punishments and rewards. We thought it best, however, not to evade any difficulty, but fairly to meet it, and at once to go into an examination of the merits of the general principle on which his whole system rests. Having endeavoured to establish this on solid grounds, we proceed to examine how the principle is applied in his theory of punishments and rewards.

Punishment inflicted by law is pain given to those who break the laws. The object and end of all just laws, and of all just legal punishment, is to increase the happiness of society by preventing future evil, or repairing that which has been committed. Montesquieu, Beccaria, and Bentham, agree in this definition.

It is now, we believe, so fully understood and generally admitted by so many persons of sound judgement, that it is not worth while to advert to some attempts which have been lately made to revive the exploded notion that legal punishment is legal vengeance. Crimes, from the highest to the lowest offence, are in Bentham's system measured and classed according to the degree of injury which they directly produce or indirectly occasion in society. By the same measure punishment should be proportioned. Punishment being in itself an evil, would by its infliction only increase the sum of human misery, unless by its operation it eventually produce a degree of security or advantage, in some form or other, to society, which shall outweigh the partial evil. The smallest quantity of pain, therefore, that can obtain the effects desired, that is to say—the reparation of the injury committed—the reformation of the offender—or the prevention of similar injury in future, is the degree of punishment which will be preferred by the humane and just legislator. Laws would be perfect, if they could, by the mere apprehension excited of the pains and penalties they denounce, prevent entirely the commission of crimes or injuries. But it is not to be expected that laws can attain this degree of perfection; because the pleasures and pains, the hopes and fears of individuals, vary with the different circumstances of their natural sensibility, their education, habits, or situation. It is therefore impossible for the most skilful legislator so to balance motives, so to proportion the fear of the punishments of the law to the strength of the temptations of the passions, as entirely to prevent the commission of crimes. All he can do is constantly to aim at this point of perfection. With this view, and to attain this purpose, he must have a clear knowledge of the motives which act upon the human mind. From thence he must form accurate ideas of all that can render punishment

punishment or reward adequate or inadequate in general, and in as many given instances as possible. In Mr. Bentham's former work on legislation, he gave a catalogue and scale of human pleasures and pains, observing as a general rule, that all pleasures and pains affect us, *ceteris paribus*, in proportion to their intensity, their proximity, their certainty, and their duration. He next classed offences and crimes according to the degrees of injury or quantity of evil they produce. He now begins the present treatise by examining what are the characteristics, what are the circumstances in punishments, which render them most useful, and which enable the legislator by their means to effect his purpose, most securely, most permanently, and with the least "*waste of pain*." Montesquieu had long since suggested that punishments should be *analogous to crimes*, that they should be *moderate*, that they should be *decorous*, and that they should be *proportionate* to offences. But this he had expressed only in vague terms; never explaining what he meant by *moderate*, never giving any rule to determine the proportion he desires.

Beccaria repeated, that punishments should be analogous and proportionate to offences; but still without explaining what he meant by this analogy, and still without giving any rule for the proportion. He made many judicious observations on the danger of *excess* in point of severity. He urged with all the eloquence of humanity, that punishments should be *mild*. But this word *mild*, like Montesquieu's epithet *moderate*, conveys no accurate idea, gives no certain rule or measure by which the lawgiver can apply it to practice. Beccaria, however, has advanced some steps beyond Montesquieu; for he points out that punishments should be public, for the sake of example—that they "*should be definite, prompt, and inevitable*." These last three conditions he speaks of only as to the forms of legal procedure, to the mode of applying the punishment rather than as to the qualities requisite in the punishment itself. Voltaire in his commentary on Beccaria frequently adverts to the idea that punishments should be rendered profitable to the state. A man who is hanged, says he, is good for nothing. "The virtuous Howard also had continually in view the reformation of offenders." But after thus collecting all that has been said by those who have been considered as oracles on this subject, and comparing it with what is stated by Bentham in his chapter "*Des qualités désirables dans les peines*," the reader will immediately perceive how far he has surpassed his predecessors. He gives a complete enumeration of all the useful or desirable circumstances or *qualities* in punishments—he defines accurately what he means by every term that he uses, and shows how and why each quality is advantageous. This being done, "we shall now," says he, "have clear and distinct rea-

sons to determine us in the choice of punishments. It remains only to inquire in what proportion any proposed punishments possess the different qualities that have been thus enumerated and defined. Any conclusion that might be drawn from the exclusive consideration of any one of these taken separately, would be subject to error; we must consider them all collectively. There is no one mode of punishing perhaps which unites them all; but according to circumstances and to the nature of the crime, some are more important than others."

Our author proceeds with a very careful analysis, and presents us with a most elaborate and accurate classification of punishments; comparing each class, each genus, each species, each individual, with this table of desirable qualities—showing distinctly in what they excel, and in what they are deficient; trying them constantly by one safe standard, and giving as the result, the *average* of their practical utility. For the definitions and for the classification we must refer to the work itself. We cannot give an adequate notion of them by any extract, much less by any attempt at compression or abridgement. This book cannot be abridged,—its characteristic—perhaps its characteristic fault—is compression. We, reviewers, in reading some of the desultory, diffuse performances by which our patience is tried and our time wasted, have frequently wished that the good old custom of *marginal notes* was revived. These put an author to the rack, and make him confess at once whether there is any thing in him or not. No wonder they have gone out of fashion with writers. But why should readers give them up? If our present author however had put marginal notes to his works, the notes must have been nearly as copious as the text. In these days, when the art of literary manufacture, and the practice of expanding a little sense and a few facts into prodigious volumes, is carried to such lamentable perfection, we have seldom occasion to complain of an author for compressing his ideas too closely. In stating that we cannot give a detailed account of this work because it is so full of ideas that to detail them would lead far beyond our limits, and would be to produce a book twice the size of the volume we have before us,—we thus give it no common eulogium; this will convey to those who can understand it a high idea of its merit and utility. But it is not in our nature, or habit, to give praise unmixed with blame. Much as we value, and indeed in proportion as we value, Mr. Bentham's works, we regret that he should, by a multiplicity of divisions and subdivisions, and definitions, give them an air of difficulty and abstruseness which may prevent them from becoming immediately as popular as for the good of society we desire to see them. They are works that must necessarily be studied by every man, who pre- tends

tends to acquire accurate ideas of the science of legislation; they must find a permanent and distinguished place in the library of every lawyer, statesman, and philosopher; but we should desire to see works, so useful, diffused through all classes of reasonable readers. There is a class of readers,—we cannot help catching the taste for classification and definition,—there is a class of childish readers who require to be rewarded for the labour of reading a few lines of instruction, with a sugar-plum of amusement. Of these Mr. Bentham must for ever despair; nor do we in the least regret for him the want of their admiration. We should be sorry to see great writers stoop to humour a childish, sickly, vitiated, taste for literary sweetmeats, instead of honestly providing solid, salutary, invigorating, food for the mind. Attention, mental labour, is the price which all must pay for the attainment of knowledge. To this condition some readers willingly submit; yet there are many even of these who might be wearied by the *nosology* of Bentham, or appalled by his *logical apparatus*. We are aware that the beauty and utility of his system depend upon that classification which has brought a multitude of scattered heterogeneous truths into subordination and lucid order, and which has rendered them manageable by the human understanding. We are aware how much the power of the reasoning faculty, and the possible range of the mind of man, is increased by the art of classification, which is to all science what algebra is to arithmetic; which enables us to compare, abstract and generalise, to pass not only from known to unknown truths, but from one comprehensive axiom to another in a higher rank of utility.

We are also aware how dangerous it is in reasoning, to pass hastily over definitions, or to adopt general terms without a previously rigid examination of the particular ideas which they represent. We consequently are grateful for the double benefit conferred on philosophy by the courage and the patience shown in the analytic and synthetic order of Bentham's works. Order, we know, is Heaven's first law; therefore we wish that man in his works should endeavour to make it agreeable as well as useful.

In the present instance, we think that the popularity of Mr. Bentham's book, and of course its general utility, would have been increased by suppressing something of what may be thought an ostentation of order. Without weakening the general scheme of that scaffolding which has been constructed with admirable scientific art, some of the minuter parts might have been safely spared; and if the whole had been taken away when the building had been completed, the beauty of the edifice would at once have struck the public eye, and would have been more pleasing to the public taste, while the skill of the architect would have been equally visible to all good judges.

Having

Having said thus much, it is but fair to refer to an excellent chapter on the use of Bentham's classification (*chapter 7th, 1st volume of the Treatise on Legislation*); and it is but just here to lay before our readers what the editor has in the present instance to say in his own defence. We do this with the more pleasure, as the passage will afford a specimen of that candour and integrity which disdain all the paltry arts of popularity, and all the literary *tricks of the trade* to which even men of genius sometimes condescend.

"The divisions, tables, and classifications, which I have called *logical apparatus*, should I am told be considered only as a scaffolding that ought to have been taken away when the edifice was finished. But I answer—Why hide from the reader the sight of the instruments which the author has used? why conceal from the world the methods of analysis, and the process of invention? These tables are a machine for thinking, *organum cogitativum*. The author reveals his secret to the public; he lets you into partnership in his work; he gives to all those who are capable of pursuing a train of thought, the clue which has guided him in his researches; he enables them to verify all that he has done, and if they please to go still further. Is it not strange that the extent and magnitude of this service should diminish its value?

"I am aware that by using these logical means as secret powers; by not showing, if I may so express myself, the anatomy of the subject, the muscles and the nerves, much might be gained as to ease, and grace, and colouring. In following the analytic method, every thing is plainly told at first, there can be nothing unexpected, no surprises—no flashes of light, none of those brilliant thoughts which dazzle you for a moment and leave you afterwards in utter darkness. It requires some courage to follow so severe a method, but it is the only plan which can be completely satisfactory to reason.

"With respect to some abstract terms, such as exemplarity, remissibility, convertibility to profit, and some others of the same kind, I have hazarded them in one chapter of definitions, but have avoided them as much as I could in the body of the work. However, every one must be sensible how necessary it is to be able to express any given quality by a single word. How could the natural philosopher do without the terms elasticity, compressibility, condensability, and others of a similar sort? That for which we have no name easily escapes from the memory; we can give a grammatical existence to an abstract notion only by a name—"

* * * * * "Abstract terms, it is true, have often a didactic scholastic appearance; they are avoided in familiar conversation; and authors who pique themselves on writing as they speak

speakers are content with a *somehow* or an *as it were*, and would rather use a periphrasis than terrify fashionable readers, or disgust those who above all things pique themselves on purity of style." We must refer to the work itself not only for the merits of the classification, but we must acknowledge that we cannot here pretend even to give our readers a competent idea of the mode in which Mr. Bentham makes this classification useful in each step of his progress. We have followed him through his analysis, but it is impossible to abridge the process. We can, however, give a general idea of the results of the reasoning, and by a few extracts we can afford fair specimens of the editor's powers of lively illustration, and of that benevolent eloquence, which spreads a warm interest over every part of this work, where his fastidious judgement would suffer it to appear.

After speaking of the advantages of imprisonment compared with the infliction of bodily pain and some other modes of punishment, he dwells strongly on the known efficacy of solitary confinement in producing the reformation of the criminal, and he inquires why it has this effect.

"I answer," says he, "that amendment depends less upon the violence or the intensity of the pain, than on the association that is formed between the idea of the punishment and of the crime. Under the acute pain inflicted by the whip there is no time left for reflection. The whole attention is absorbed by bodily suffering. If any mental emotion mixes with the corporeal sufferings, before all other would rise resentment against the prosecutor, the executioner, or the judge. As soon as the torture ceases, the patient is free, and he seeks with avidity all that can make him forget what he has suffered, and all his companions contribute to drive away those salutary reflections on which his reformation depends. The pain is past, and this idea is accompanied with a sentiment of lively joy little favourable to repentance. But in a state of solitude, man left to himself does not feel those emotions of sympathy or antipathy which society excites; he has no longer the variety of ideas arising from the conversation of his companions, or from the sight of external objects, or from the active pursuit of business or of pleasure." * * * * "The pain of solitary confinement is not so acute as to occupy his whole thoughts, or to take from him the power of reflection. On the contrary, he feels more than ever the want of intellectual occupation, and he calls to his aid all the ideas which his situation affords. The most natural course of thought is that which retraces the events of his past life, recalls the bad advice he may have received, his first faults, those by which he was led on to commit the crime for which he is suffering the punishment—that crime of which all the pleasures

pleasures are past, all the fatal consequences alone remain. He calls to mind, for he can still recollect, his days of innocence, of security and happiness, and these appear the happier and the brighter from the contrast with his present misery. He regrets the errors of his life: if he has a wife, children, or near relations, sentiments of affection for them revive and strengthen in his heart, mixed with remorse for the misfortunes and disgrace he has brought upon them. There is yet another advantage of his solitary situation. It is singularly favourable to the influence of religion. In this total absence of all external pleasures or impressions, religious ideas obtain new power over his soul. Still struck with the idea of his crime, his misfortunes, and the singular or peculiar circumstances which have led to the detection of his crime; the more he reflects upon these things, the more he thinks he feels the interposition of the hand of Providence, which by unknown ways has confounded his devices, and set at nought all his precautions. But if it be God who punishes him, it is God alone who can relieve him; and full of this persuasion, he begins to think more and more seriously of the threats and the promises which are held out by religion—threats, of which in the region of solitude and darkness he begins to feel the accomplishment—promises, which open to him, if he repent, a perspective of eternal happiness. A man must be formed of materials different from the generality of mortals, if in this situation he refuses admittance to the consolations of religion." * * * * * "A minister of religion, availing himself of this propitious moment, who brings the balm of religious instruction and hope to the humbled and dejected criminal, is the more secure of success, since in this forlorn situation he appears as the only friend and benefactor of the wretched."

The opinion of the beneficial effects of solitary confinement does not depend on theory only, but is supported by facts and attested by high authorities. Howard, in speaking of the solitary cells of Newgate, says, "I have been informed by those who had frequent and long opportunities of observation, that criminals, who affected the most undaunted assurance and preserved the most intrepid air during their trial; and who even had shown no symptom of sensibility on hearing their sentence of death pronounced, were nevertheless struck with horror, and shed tears, on entering these gloomy solitary cells."

Hanway also gives us the evidence he received from one of the keepers of Clerkenwell prison. He assures us that all those prisoners who had been confined in solitary cells gave in a few days extraordinary signs of penitence.

In contrast with the advantages of solitary confinement, our
author

author places the disadvantages of crowding together in prison offenders of different ages, of different degrees of moral depravity, and of different degrees of knowledge of evil.

"This unhappy result of the ill-regulated, indiscriminate, society in prisons, is too manifest to have escaped even the most superficial observers. That prisoners shut up together in a narrow space, *corrupt* one another, is a common saying. This observation is made continually in a variety of forms, and frequently with the addition of abundance of metaphors. The word *corruption*, like most of the words which compose our moral vocabulary, is unluckily less adapted to give precise ideas than to express a vague sentiment of disapprobation. To avoid, then, the declamatory style, we must examine the particular evils, the pernicious habits, which arise from this mixture of society; and we may thus obtain a clear idea of what is meant by *corruption*. The hurtful consequences of this mixed society in prisons are,—the strengthening the motives that prompt to the commission of crimes; weakening the considerations which restrain from crimes, and the gaining new knowledge in the art of executing evil." * * * * *

"With respect to the motives which excite to crime, it may be sufficient here to advert to that which is most common—*rapacity, or the desire of gain*; the greatest number of crimes arise from this source. Among the lower classes, the product of a petty theft goes further in purchasing pleasures than could the lawful wages of a day's labour. Some of their pleasures can be bought at a low price: food; strong liquors; dress; lottery tickets; tickets for the play-house; and to crown all—women. Now all these things form the continual subject of conversation among prisoners, and have been the motive for the criminal exploits of those among them, who by their talents or their success have acquired *celebrity*. Round them is formed a circle of eager, humble, auditors, who listen with envy and admiration to the history of the prowess of the hero. The imagination is inflamed by these stories, which, for such an audience, have all the merit and the charm of romance,—intrigues, dangers, courage, glory, success, and the rewards of success. The more numerous the society in prison, the more will these histories of adventures be varied: and what can be more natural, more interesting, for prisoners, than to inquire into the particulars of the exploits which have brought them to live together?"

Whilst all the vicious passions are thus nourished and strengthened, all those considerations which tend to restrain from the commission of crime are combated and weakened. "The first object of all these associates is to treat the law with contempt, and to brave its threats. Each, instigated by pride, affects in-

difference for the punishment which he feels, or which he fears; he dissembles his painful sensations; he exaggerates his pleasures; and piques himself, according to the proverbial phrase, in putting a good face upon a losing game. Thus the proudest and the most intrepid becomes the model for all the rest: he excites their sensibility till he raises it to the pitch of his own enthusiasm.—From feelings of natural sympathy, also, fellow-prisoners strive to soften each other's sufferings, and to console one another by little good offices and proofs of good-will, which increase not only their mutual confidence and attachment, but the power they obtain over each other by conversation, precept, and example. It may be said, perhaps, that to suppose the existence of such benevolence and kind affections among 'the people's wretched lee,' is to give them virtues which they do not possess. But those are mistaken who imagine that human creatures are either perfectly good or utterly bad. Even those whose crimes have brought them under the penalties of the law, may have still left within them some estimable or amiable qualities;—they may especially be susceptible of compassion. Experience proves this to be true. We should fear to calumniate even vice."

The sense of honour and morality in a prison, however, is not that which is useful to society at large. The sort of honesty, or of honour, which is in esteem among them, is that which is useful only to their own banditti; such as that of the Arabs, who live by pillage, but who are renowned for their *good* faith towards those of their own tribe. The perverted state of society among criminals shut up together promiscuously in prisons, operates in destroying not only the restraints to vice which arise from a sense of morality, or from the fear of public opinion, but it also tends inevitably to destroy the still more powerful restraints of religion. "These depend on the fear of the punishments denounced by God either in this life or the next, against those who disobey his commands. In the Christian religion, the crimes prohibited by human laws are those which are also prohibited by divine laws; and the influence of religion, extending as it does even to the most secret actions and thoughts, is a restraint peculiarly necessary to this class of men. Religion is at first rather forgotten, than destroyed, in the minds of the generality of offenders, especially in those who are only novices in guilt; but the religious impressions which they may have early received are perhaps weak; and easily effaced. What will become of them in a prison? Though they may not, perhaps, hear in a prison disputes about the existence of a God, or the truth of revelation; though they may not meet with dogmatical professors of incredulity, Manicheans, or subtle disciples of Hobbes, Spinoza, Boulanger, Bayle,

or

or Freret; yet the arguments which they may hear will have the more effect from being suited to the level of their capacities; the buffooneries of a profane jester will be reason sufficient with his companions; sarcasms against the ministers of religion will to them be a complete refutation of religion itself; and the bully who loudly maintains that only cowards let themselves be intimidated by threats of punishment in another life, is too sure to touch the most tender chord, that false sentiment of honour by which his auditors are governed.—Besides destroying all these religious and moral restraints, which deter from vice, this association of criminals furnishes them with the means of becoming perfect in the whole science and practice, and in all the mysteries of crime: their conversation, animated by the vanity of the speaker and the sympathy of the auditors, continually turns, as we have observed, on the ingenious means, the frauds and impostures, to which they attribute their success. In a prison are learned all the secrets of the trade, the preparations for robberies, the methods of disguise, the arts of escape and evasion, and all the stratagems of this anti-social war. If the anecdotes of robberies and murders have, as we usually find, the power of exciting general curiosity, how much more interesting must they be for those whose secret inclinations they flatter, and whom they at the same time instruct in the means of gratifying their vicious propensities! Thus is formed in a prison a *depôt* of criminal experience, to which each individual contributes: so that he who was skilled only in one branch of this pernicious manufacture soon becomes an adept in every other.—We see, then, that the common expression,—that a prison is a school for vice—is but too just. This school for vice far surpasses most other schools by the force of the motives which operate upon the scholars, and by the efficacy of the means of instruction. In other schools, the motive in general is fear, which has to struggle continually against the disposition to idleness: in these schools of vice the stimulant is hope, which concurs and combines with the habitual inclinations of the pupils. In one case, the science to be learned is taught only by a master who may or may not be qualified to teach; but in the other case each scholar contributes to the instruction of all.—In a legitimate school, the pupil has amusements far more agreeable than his prescribed occupations or tasks; in the school for criminals, instruction in the arts of vice becomes the principal recreation of their melancholy state of confinement.”

If this were the proper place for it, we could produce curious facts in confirmation of all that is here asserted. One anecdote, mentioned by the editor in a note, we cannot omit.

“A very extraordinary robbery was committed about the year

1780 at Lyons. The police, not being able to obtain any information concerning the perpetrator of the crime, sent one of their own officers to the Bicetre, disguised as a prisoner. There he played his part well : he interested his audience extremely by the detailed account he gave of his recent exploit. In this assembly of connoisseurs in criminal arts, one amongst them suddenly exclaimed—*‘No man alive but Philip could have made such a great stroke!’* This was a ray of light to the police—Philip was in fact the head of the gang ; but he had taken his measures to secure his flight and his booty.”

To go on with our business—Imprisonment, which is one of the class of *simply restrictive punishments*, is compared with compulsory and active punishments, such as working at the galleys formerly in France—working on the Thames in England—working on the high roads ; or any kind of compelled labour, either at public works, or in Bridewells, or Houses of Industry, &c.

Here we meet with a fact well worth recording, and which may serve as a warning to legislators, not to wear out that sensibility to shame, which is one of the most powerful motives by which they can govern the good, and reform the criminal.

“ In public works, where criminals are employed, the publicity of their disgrace tends more to deprave the individuals, than the habit of labour tends to reform them. At Berne there are two classes of offenders : the one employed in cleaning the public streets, and in public works ; the others are occupied in the interior of the prisons.—These last, after their liberation, seldom are guilty of fresh offences, seldom are brought again under the penalties of the law : the other class are scarcely set at liberty before they make use of their freedom to commit new crimes. At Berne, this difference was generally ascribed to the impudence acquired by those, who, from the nature of their punishment, had been exposed to daily, renewed, disgrace. Besides, it is possible that after they had undergone such ignominy, no one in the country would have any communication with them, or would give them any employment.”

[To be continued.]

ART. XI.—*Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq. By Prince Hoare.*
4to. London 1820.

MR. THOMAS SHARP, the first of the excellent ancestors of Mr. Granville Sharp mentioned in these Memoirs, was a respectable tradesman at Bradford in Yorkshire. During the war between Charles the First and the Parliament, “he rose into notice from the particular degree of favour in which he stood with

with General Lord Fairfax, who held his head-quarters at his house at Bradford." Thomas Sharp had a son who became archbishop of York in 1689, and was justly distinguished for his learning and piety. The youngest of this prelate's sons was made archdeacon of Northumberland in 1722. He was the rector also of Rothbury in the same county, and kept up at his own expense five different schools at convenient distances for the instruction of the children of the poor. It is particularly honourable to his character, that "the children of Roman catholics and of all other sects were equally admitted into his schools, and that very strict care was taken not to give offence to them or their parents about the difference of religious opinions." This venerable man had two daughters and seven sons, the youngest of whom was the subject of these Memoirs.

Mr. Granville Sharp was born at Durham in 1735, and at a proper age was bound apprentice to a linen-draper, a Quaker, on Tower Hill. On the death of his master, he was turned over to a person of the Independent denomination, and when his apprenticeship had expired, he entered the service of a catholic, an Irish factor in Cheapside. It appears that he disliked the religious tenets of his three masters. This however made no difference in his behaviour to them. His residence with them only taught him "to make a proper distinction between the opinions of men and their persons." The former, he often used to say, I can freely condemn without presuming to judge the individuals themselves. Thus freedom of argument is preserved as well as christian charity, leaving personal judgement to Him to whom alone it belongs. It was during his apprenticeship that he made his first advances in learning, and it is curious to trace the motives which appear to have first induced him to prosecute his studies. That he might successfully contend with an Unitarian who lodged in the same house, he entered on the study of the Greek; and the better to combat a Jew; also living with him, he applied himself to the study of the Hebrew.

In 1757, he took up his freedom of the city of London in the Company of Fishmongers, and in 1758 he left trade for a situation in the Ordnance Office. While employed there, he made an extraordinary proficiency in the sacred languages; but to do this, he was obliged to snatch his hours of study from sleep.

In 1765, he engaged in a literary controversy with Dr. Kennicott, in which, having been previously so well prepared, he displayed a superior accuracy in Hebrew and biblical learning.

In the same year he took up the cause of Jonathan Strong. This person had been a negro slave, and brought to England by Mr. David Lisle, a lawyer of Barbadoes, who used him so cruelly as to render
him

him unserviceable, and then turned him adrift in the streets of London. In about two years afterwards, Strong recovered, when Lisle, happening to see him, had him kidnapped and lodged in prison, with a view of taking him back to Barbadoes. It was *by the merest accident* that Mr. Sharp became acquainted with the case. He was, however, so struck with the circumstances of it, that he resolved to interfere. He accordingly rescued Strong from prison by a law process; but a suit was in return immediately instituted against Mr. Sharp. It was then the belief of our West India planters, backed by the joint opinions of the attorney and solicitor general, York and Talbot (in the year 1729), that a slave coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland did not thereby change his condition. In consequence of this opinion, it had been a practice with West India masters to bring slaves with them as servants to England, and to oblige them, *by main force*, to return home as slaves. The London newspapers of these times were frequently stained by advertisements offering rewards for the apprehension of persons of this description, who had run away, considering themselves free, and being unwilling to go back into slavery. Such was the state of things when Mr. Sharp was called upon to defend the action by Mr. Lisle. But never had any person a more difficult task to perform. The opinion of York and Talbot was considered of such high authority, that he could not find a lawyer in his favour. But he was a man not to be deterred in a righteous cause. He was a man who held the doctrine, that labour and perseverance could overcome every obstacle. He determined to give his time night and day to the study of the English law, to enable him to do justice to this oppressed race of men. Two years of intense study enabled him to produce his celebrated pamphlet "on the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery, or even of admitting the least Claim to private Property in the Persons of Men in England." This he circulated among his friends, but particularly among the members of the legal profession. The arguments contained in it were irresistible, and he had the satisfaction of stemming, in some degree, the torrent of legal opinion which had opposed his exertions. The lawyers of Lisle himself were intimidated, and the man, rather than go on with the cause, submitted to pay treble costs for not bringing forward the action. Just at this time a book printed in America in 1762 found its way to London, written by the virtuous Benezet, and containing "an Account of that part of Africa inhabited by the Negroes, and of the Slave Trade." Mr. Sharp immediately republished this book as an auxiliary to his "Injustice and dangerous Tendency," &c. just mentioned. The former was to satisfy the gentlemen of the law upon the question; the

the latter was to interest the public feeling in favour of the African race, and consequently in favour of Jonathan Strong, whose cause he had undertaken.

In the year 1768, a new case occurred, though not entirely of the same complexion as the former. Mr. Sharp was induced to take up the cause of Hylas, an African, whose wife had been kidnapped by one Newton in the streets of London, and sent to the West Indies, and sold there as a slave. The cause was tried before Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, on the 3d of December 1768. The decision was in favour of Hylas. Damages were given, and Newton was bound under a penalty to bring back the woman, either by the first ship, or at furthest within six months.

In the year 1770, Mr. Sharp had occasion again to exert himself in behalf of an unfortunate African, Thomas Lewis, who had formerly been a slave of a Mr. Stapylton, then residing at Chelsea. Stapylton, finding him in the neighbourhood, waylaid him, and by the aid of two watermen, whom he had hired for the purpose, seized him in a dark night, and dragged him into a boat lying in the Thames at the bottom of a garden belonging to a Mrs. Banks, where they tied his legs and gagged him. Having thus secured him, they rowed him to a ship bound to Jamaica, whose commander had been previously engaged in the conspiracy, and delivered him on board to be sold as a slave on his arrival there. This infamous act, though perpetrated in the dark, did not escape unnoticed; for the cries of Lewis were heard by the servants of Mrs. Banks, who, on being apprized of the circumstances, communicated them immediately to Mr. Sharp, who began to be publicly regarded as the protector of the persecuted Africans. Mr. Sharp lost no time in obtaining a warrant, and sent it down to Gravesend, where the ship lay, for the delivery of Thomas Lewis. The captain however refused to obey it, and sailed directly for the Downs. On receiving this intelligence, Mr. Sharp was only roused into fresh activity; he procured and sent off a writ of Habeas Corpus, signed by two judges. The officer, who carried it, arrived at Deal just in time to see the vessel getting under weigh: he instantly procured a boat, overtook her, and delivered the writ to the captain. At this time, poor Lewis was found chained to the mainmast, and bidding his last adieu to the land. He was, however, now delivered into the hands of the officer and brought on shore. A bill was instantly preferred against Stapylton, but the case was removed to the Court of King's Bench, and brought before Lord Mansfield on the 20th February 1771. Here Mr. Dunning was ready to have defended Lewis, on the broad ground that "a negro in England, whatever might have been his condition before, was as free as any other man." It appears that even this great luminary of the

the law had been instructed by Mr. Sharp; for holding up in his hand the tract before mentioned, "On the Injustice and dangerous Tendency of tolerating Slavery in England," to the view of the whole Court, he said triumphantly, "I am prepared to maintain, that no man can be legally detained as a slave in England." Lord Mansfield, however, fearful of the consequences of deciding such an important case hastily upon so broad a ground, settled the matter in favour of Lewis, by showing that Stapylton could bring no evidence that Lewis had ever been, even nominally, his property.

Thus was Mr. Sharp happily successful in his noble efforts to rescue three African slaves, Strong, Hylas, and Lewis: in whose favour he had been instrumental in obtaining separate verdicts. These verdicts, however, were dependent upon peculiar circumstances in their respective cases. Their general right to freedom in England, was still a question. This essential point still remained to be decided, and it was necessary to put it to rest. A case was therefore selected, among those which occurred in the beginning of 1772, at the mutual desire of Lord Mansfield and Mr. Sharp, for this purpose. It was the case of James Somerset. This man had been brought to England by his master, Mr. C. Stewart, but in process of time Somerset had left him. Stewart at length found an opportunity of seizing Somerset, and caused him to be conveyed privately on board the *Ann and Mary*, captain Knowles, in order to be carried to Jamaica, and there sold as a slave.

The case was brought into Court by Mr. Sergeant Davy, on the 24th January 1772, before Lord Mansfield, who, after some conversation, fixed the hearing of it for that day fortnight. In the meantime Mr. Francis Hargrave, then rising in reputation at the bar, generously offered his assistance, and was added to the counsel. On the 7th of February, the cause was opened by Mr. Sergeant Davy, on the broad ground, "that no man at this day is or can be a slave in England." Mr. Sergeant Glynn followed with equal ability on the same side, after which Lord Mansfield ordered that the matter should stand over till the next term.

There being now a respite for a while, Mr. Sharp employed it in preparing himself and counsel for further operations. He availed himself also of this occasion to write a letter to Lord North, then prime minister, on the monstrous injustice and abandoned wickedness occasioned by slave-holding. His language was respectful but resolute. He said, among other things, that no grievance required more immediate redress: "I say immediate redress, because to be in power, and to neglect (as life is very uncertain) even a day in endeavouring to put a stop to such monstrous injustice, and abandoned wickedness, must necessarily endanger a man's eternal welfare, be he ever

ever so great in temporal dignity or office." This was bold language from a clerk in the Ordnance department to the prime minister. But Mr. Sharp always dared to do what he believed to be religiously right. Dependent on the Government for his maintenance, he nevertheless presented his remonstrance without restraint.

On the 9th of May, the second hearing came on. The pleadings were opened by Mr. Mansfield, after whose luminous speech the cause was further adjourned. On the 14th, it came on again. Mr. Hargrave began; and Mr. Alléyne closed the proceedings in behalf of Somerset; after which the counsel were heard in part on the other side, when Lord Mansfield proposed an adjournment to that day seven-night. On the 21st the opponent's counsel were heard again, and Sergeant Davy in reply. Nothing now remained but to give judgement. Lord Mansfield however put it off, on account of the importance of the decision, to another day. At length on Monday, the 22d of June, this great cause was decided, and decided in favour of Somerset; on the broad ground, "That no property could exist in England in any slave, or that every slave on coming to England became free." Thus ended the great cause of Somerset, by the issue of which Mr. Sharp, after laborious and anxious exertions for seven years, became *the great author of freedom to Africans in England*—an event of which our history will be proud, and for which posterity will be grateful. The poor slave, who now reaches our shore, is no longer hunted in our streets as a beast of prey. Though the roof under which he sleeps may be miserable, he sleeps in security. Our public papers are no longer polluted by hateful advertisements of the sale of the human species, or of impious rewards for bringing back the poor and helpless into slavery. There were some circumstances, in the course of this trial, peculiarly gratifying to Mr. Sharp. Dr. Fothergill, then an eminent physician resident in London, and one of the religious society of the Quakers, offered to relieve him of a part of the heavy burthen of his law expenses incurred on these different occasions. This offer was peculiarly honourable and gratifying; for Mr. Sharp had been opposed to the doctor in a controversy, though conducted with extreme delicacy, on the subject of the religious worship of the Quakers. They had, in fact, been literary adversaries in private. But good men do not suffer little differences of sentiment to diminish their mutual esteem. It was highly gratifying to Mr. Sharp, *that all his counsel refused their fees, for pleading in this righteous cause.*

The account of the trial of Somerset, as it produced great joy in England, so it excited similar sensations when made known in the American colonies. The name of Granville Sharp became the emblem of charity in both countries. The most cordial intercourse began

began now to take place between him and many of the Americans, but particularly among the Quakers, who had been alike labouring in behalf of the African cause. On the memorable day which terminated the cause of Somerset, Mr. Sharp received the first offer of correspondence from that revered philanthropist, if not father of the abolition of the slave trade, *Anthony Benezet, of Philadelphia*, whose work, entitled "An Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes, and of the Slave Trade," we have before mentioned to have been reprinted by Mr. Sharp in 1767, and the distribution of which had been of so much service, in exciting the compassion of the public towards the persecuted objects whose cause he was espousing. This little work had affected Mr. Sharp deeply, and was instrumental in preparing him to become a philanthropist on a larger scale. He could not but see, that, if there had been no slave trade, the cases which he had been called upon to patronize, never could have existed. The cause of Jonathan Strong, which came but accidentally before his notice, led, as we have seen, to the happy and glorious decree in the case of Somerset; and now the little tract in question led and qualified him to become an instrument for obtaining a still more glorious decree in the English Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade.

But while Mr. Sharp was thus employed in the cause of the oppressed Africans, he was not inattentive to what was going forward in the world. Common things he allowed to pass with but common observation; but if any thing occurred which appeared to him to be unconstitutional or unjust, it arrested his attention, and frequently occasioned his interference; and it did not at all matter, whether the parties whose cause he advocated were rich or poor, or whether they were known to him or not. Thus we find him writing to the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, relative to matters stated to have taken place in West Florida. We find him again drawing up an address to Brass Crosby, Lord Mayor of London, (who had been sent to the Tower by the house of commons for having committed a messenger of that house, when executing his errand in the city,) in which address he shows the illegality of the Lord Mayor's imprisonment, and states his conduct to have deserved the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. We find him again taking up the cause of the Duke of Portland. An attempt had been made by ministers to diminish this nobleman's influence in parliamentary elections by an unexpected reclaim by the crown of some lands, which, in consequence of a grant from King William, had been quietly enjoyed for more than seventy years by the duke's family. Ministers had founded this reclaim on the old doctrine of "*nullum tempus*," which Mr. Sharp proved to have no weight against positive law. Mr. Sharp wrote to the duke from time to time

time on this subject, and gave him his advice under the signature of *Amicus*: in a subsequent letter he avowed his name. His conduct was the more noble on this occasion, because he himself held a place under the Government, and the nobleman in question was then in opposition. "Although," says he in one of his letters to the duke, "I am a placeman, and indeed of a very inferior rank, yet I look on myself to be perfectly independent, because I have never yet been afraid to do and avow whatever I thought just and right, without the consideration of consequences to myself; for indeed I think it unworthy of a man to be afraid of the world; and it is a point with me never to conceal my sentiments on any subject whatever, not even from my superiors in office, when there is a probability of answering any good purpose by it." The same noble sentiments may be found in a letter which he wrote afterwards to Lord Carysfort, but on a different occasion. "This," says he, "is the compendium or sum total of all my politics, so that I include them in a very small compass. I am thoroughly convinced, that right ought to be adopted and maintained on all occasions, without regard to consequences, either probable or possible; for these (when we have done our own duty as honest men) must, after all, be left to the disposal of divine providence, which has declared a blessing in favour of right. 'Blessed are the keepers of judgement, and he who doeth righteousness at all times.'"—We find him also exerting himself on another, though very different, occasion. The French, when they ceded the island of St. Vincent to the English Government, took the liberty of ceding with it the original inhabitants and the only true owners of the soil. The English adventurers, who bought the cultivated lands of the French, perceived, after they had taken possession, that the most fertile districts of the island were in the hands of the Caribs, and they applied to their own Government to dispossess them. Orders were accordingly issued by the Board of Treasury for the survey and disposal of the lands possessed by the Caribs, for which, however, they were to receive a recompense. Now it happened that the Caribs did not choose to sell their land. At length, two regiments were ordered to embark for St. Vincent, to join others there, and a report was current, at the time alluded to, that it was the intention of our Government to extirpate them. Mr. Sharp could not but be affected by such monstrous injustice; and as Lord Dartmouth, then His Majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, was a nobleman of high character, he addressed a letter to his lordship, from which we extract the following passage: "But let me add," says he, "that even a victory in so bad a cause will load the English Government with indelible shame and dishonour. The credit of our ministers must sink to the hateful level of politicians whose principles are baneful
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to human society, and must necessarily therefore be detestable before God and man. The blood that will probably be spilt on both sides, must be somewhere imputed: for open and avowed injustice, and wilful murder, cannot be vindicated before God by any deceitful sophistry about the necessity of such measures to produce the nation's good, or to maintain the prosperity of our colonies; because good and evil can never change places, and because we must not do evil that good may come. These are the first and most fundamental principles: so that statesmen and politicians who thus venture to dispense with them, ought to be reminded, that such measures not only accumulate a national but a personal guilt, which they must one day personally answer for, when they shall be compelled to attend, with common robbers and murderers, expecting an eternal doom; for the nature of their crimes is essentially the same, and God is no respecter of persons."

We have now brought the history of Mr. Sharp's life up to the year 1773. It will be remembered, that he had published a work on "the injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery, or even of admitting the least claim to private property in the persons of men in England." This work had been sent to America, and had been circulated there by Anthony Benezet and the Quakers; it had made a deep impression there; it had first caused Mr. Sharp's name to be revered in that quarter of the world; and his success in advocating the causes of Strong, Hylas, and Lewis, and lastly, of Somerset, had occasioned it to be revered still more, and himself to be looked up to as the great person to be consulted in all cases of negro oppression. The State of Virginia, and others, having proposed to apply to the British parliament for an amendment of their laws with regard to the importation of slaves into the colonies, Mr. Sharp was written to for his advice; his opinion was, that they ought to address none but the king and his council, for that the *British parliament had nothing to do with the internal laws of their respective states*. This doctrine was received as constitutional, and the method which he had advised was adopted as the true constitutional rule for proceeding in regard to all circumstances of the slave trade: but in this, as in other things, the principle on which Mr. Sharp grounded his actions was so extensive; as to embrace much more than its immediate object; and hence, when the dispute arose between England and America, which began much about this time, on the subject of taxation, the same doctrine was forcibly brought forward *on all points*, and applied to the constitutional independence of the American assemblies with respect to the British parliament; and the whole resistance of America to England was afterwards placed on the same foundation as that which Mr. Sharp had laid down for the regulation of their slave laws:

laws: copies of his letter therefore were circulated every where rapidly; they were read with the greatest avidity. Every body looked up to him as the friend of the civil rights of the Americans, as well as the defender of the natural rights of the negroes. A considerable correspondence followed, (for his opinion was eagerly sought after,) which brought him to the knowledge of those who made afterwards the most distinguished figure in the American revolution. Mr. Sharp would never retract the doctrine of *no taxation without representation*; and thus, though one of the most loyal subjects, he was insensibly led to become a partaker in the great political strife which afterwards took place between the two countries.

In the year 1774, he was promoted in his office; he succeeded the second clerk in the Ordnance department, and became entitled to an additional salary: his promotion, however, did not prevent him from exposing what he conceived to be monstrous injustice on the part of his own Government towards his fellow-subjects, the Americans, and accordingly he published in this year "a declaration of the people's natural right to a share in the legislature," which he considered to be the fundamental principle of the British Constitution. He gave Dr. Franklin two hundred and fifty copies of this work, which were sent to America on the same day, "at the very time," says Mr. Sharp (in some manuscript notes which he left behind him), "when the British Government had most fatally determined to enforce its unconstitutional and unjust pretensions, and thereby incurred an extraordinary national punishment—even the forfeiture of all the colonies, which they had intended to oppress, together with an immense loss of lives and a most ruinous expense. Such are the baneful effects of yielding to the false political suggestions of the prince of this world and his spiritual agents! The providential effect of the wicked notions, which, through a fatal delusion, have prevailed in the cabinets of princes, is completely contrary to their political expectations; for they conceive, that there is what they call an *imperial necessity, or a political expediency*, for adopting *illegal and unjust measures*: but they are not aware, that such measures always produce the very mischiefs which they hoped to prevent by them, and draw down the divine vengeance declared in the 64th psalm: 'They imagine wickedness and practise it; but God shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow; yea, their own tongues shall make them fall; and all men that see it shall say, This hath God done! for they shall perceive, that it is his work!'"

In the year 1775 his principles were put to a most severe trial; for news having arrived of the battle of Charlestown, between the king's American subjects and the British forces, Mr. Sharp was called

called upon to execute a large Government order for sending cannon and ammunition thither. He did not, however, hesitate a moment as to what course he was to pursue; he declared his objections to being concerned in such an unnatural business, and was advised by his superior in office (Mr. Boddington) to ask leave of absence for two months, as the Board would take it more kindly than an abrupt resignation. Leave was accordingly granted him: before the expiration of it he wrote a letter to Boddington, which begins thus: "As the term of my leave of absence will expire in a few days, and there is not yet any change of public measures respecting America, I now begin to be anxious about my own particular situation; for as my opinions on that subject are established, I cannot return to my Ordnance duty whilst a bloody war is carried on unjustly, as I conceive, against my fellow-subjects; and yet to resign my place would be to give up a calling which, by my close attendance to it for eighteen years, and by my neglect of every other means of subsistence during so long a period, is now become my only profession and livelihood." The Board, unwilling to lose his services, granted him three months further leave of absence, and again, at the end of this period, extended it to six months longer: but there being then no hope that the differences between the two countries would be amicably adjusted, Mr. Sharp called on Sir Charles Cook, and resigned his office. What a noble example does this furnish us of the purity and integrity of Mr. Sharp's heart; to give up his livelihood, and place himself in a state of poverty, for conscience sake! Mr. Sharp had expended the remains of his paternal inheritance, and the fruits of his employment, in acts of bounty: and the protector of the helpless now stood himself in want of sustenance. But how seldom do the upright lose their reward! At this time, two of his brothers, who lived in London, had arrived at a comparative degree of opulence: the cordial attachment of his brothers, now so prosperous, brought them instantly round him; they revered that obedience to conscience which had deprived him of his competency, and they strove to compensate his loss by every act of respect and kindness. He was accordingly received into the house of his brother William; the two brothers joined afterwards in making him independent; for they gave him a capital, the interest of which was sufficient for a respectable support!

In this year, Omai, a native of Ulaietea, one of the South Sea islands, was brought to England in His Majesty's ship *Adventure*. Mr. Sharp was no sooner apprized of the circumstance, than he expressed a desire of communicating to him a knowledge of the sacred scriptures: he not only felt a concern for the individual proselyte, but hoped to find in him an instrument for the diffusion
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of christian light over a new race of men. Notwithstanding that Mr. Sharp had only an opportunity of seeing him fifteen times, he taught him the use of English letters, and made him sound every combination of vowels and consonants of which letters are capable. He gave him also instruction in the doctrines of the christian religion; but Omai was so constantly taken up with engagements in high and fashionable life, that his preceptor had but few opportunities of realizing his wishes.

In the same year, Mr. Sharp published four works:—"The Law of Retribution;"—"The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God; with a Plan for the gradual Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies;"—"The Law of Passive Obedience;" and "The Law of Liberty."

He was consulted also, in the same year, relative to the colliers and salters in Scotland by one of the advocates for the amelioration of their condition; and several letters passed from him on this subject.

In the year 1776, many sailors had been impressed in the city, for the purposes of the new war. This roused the attention of Mr. Sharp, and produced a little tract from him, called "An Address to the People of England, being the Protest of a private Person against every Suspension of Law that is liable to injure or endanger Public Security." He contended, in this address, against the measure of impressing seamen as a violation of the constitution of the realm; and accused Judge Foster, in particular, of having prostituted his pen by asserting "that it was not inconsistent with any statute." He was aided on this subject by his friend the late virtuous General Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony of Georgia, and the promoter (like his contemporaries Hanway and Howard) of every thing that was good. The general had before written "The Sailors' Friend;" and now he published "Memoranda on the Illegality of pressing Seamen." Mr. Sharp added Remarks to this work. It was circulated as a common concern; and both of them interested themselves with the common council and magistrates of the city, to get rid of what they considered to be monstrous iniquity, in suspending the laws of England to the prejudice of one particular class of subjects, whose only crime it had been to have been bred to the sea. The effects of their exertions were soon visible; for three lieutenants of the navy and a midshipman, who had impressed men in the city, were taken up in consequence of a warrant backed by Alderman Harley, and committed to Wood-street Compter.

In 1777, the impress service continuing, one Millachip, a waterman, and a freeman of the city, was seized, among others,
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and sent on board the tender lying off the Tower, from whence he was very soon conveyed to Portsmouth, and put on board the *Monarch* of seventy-four guns. Mr. Sharp lost no time in this affair. The common council of the city, instigated by him, took up the cause of Millachip, and the result was, (but not till after much legal dispute in the courts, in which Mr. Sharp's arguments prevailed,) that the poor man was brought by the city-marshal from the ship, and returned to his home.

While Mr. Sharp thus nobly exerted himself in defending the rights of English citizens, he continued to view with sorrow the disastrous contest which was going on with his brethren in the American colonies. All those who took a leading part there, and who were rising to political influence by opposing the claims of the mother country, were by this time well acquainted with his character. They had their eyes fixed upon him. They even courted his interference. They caused it to be made known to him, that the United States of America, notwithstanding their late declaration of independence, were still inclined to a re-union with England, even under the crown, provided His Majesty's ministers would give them a proof of their sincerity in treating with them: or, in other words, if terms of reconciliation, constitutional, and consistent with their natural rights as British subjects, were tendered to them within three months from that time, this would be so unquestionable a proof of the sincerity of the English Government in its professions of redress and amity, as would be most gladly accepted by the Americans; but that after the expiration of six months from that time, no terms short of independence could or would be accepted. Mr. Sharp lost no time in laying a proposition so congenial to his heart before those, who, he conceived, had the power of promoting it. He corresponded with Lord Dartmouth, the Duke of Richmond, and others, on the subject. He made even offers of his own personal services on the occasion. His proposition, however, was over-ruled by the ministers of the day. It is remarkable, that though Mr. Sharp took so conspicuously the part of the Americans during the war, he was so much respected by all parties, that no one ever questioned his loyalty to his king, and attachment to his country.

His efforts to suspend the mutual bloodshed of the two countries having failed, he returned in the year 1778 with increased energy to the subject of African slavery. He determined to address himself to the prelates of the land. He considered that this righteous cause belonged peculiarly to them on account of the sacredness of their office. By the close of the spring, 1779, he had held conversations with twenty-two out of the twenty-six archbishops and bishops, and finding none who differed with him

in opinion as to the evil, he began to cherish a hope, that his cause was making a glorious progress.

In the year 1780, the evils of the American war began to be most severely felt in England. Mr. Sharp knew that his efforts for peace had produced no good. He saw that parliamentary opposition to the will of the minister, however reasonable, was vain. He found, moreover, that the people began now to perceive the errors of their Government, but that their voice was not attended to. He conceived, therefore, that there was no help for the nation, either in the present or in any future distress, but in a public reform, by which the house of commons should be brought more under the control of the people. Under this persuasion, he published a tract, called "Equitable Representation necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and good Government." This was a collection of legal documents respecting a constitutional representation in parliament. To this he added three other tracts concerning annual parliaments. Soon after this, the public burthens became so great, and the hope of obtaining the object of the war so distant, if not gone, that associations began to be formed in various counties of the kingdom (of which Yorkshire was the head) to bring about the very event which Mr. Sharp had recommended. Mr. Sharp, seeing himself seconded in this manner, entered into a correspondence with all these associations. Unwilling, however, that any false opinion relative to the English constitution should go forth uncorrected, and anxious to prevent any innovation there; and, moreover, labouring always to do what he conceived to be right, he stated to them boldly, that though he united with them most closely in their object, he differed with them in their means. He set his face against their doctrine of triennial parliaments, being convinced from his researches into the English law and customs, that annual parliaments were the original and constitutional parliaments of the land. He protested, also, against the right of universal suffrage; but he agreed entirely with the associations, that it was contrary to the English constitution that placemen and pensioners should sit in parliament; and, therefore, when Mr. Powys and Sir Joseph Mawbey took up this subject in the house of commons, he furnished them with legal documents, which were never answered, to assist them in their discussion of it.

While Mr. Sharp was thus employed, he received information which led him to suspect that it was the intention of France to take a part in the war. He communicated his intelligence immediately to His Majesty's ministers, not only as became a good subject, but because he thought, that, if France interfered, America would be lost for ever to the mother country. With the same view, he intro-

duced Mr. Laurens, late president of the congress, who was then in London, to many members of parliament, and he also waited upon several of the bishops. His object was, that terms might be yet offered to the Americans. Finding, however, that all his efforts were vain, and that France would undoubtedly interfere, he proposed armed associations, "by which people of all denominations might have an opportunity of acquiring the use of arms for their common defence." He turned also his attention at this time towards the affairs of Ireland. He entered into a correspondence with Lord Carysfort, in which he affirmed the right of Ireland to legislate for herself, and approved the resolutions passed by the representatives of the great body of volunteers in that country, "that the claims of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons, to make laws to bind that kingdom, were unconstitutional and illegal."

Mr. Sharp began now to enter upon a new scene of action. Foreseeing that America would be ultimately victorious, and that she would one day legislate for herself, he was anxious about her religious destiny. He was anxious that she should adopt episcopacy, with toleration, however, to others. Brought up as a member of the church of England, and versed in scriptural researches, he considered episcopacy to be according to the primitive church of Christ. He had published a tract in 1776, entitled "The Law of Retribution," in which an account was given of "the apostolical and primitive catholic church of Christ, which always maintained the natural and just right of the clergy, and people of every diocese, to elect their own bishops, for above five hundred years after the establishment of it, until the church of Rome began its baneful exertions to invade and suppress that just and important right." It may now be observed, that this tract had been circulated in America, and that it had made such an impression there during the war, that a motion had been made in congress for establishing episcopacy as the national religion; but the further consideration of the motion was deferred till the time of peace. As soon, therefore, as peace was made, and the independence of America was acknowledged, Mr. Sharp renewed his efforts in that quarter. He brought forward also his tract "On Congregational Courts;" to which was added another "On the Election of Bishops." He sent many copies of these to America. Seeing, also, that there were two great obstacles towards the realization of his object, his next endeavour was to remove these. In the first place, bishops could only be consecrated by bishops, but there was then no bishop in America. In the second place, the episcopalian clergy of that country had always come to England for ordination, and it was not likely that they would think of
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going any where else for that purpose; but the English Act of Uniformity forbade the ordination of any student, unless he took at the same time the oath of allegiance. But what American, after the acknowledgment of the independence of his country, could take the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain? These, then, were great obstacles to the introduction of episcopacy into the United States. Mr. Sharp, however, lost no time in applying to the two archbishops for a remedy; and he urged the matter with them so strenuously, that a bill was carried through parliament which enabled the Bishop of London to ordain students from these parts, and to dispense with the oath of allegiance; but it enabled him to give no higher ordination than that of deacon and priest. The point, therefore, was only half gained. The inferior clergy of the United States might be ordained in this country, but where were the Americans to get their bishops? Mr. Sharp was now intent upon this point; he proceeded with his usual activity. In the course of letters and interviews, he convinced Dr. Moore, then Archbishop of Canterbury, that no act of parliament was necessary for the occasion, and so interested him in favour of his object, that he was authorized to write to "the convention of the episcopal clergy at Philadelphia," to inform them, that the archbishops were inclined, and the Government also, to permit them to consecrate, as bishops, proper persons, if sent over. In consequence, two American bishops were elected, Dr. White for Pennsylvania; and Dr. Prevost for New York; and notice was given of this event by the "Convention" itself to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, with an application that these and also others might be consecrated. But the matter had proceeded thus far, when the archbishops received information, that an alteration had been made by the American clergy in the liturgy of the church of England. These new obstacles were communicated to Mr. Sharp; and, to remove them, he found himself obliged to enter upon a new correspondence with Dr. Rush, Dr. Franklin, and many others. From inquiry, it appeared that, though the Convention made an alteration in the Liturgy of the Church of England, it had yet preserved the great and essential articles belonging to it. The archbishops, being now satisfied, wrote to the Convention; and in consequence Dr. White and Dr. Prevost came over to England, and were consecrated. Soon after this, Dr. Maddison arrived from Virginia, and was also consecrated. There being now a sufficient number of bishops in America, according to the laws of episcopacy, to consecrate bishops, no further application to England for this purpose was necessary.

Thus Mr. Sharp considered himself as the author of protestant episcopacy in this quarter of the world.

We cannot close this account without observing, that Mr. Sharp, after this period, and at different subsequent times, received acknowledgments for the services which he had rendered to the Americans, in a civil and religious point of view, as well from individuals as public bodies ; from Franklin, Adams, Jay, Rush, and many others ; and from the college of Providence in Rhode Island, which admitted him, at their public commencement, to the degree of doctor of laws, the only distinction which America had thought fit to establish for public merit. The example of the college of New Providence was followed by the university of Cambridge in the province of Massachusetts, and by that of Williamsburg in Virginia. . He received the thanks also of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage. He was presented also with the most grateful acknowledgments of the acting officers of the *African* church at Philadelphia : the following is a copy of their address :

“ Worthy and respected Sir,

“ We want words to express our gratitude to you for all your labours of love to our afflicted nation. You were our advocate when we had but few friends on the other side of the water. We request you to accept of our thanks for all your kind and benevolent exertions in behalf of the people of our colour ; and, in particular, for your late humane donation to our church.

“ Our prayers shall not cease to ascend to the Father of Mercies and God of all Grace for your health and happiness in this world, and for your eternal happiness in the world to come.”

[To be continued.]

ART. XII.—*The Percy Anecdotes.—Humanity.* By REUBEN and SHOLTO PERCY, *Brothers of the Benedictine Monastery of Mont Berger.*

THESE brothers of the Benedictine Monastery of Mont Berger, whatever may be the latitude and longitude of this mountain, have hit upon an admirable expedient for beguiling the ennui and indolence of their venerable institution. The members of that respectable fraternity were long distinguished for their unwearied labours and interminable accumulations. Their faculties of perseverance and research were bounded by nothing but the limits of their materials. To gather and complete, were the proud objects of their toils ; and the ponderous tomes which have issued from their cells, to sleep for ever undisturbed upon collegiate shelves, attest the stupendous strength and vigour of their powers. The mantle of those indefatigable

gable worthies has fallen upon their not degenerate successors, in very ample folds. But these more fortunate brothers have met with wiser advisers than their predecessors; and have luckily negotiated with London publishers, whose skill in the arts of quackery and puffing are unrivalled, and altogether beyond the conceptions or predictions of elder times. By the counsels of these experienced persons, brothers Reuben and Sholto have ingeniously broken down the mass of their collections into small fragments, or rather have separated the chaos into its several elements, and strung the particles of each with a thread of connexion too subtle to be detected by the keenest optics: these gentlemen have taught them how to cater for the public taste, and to furnish the varied dishes of a *cana dubia*, with the privilege of feasting upon one;—where only one joint is dressed, but few customers will present themselves to partake of it:—now one person prefers a rump-steak, another a veal-cutlet, a third a chicken or an omelette, and the *restaurateur* who can furnish a larder of twenty particulars, will be sure of an increase of visitors. Requiring ourselves something more than usually *piquant* after the fatigue of our labours, and wishing, for once, for the opportunity of an opulent choice, we stepped into the Percy Hotel, and consulted the contents of its wealthy bill of fare; the tempting list, we observed, was surmounted with the figure of a round, jocund-looking personage, soothing his arthritic pains by listening, with a perennial smile, to the good things which a young gentleman in a very uneasy and a very unsafe posture appeared to be kindly reading to him: these good things were of course the Percy Anecdotes. We balanced some time between opposing attractions; but, with our heads full of our new undertaking, we finally fixed upon this *rechauffé* of ‘Anecdotes of Humanity.’

We shared the fate of those who are intent upon untried delicacies;—‘they keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope’—chiefly, we suppose, because the ‘hope’ is screwed beyond the sticking-place. We scarcely know for whose benefit this sort of collection is best adapted,—for school-boys, or school-masters. Boys, most of them, may read on with impunity, and perhaps without much advantage; whilst the few, both boys and girls, of a more mercurial temperament, though they may perchance go beyond the point of utility, have alone the *sympathies* that qualify them to feel their value.

To have to peruse a collection of bon-mots, aphorisms, sonnets, anecdotes, or magazine miscellanies, however excellent the separate articles may be, is a task that soon becomes wearisome, though not easily to be abandoned. It is an arduous thing for the mind to change its posture every ten seconds, or even every ten minutes;

minutes; it is most fatiguing, after our attention, or admiration, or interest, has been wound up, perhaps to its full stretch, to have but a transient interval of relaxation, before the same degree of intensity is again demanded from one or other of those mental energies upon an entirely new set of circumstances. We are often compelled to lay down the volume, exhausted by the reiterations of excitement, and are glad to turn, even to the dullest writer, for the sake of indulging in some connected subject of contemplation with a steady and unbroken enjoyment. But, though the adult reader can scarcely escape without experiencing these uncomfortable feelings, because it is difficult to abstain from excess in these things, and because, in fact, such abstinence is seldom practised, and he is at liberty to go on to satiety; yet these fatiguing consequences may very well be avoided, and this abstinence be observed in private seminaries and domestic education, where the preceptor directs the readings of his pupils, not only in kind but in measure and quantity: we say *quantity*, because it is of great importance to preserve any illustrious example of virtue unconfounded and undisturbed; and in schools, this may be effected with facility and advantage, and no where else. The wants of schools, then, it is that we think these *Percy Anecdotes* are calculated to supply. There is a very large class of boys, between those classes which fill the great classical schools on the one hand, and the Madras and Lancasterian establishments on the other, which may be considered as nearly excluded from any favourable opportunities of moral instruction. Their fathers are necessarily occupied through the day in the anxious pursuit of subsistence; and their mothers involved in the routine and management of domestic concerns. This class of young people, from its very extensiveness, affords, more frequently than among the more elevated ranks of life, some who thirst for excitement, but who hear from their fathers' clerks, assistants, or labourers, nothing but unintelligible opinions on politics, and scoffs at religion; in their mothers' parlour, frivolous conversations on dress; and from the rabble in the street, with whom they occasionally mingle, grossness and blasphemy. Except the Bible and the Common-Prayer, there are not perhaps three books to be found at home; or, if there happen to be a glass book-case, decorated with a few smart bound volumes, they are in too beautiful a state to be intrusted to the discretion of school-boys. It is but a few hours in the day, perhaps, that they are subjected to the restraint of school-discipline; and, in the absence of that restraint, they have scarcely a chance, amidst the variety of persons and circumstances to which their young minds are exposed, of imbibing one generous or lofty sentiment. To a being so circumstanced, dependent for the whole of his virtuous education on the lessons of one instructor, while

while so many counter-actions are working, the applications must be of a very stimulating nature to produce any vivid effect: such an effect the *Percy Anecdotes* are calculated to produce; and the enlightened teachers of day and boarding-schools have probably hailed with pleasure these publications as instruments fitted to excite the ardent feelings of boyhood.

The only injurious effect of such insulated facts to be guarded against, is the erroneous impression which they must give of distinguished historical characters. Very noble and humane actions are read of Alexander, and Cæsar, and Titus, and Peter the Great, and Catherine, while the pupil knows nothing of their vices and cruelties; but this is an obvious consequence, and may be easily counteracted by the corrections of judicious instructors.

There may exist in the minds of some an objection, that such collections of elevated actions, like tales of fiction, are apt in young people to set the feelings in too exalted a tone, to inspire them with too eager a desire of emulating such examples; and so, preparing for them bitter disappointment, when the trials of life arise in all their petty forms and sombre colourings, irritating by their very insignificance, and not obviously conferring glory by being patiently encountered. But would, we ask, the irritable, impassioned, or aspiring temperament of a boy of genius be better able to contend with these inevitable trials, because from biography, or chivalry, he had gathered and gleaned some extravagant notions of generosity and honour? A person capable of the most disinterested actions may be profligate, ill-tempered, and neglectful of the commonest and apparently easiest duties; but the worst alloys cannot injure the quality of the pure metal they mingle with; and hours which are passed in the contemplation of good and great deeds, are scarcely to be considered as lost to religion: if they be not directly subservient to it, the mind that can be so employed is in a state of preparation for that awful restraint which makes every act of life an act of consideration, importance, and self-denial.

But to come to the merits of these particular anecdotes of Humanity; they are, as might naturally be expected, of very unequal quality. They are announced as select and original; but of this there is very little appearance; they are more like mere accumulations heaped together just as the collectors met with them. The greater part are familiar to all general readers; some are of very questionable authority—newspaper manufacture intended to flatter certain exalted living personages; and a few are mere extravagance—rather crimes than virtues.

ART. XIII.—*The Cottage Monthly Visitor*, 1821.

THE volume before us is a very useful, well-managed, publication, filled with a variety of information more or less valuable; discussing subjects that come closely home to the concerns, thoughts, and anxieties, of the labouring classes; suggesting plans of economy, and directing how to turn to the best account the opportunities and small advantages of their station. The two great objects which it is the province of benevolence to promote, by all possible means, among the poor, are comfort and contentment. But are not these the very things of which the poor themselves are in constant pursuit, and which they are likely to find without our assistance better than with it? Obviously not: experience is altogether against the supposition. Improvements, and economical discoveries in method, machinery, and utensils are brought down to them, and seldom or never originate among themselves. They may be led to imitate the habits and practices of the classes immediately above them; but that is the utmost which is to be expected, and they require an impulse to do that. There is little emulation among the mere labourers; they are satisfied with the few accommodations to which they have been accustomed from childhood, and seldom, unprompted, think the means of amendment within their reach. They have no turn for experiments, and rarely the disposition or activity of intellect to attempt or apply them. They go on, and on principle they go on, as their fathers before them. They are confessedly bad managers too, and bad management lies at the root of much of their misery. There are two ways of serving the poor,—by increasing the remuneration of labour, and by teaching them how to economize that remuneration. With the former, we have, at present, nothing to do: and events, over which we have had no controul, have of late done much in that respect; the latter is more practicable, and we believe of equal importance. We have said that comfort and contentment are the two objects to be kept in view, in every attempt to better the condition of the poor. The one is not necessarily a consequence of the other. There may be great appearance of comfort, and very little contentment with it. Industry, cleanliness, savingness,—these are the principal means, operating by the laws of experience, by which comfort is to be produced. Piety, devotion, the observance of the sabbath, the study of the scriptures, the education of their children,—these are the bases on which contentment must repose. The prosecution of these means will leave leisure for the most laborious; and for that leisure should occupation be provided; success will tend to awaken their understanding, and that will demand supplies of information. If this be not afforded them expressly, they will themselves go in search of it in any direction; and there

is always enough to be met with for very little searching. There are every where papers and pamphlets, good and bad indiscriminately, yet few comparatively that bear upon the peculiar wants and occasions of those to whom they are addressed. The *Cottage Monthly Visitor* is a publication that was much wanted. It affords to the poor,—rational, useful, practical information, sufficiently applicable to their station to give the interest of use and novelty, and is calculated to set them a-thinking on their own condition. Here are directions about matters of daily demand; cheap dishes; garden management; remedies for wounds and burns; means for restoring suspended animation; descriptions of saving banks and their advantages; epitomes of historical periods; observations to elucidate the events of scripture; remarks on the church-service; the composition and construction of the Prayer-book; natural history; extracts from newspapers of remarkable incidents, with very judicious annotations; the evils of ale-houses, fairs, &c. All tending to stir the stagnant understanding to thought, and furnishing mental aliment; conveyed in familiar stories and plain narratives, or in short dialogues, not always, indeed, very naturally or logically conducted:—no matter, they are well designed and intelligible.

This is all very good, and claims our decided approbation: but there are, we think, very striking omissions; there are a few things which we shall venture to suggest to the benevolent conductors, as matters for future consideration, and one or two which we must unequivocally condemn.

For instance: while so much earnestness is shown in recommending cleanliness, economy, reading the scriptures, observing the sabbath, and sending children to Sunday schools, to none of which recommendations can we dream of objecting, it is very remarkable that so little is said of what are more properly and religiously termed virtues. The whole attention is directed to what is external and visible; the progress and effects of which the Visitor may judge of by the eyes alone; while no pains are taken, no injunctions given, to controul the temper or discipline the evil passions. Are corrections of these things without their beneficial effects? The worthy conductors conceive they have provided for all these demands by their frequent insisting on the study of the scriptures, and attendance on public worship; but this we venture to say is a mistake, and a very serious mistake. It is extremely difficult to turn the mind inward upon itself; it requires art and pains to make it its own object, says Locke metaphysically; and we are quite sure the same may be said morally and religiously. It is more easy and natural for unenlightened people to apply grave lessons and weighty precepts, undeveloped by circumstances, to their neighbours

hours than to themselves. They have a set of principles, by which their actions are guided, operating imperceptibly by association; they do not refer explicitly to them when the occasion for action arrives; they cannot tell how these principles were generated,—by custom, precept, experience; they know nothing about the matter; they do not concern themselves about it. The correctness of these latent guides they neither question nor interrogate; nor do they suspect themselves of any lurking vices. Therefore, when they hear or read of what is incompatible with their own course of action, that contrary conduct, except in a few gross instances, is not the first thing that strikes, but that of Will Jenkins or Bet Dodson. For sermons, or even scripture reading, to arrest the attention beneficially, their conscience must in some degree be awake and alert. The effect of these things upon people in this torpid state, is commonly vague, and general, and uninteresting. A story the incidents of which are of a familiar cast, and of every-day experience, will imperceptibly lay hold of their imagination; they will couple themselves with the hero,—contrast, compare, and finally be let into the secrets of their own bosom. Every thing requires to be driven home to them—almost personally and individually pointed, to rouse the sleeping conscience from its lair. Uneducated and unreflecting people, again, under the best directions and discipline, are generally content with a very brief list of virtues. One at a time is almost enough. That one swallows up all the rest. We have observed many of very clean and notable habits, and very careful of religious observances, exceedingly malicious, detraction, and revengeful withal. We wish to see forbearance, gentleness, kindness, the true virtues of the heart, inculcated and enforced again and again; we would have the darker and more selfish passions,—jealousy, envy, hatred, hard-heartedness,—stripped of their disguises, and their effects exhibited and urged, till they were felt to be as odious as they are verbally perhaps allowed to be. These effects may not be of so turbulent or of so obvious a kind as those of the grosser vices; but they are equally hostile to the contentment of the individual, and destructive to the peace of society.

One very prolific source of evil in villages, to which, we believe, there is not a single allusion in the Visitor, though the opportunity frequently presented itself, is gossiping—by which we mean the discussing and retailing of the concerns of the neighbourhood. This is always accompanied with the delivery of opinions built of course upon partial knowledge and inaccurate reports. It is not merely the communication of incidents and the detail of events,—this is natural and often harmless,—but the judgement and censures inseparably linked with them, of which we complain. As long as people have tongues in their heads, we know their owners will
wield

wield them; we do not propose to silence those valuable organs, but to correct their obliquities. Difficult as it confessedly is for the most considerate persons to collect the circumstances that are necessary for the formation of an accurate judgement, the tattling decisions of these gossipers must inevitably be of the most erroneous description. One error, we know, begets another; bad news flies fast; the tale rolls with all its accumulations; enmities rouse; retaliation watches; and hatred and vengeance become the settled feelings of the injured party. Here then is a fruitful source of mischief, to which we would beg to direct the "Visitor's" assiduous attention.

There is another point, which, though not altogether omitted, we think might usefully be more dwelt upon, and that is, the means of improving the condition of the poor by small patches of land. To be sure, this matter might seem rather to be urged upon proprietors; but if the poor be impressed with the advantages of land, they will be eager to seize on opportunities of obtaining it, which often perhaps occur; and which would otherwise be suffered to escape. We should be glad to see the time when every labourer in the kingdom had a cow grazing near his cottage.

We have dwelt so long upon these points, that we must confine ourselves to a few hints on the subjects which we proposed to suggest for the conductors' future consideration, and for which we think their publication a most convenient vehicle. These are, popular prejudices, superstitions, and proverbial maxims. Of the first kind are the common notions of constitutional temperaments,—of being passionate, impatient, &c.—which, though we shall not undertake to prove that they have not their root in nature, are too easily allowed and quoted as the apology for a multitude of faults. Hostility to changes and new ways; which may be combated by showing the success of many innovations within their own memory and experience. Of the second kind are the idle fancies relative to charms, fortune-telling, dreams, witchcraft, &c., which prevail to an extent, particularly among girls and women, scarcely credible to those who know little of the country; and of the maxims of a bad or of an equivocal tendency, capable of an ambiguous application, there is abundance. They are used on all occasions, and back and justify all sorts of perversions. "When things are at the worst, they will mend;" and little regard is paid to the base, profligate, or imprudent causes from which the supposed extremity has originated.

So much as there is in this publication that is unexceptionably laudable, it was with unfeigned sorrow that we found any thing which we felt ourselves compelled directly to censure. How could the worthy conductors deliberately admit the strange letter
which

which appears at page 467? It is calculated to foster the poorest party feelings—to corrupt, we will say, the moral judgements of the people. We must earnestly implore them to preserve the purity of their future pages from such contamination;—we implore them to shun the rock of politics, or they make shipwreck of their own utility.

There are histories of poachers, of their idleness, profligacy, punishments, and fatal termination, about which matters we have a word of reproof: to the stories themselves we do not object, for poaching is indeed productive of lamentable consequences; but let poaching, its perils and penalties, and moral evils, be referred to their proper source, the unreasonable severity of our Game Laws. No legislative enactments can place the *mala per se*, and the *mala prohibita*, on the same level in the brain of any human being, educated or uneducated, escaping from childhood or idiocy; and miserable would be the result, if they could. The moral feelings of mankind, in an age of any civilization, are not to be corrupted to such an extent, nor any thing near it. When we contemplate the laws against poachers, framed on the poor pretence of the necessity of defending game, and hear of the sad consequences, our indignation against these cruel enactments springs up irresistibly, and contends with our grief for the violations of them; for they are laws which generate ferocity and revenge.

We take our leave of this very useful book, and trust the conductors will receive our remarks with good temper. If we had not thought favourably of their efforts, we should not have expended so much of our attention upon them: we give no extracts; it was our desire to put our readers in possession of the general objects of the publication, and extracts would have contributed very little to that purpose. We recommend it heartily, and exhort our benevolent friends to promote its circulation in the country to the utmost of their power.

O B I T U A R Y.

BENJAMIN HAWES, ESQ.

Jan. 10. Suddenly, aged 79, being struck with a fit while on his usual walk, three miles distant from Worthing, Benjamin Hawes, esq. Mr. Hawes was a native of Islington. He was the youngest of three brothers, of whom Mr. James Hawes, the eldest, died in 1789, the other, —the philanthropic and much lamented Dr. William Hawes,—died in 1808, and was the founder of that admirable charity, the Royal Humane Society.

Mr. Hawes was for many years a respectable indigo merchant in Thames-street; and having, by great skill in business, with unremitted industry and unsullied integrity, acquired an ample fortune, he relinquished trade, and passed his latter years at Worthing, where his loss will be felt in an extraordinary degree, even by many who did not know him to be their benefactor. The great distinctive feature of his mind was an ardent and conscientious desire to relieve the distresses of his fellow-creatures, without taking to himself the merit of his good works. Having retired from the busy scene of life, he lived very abstemiously, and his constant study was not only to communicate good to all around him, but if possible to conceal the hand which thus diffused blessings. In his own immediate neighbourhood, his charity, which often amounted to munificence, could not always escape the detection of gratitude; but, wherever it was practicable, his benefactions were anonymous; he seemed even ingenious in devising means of “doing good by stealth;” and he literally “blushed to find it fame.” In many instances he even made considerable *transfers of stock* to meritorious individuals whom he saw struggling with adversity; and who were never informed of the source from which their timely accession of property was derived. With the same shrinking modesty, he became an anonymous contributor to many public institutions for the alleviation of pain and suffering, the instruction of the ignorant, or the reformation of the depraved. Naturally attached, for 48 years together, to an institution founded by his brother and congenial with his own generous sensibility, his liberal annual donation to the Royal Humane Society was nevertheless contributed under the mere designation of “A Life Governor in 1774.”

But the great object which interested his philanthropic feelings through life was the *abolition of the slave trade*. To promote this measure of enlightened humanity, he in many different ways contributed large sums anonymously. Nay, so indignant was he, on the close of the late war, at the treaties which tolerated that abominable traffic, that in a letter which he had sketched to Mr. Wilberforce (whether he ever sent it we know not) he offered to sacrifice *several thousands a-year*, if that sum could ensure the adoption of means to compel all the European powers to put an end to the slave trade entirely. Even in this princely conception, however, ostentation had no part; for he stipulated

pulated for the absolute concealment of his name, and only identified himself in the letter as the individual who between 1780 and 1790 had inclosed to the then treasurer in Lombard-street, five exchequer bills, and about 1810 had sent an India bond directed to the Secretary of the African Institution.

Mr. Hawes was habitually an early riser, usually quitting his bed, in winter as well as summer, at four o'clock, or earlier. One of his great delights was to observe the rising sun. He considered exercise in the open air to be essentially conducive to health; and, by a prudent arrangement of his time, even when engaged in an extensive business, he generally contrived to walk on an average about twenty miles a day; and this practice he continued at Worthing till the afternoon which terminated his mortal existence.

Though he sedulously avoided company, he well knew what was going on in the busy world. His dress was always neat, but so plain that it might be mistaken for that of a Quaker; and in fact, though not one of the society of Friends, he occasionally attended their meetings. His religious faith was that of a protestant dissenter. Having diligently made the holy scriptures his habitual study, he was from principle and conviction a firm believer in the great and important doctrines inculcated by the inspired writers.

It is needless to say, that this model of true christian charity acted under the impulse of the strongest religious feeling; but it was a feeling so destitute of all prejudice, that he embraced in the large circle of his beneficence his fellow-creatures of every religious persuasion; as well as of every species of affliction; and the records of testamentary bounty afford few parallels to the following list of benefactions, which are to be made to various societies after the death of a near and dear relation, a daughter of his eldest brother, who had constantly contributed to his health and comfort.

3½ per cent. Stock.		General Penitentiary . . . £1000	
Royal Humane Society .	£1000	London Hibernian Society .	1000
Refuge for the Destitute .	1000	London Hosp. Whitechapel	1000
Foreigners in Distress . .	1000	The Missionary Society . .	1000
Philanthropic Society . .	1000	British & Foreign Bible Society	1000
St. Luke's Hospital . . .	1000	Religious Tract Society .	1000
Magdalen Hospital . . .	1000	Quakers' Poor House . .	1000
Asylum	1000	Methodist Preachers . .	1000
Indigent Blind	1000	Presbyterian Ditto . . .	1000
Society for the relief of pri-	} 1000	Baptist Ditto	1000
soners for small debts .		Independent Ditto . . .	1000
Jews' Poor, Mile-end . .	1000	Roman Catholic Ditto . .	1000
City of London Truss Society	1000	Quakers' Ditto	1000

Mr. Hawes had no children; but he had numerous relations, among whom he distributed the bulk of his ample property, with strict attention to their just claims on his notice; nor is there one of them who has not reason to remember him with gratitude.

INTELLIGENCE.

PROCEEDINGS OF SCHOOL SOCIETIES.

Of the NATIONAL SOCIETY, no later information has been laid before the public, than that contained in the Tenth Annual Report of their Proceedings, published in July last, in which are gratifying accounts of the progress of education. The central school in Baldwin's Gardens continues to prosper, and the number of scholars has increased. The total number educating in this school is 721, and in the course of the year, 229 boys and 64 girls have left it completely instructed.

The Society has been enabled to assist 164 schools in different parts of the kingdom, by sending temporary or permanent masters and instructors, or by the instruction of persons sent from the country to obtain a knowledge of the system; and many boys educated in the school are now qualified to fill such situations. A master has also been provided to conduct the National School at Calcutta; and there have been admitted into the central school, one destined for Van Diemen's Land, two native Negroes for Sierra Leone, and several missionaries intended for foreign stations.

The foreign intelligence is equally satisfactory and interesting.

In the presidency of Bombay, three schools have been established for the education of European children. One at Bombay, containing 172 scholars; one at Surat, and one at Tarmah, containing sixty children. In addition to these, four schools have been established for natives, in which there were, by the last accounts, 230 scholars. A special meeting was held in August preceding, at which the Hon. M. Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, presided, for the express purpose of considering the most effectual means of giving extension to the native schools; and it was resolved, that a separate branch of the society should be there formed, to take this object under its special superintendence. It seemed likely that the prejudices of the natives would be overcome, and translations were commenced for the purpose of providing a sufficient supply of elementary works in the native language.

At New Brunswick, in North America, the Society for the support of the National Schools had, under the patronage of the lieutenant-governor, General Smith, been incorporated and endowed. In addition to the central school at St. John's, seven others have been formed in different parts of the island, including in the whole 700 children. The increased attendance at the central school has rendered an additional building necessary.

At Sierra Leone, eleven National Schools have been established, containing nearly 2000 scholars.

Two schools also have been formed in the Island of Barbadoes, under the active and liberal patronage of Lord Combermere; one for Whites, and one for Negroes, each containing about 150 scholars.

The

The success of the Society's labours is highly gratifying, and must have widely operated to encourage the schools in connexion with the Society; upwards of 2000*l.* in the year having been thus expended.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY.—The principal object of the Society has uniformly been to support their central schools in the Borough Road, in the most excellent condition, as the means of diffusing a knowledge of their system of education, not only in England, but throughout the world. The two schools are calculated to contain 800 pupils, and are always full. Twenty thousand six hundred and eighty-nine children have been educated at this Establishment.

Since the last anniversary of the Society, thirty-four persons have received the instruction necessary to qualify them for the superintendence of schools; and several individuals about to depart for missionary stations, have been made acquainted with the system.—Female teachers have been supplied to five new schools in the neighbourhood of London; and mistresses sent to Coleraine in Ireland, Rochester, Worcester, Nettlecomb, Boston, Sunderland, and Woolwich, besides various others who have been trained at the request of different committees. A mistress has also been qualified and sent to St. Petersburg; and the wives of several missionaries, destined to distant countries, have acquired a knowledge of the system.

The increase of schools in the metropolis has been considerable. Under the auspices of the City auxiliary, two have been built for 300 boys and 250 girls; and in Southwark, two schools, instituted by the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, have been supplied with a master and mistress from the central schools. The Bloomsbury auxiliary has within its precincts a school for 300 girls: another also is in contemplation for 400 boys. The Jews' school having been for some time past crowded, two new schools for children of this persuasion are erected in Bell Lane, Spitalfields, for 600 boys and 300 girls. From all parts of the country, the most satisfactory information has been received of the increase of schools; and the plan of voluntary local associations for the direction of them, has almost universally prevented the decline of zeal in the superintendence of those already established.

In Scotland, the system is making additional progress. The School at Edinburgh has been supplied with a well-qualified teacher; while in the other large cities where the system has been introduced, the most beneficial effects have followed. The Highland Society is about establishing a model school at Inverness; and Mr. Cameron, the intended master, has acquired, by the assistance of the Society, a perfect knowledge of the system.

The *Hibernian Society* is increasing in success, and the Baptist Irish Society have increased their schools to the number of ninety, educating 8000 children. These are taught in the Irish language; and as no book is allowed to be read in these schools but the Bible, and no Catechism taught, the Catholics feel no reluctance in sending their children, and even some of the priests have zealously promoted the Society's plans.

The intelligence from the British Colonies, and Foreign States, is equally interesting. In

In Upper and Lower Canada, the schools established still flourish, but means are wanting for extending the system according to the wants of the country.

At Halifax, in Nova Scotia, a new and spacious school-room has been opened; and from the indefatigable zeal of Mr. Bromley, who has already surmounted numerous difficulties, much may be expected.

In the vast and important possessions of this country in India, the exertions of the Society have been but one year in operation; yet the progress is very encouraging. At Calcutta, there are in existence 188 "indigenous schools;" and of these, three-fourths, containing 3000 boys, have accepted the benefits offered to them by the Society: in May, four Bengalee schools, and one Hindostanee school, had been established. The Ladies' Committee of the Parent Society in London have raised the sum of 521*l.* 9*s.* for the purpose of preparing and sending out a suitable person as mistress to a central school to be instituted at Calcutta, and to assist in defraying the expense attending its formation.

The British system has also been introduced into the island of Malta and the Ionian Islands. In the former, two schools for 350 children have been established, under the direction of the School Society of La Valette; and in the latter of our possessions, the British Government has greatly assisted the friends to education by sanctioning their exertions.

In France, the zeal and activity of the friends of education continue. The schools have increased 200 in number during the last year, and 129,000 children are now under instruction.

In the Netherlands, the effects of the introduction of the British system of education have surpassed all expectation. The central school at Brussels has fully rewarded the efforts required for its establishment; and it is acknowledged by Baron de Falch, the minister for Public Instruction, that the diffusion of education is visibly followed by an improvement in the habits and moral principles of the rising generation.

In Tuscany, there are now twenty-six schools on the Society's system, and several others are about to be established.

In Spain, a plan for erecting a large normal school for girls has been favourably received by the Cortes. By order of the government, a master is preparing for the Havannah, and a grand central military school for the whole army has been established.

In Russia, several new schools have been opened; and the school at Homel (the estate of Count Romanzoff), under the care of Mr. Heard, has been removed into the magnificent building erected by the count for that purpose. This school has produced, in various parts of Russia, and particularly in Poland, a great desire of forming similar establishments. At Wilna, the members of the university have opened more than one school on this system.

In Sweden, the efforts of Mr. Gerelius have been very successful, and have been supported by the patronage of the archbishop of Stockholm, the municipal authorities, and several other distinguished cha-

acters. Two new schools were opened in November, and a school society has since been formed.

In the United States, and the West Indies, the system is gaining ground; and in South America there is every probability of the introduction of the system, on a permanent and extended scale.

In the Appendix to the Report there are many most interesting particulars, which, if our limits allowed, we should have much pleasure in inserting. There is one fact concerning this institution, which we cannot refrain from noticing, being persuaded that it cannot be generally known. The Parent Society receives at present such slender and insufficient support from the public, that the expenses greatly exceed their income, and they are at present between four and five thousand pounds in debt. Their expenditure, uniformly conducted on the most economical footing, last year exceeded 2400*l.*, while the amount of the annual subscriptions (the only permanent and certain source of revenue) is under 1000*l.*!

The Sunday School Union was established in 1803, and consists of the members of the London auxiliaries, with a committee consisting of thirty-six members. The objects of this union are thus stated by the society:—

“First—to stimulate and encourage those who are engaged as Sunday school teachers, to greater exertions in the education and religious instruction of the ignorant: Secondly, by mutual communications to improve the methods of tuition: Thirdly, to enlarge existing schools; ascertain those situations in London and its vicinity, where Sunday schools are most wanted, and endeavour to establish them: Fourthly, to supply books and stationery suited for Sunday schools, at reduced prices: Fifthly, to correspond with ministers and other persons in the United Kingdom and abroad, relative to Sunday schools; and to afford such assistance in the formation of them as the funds will permit.”

The metropolis and adjacent villages are arranged under four auxiliary societies; and during the last year it appears that in each there is a progressive increase of schools and scholars. Twenty-four new schools have been opened during the year, principally in the villages round London, and several school-rooms have been erected.

The schools already established continue very generally in a prosperous state. The total numbers reported as now existing within the districts of these auxiliaries are 324 schools, 4438 teachers, 48,862 scholars.

The county intelligence as to the present state of the existing schools, and the formation of new schools, is highly gratifying. Two additional unions have been formed during the year, each containing several schools: and the Report contains many interesting details of the general and particular benefit derived by the children, their parents, and the respective neighbourhoods, from the establishment of these excellent institutions.

Six district unions have been established in Carnarvonshire: these contain 110 schools, at which about 12,000 persons of all ages attend.

It

It is proposed to unite these district unions into one general county union; and it is hoped that this example will be followed throughout the principality, in which it is calculated there are 100,000 Sunday scholars.

In Scotland, no less than 121 schools, attended by 7158, children, have been connected with the Sunday School Union, of which number nearly 100 have been formed within the preceding twelve months; 180 schools are reported to have libraries, containing together nearly 5000 volumes: libraries are also attached to several others.

From the reports of 338 schools, it appears that the average annual expense of conducting them is less than 2*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* for each school, or about nine-pence per scholar.

In Ireland, the increase during the last year amounts to 262 schools, and 22,075 scholars; and gratuitous assistance has been afforded by the Sunday School Society to 610 schools. An interest for the welfare of Sunday schools appears to be no where more warmly excited than in Ireland. Within the last three years, the schools assisted have been more than doubled.

PROCEEDINGS OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

WANT of space prevents us from giving more at present than the following brief sketch of the various Societies formed in England for the propagation of the Gospel in heathen countries. It will be our pleasing duty, in succeeding numbers, to present an account of the several stations at which missionaries reside, and to detail from time to time the progress of their very important, interesting, and extensive labours.

The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was instituted in 1701, under the auspices of William III. The principal object contemplated in its formation, was the supply of the plantations, colonies, and factories beyond the seas, with suitable ministers of the Established Church; for which purpose, as far as it respects our possessions in North America, a sum of money is annually voted by parliament. The members of this society have recently determined on an extension of their plans, and propose to adopt active measures for the spread of Christianity in the East. In consequence of this resolution, a 'Mission College' is now erecting in Calcutta, by which the means of instruction will be afforded to European missionaries, as well as to those natives who may wish to avail themselves of its advantages. Here also the translation and printing of the Scriptures will be actively carried forward; besides which, it is proposed to establish missionary stations, scholarships, a library, and Christian and native schools. The principal of the college, the Rev. W. H. Mill, with the Rev. J. H. Alt, one of the professors, arrived at Calcutta from England in February 1821, and have entered upon their important functions.

The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge has existed more than a century, and, besides important domestic operations, has greatly contributed to the spread of religion in the East Indies. Mission-

aries, catechists, and school-masters, have been long patronized and supported ;—of these labourers the venerable Swartz was one ; his successors still carry on the work with the most valuable effects. The present stations are Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Tanjore, Tinnevely, Vepary, Noacolty, Meerut, Barrackpore, Trichinopoly, and Ceylon. The Liturgy is translated and printed in the Tamul and Cingalese languages ; and the schools, which are numerous, are well supplied with books and religious tracts. A clergyman who lately visited the Madras district mentions two villages, named Nazeret and Mothelloor, entirely inhabited by native Christians, whose instructors are supported by this Society. He observes that “there is not an idol or heathen temple any where to be seen : while the stillness that prevailed, contrasted with the tumult of heathen abodes, seemed to invest these favourite spots with a degree of sanctity, and made one forget for the moment that they were in the midst of a pagan land. I have seldom witnessed so much religion in a town in England as is conspicuous here ; and some heathen in the neighbourhood of one of the villages told me candidly that it was a very quiet and good place.”

The labours of the *Moravians*, or *United Brethren*, exhibit extraordinary generosity, self-denial, and patient perseverance. Their missions commenced in 1732, when the whole number of their society did not exceed 600. They chose for the scenes of their exertions, the most barbarous and unpromising countries. Without funds, without patronage, without any human resources, they ventured to the inhospitable shores of Labrador and Greenland ; and there they have continued amidst obstacles that would have disheartened any but themselves. Sometimes they have been on the very verge of starvation ; at other times, the inclemency of the weather has occasioned severe suffering and danger ; and more than once the murderous hand of the savages has been imbrued in the blood of the missionaries : yet nothing has deterred, nothing has appalled them. Their missions are now in a flourishing state. There are three stations in Greenland, and the same number in Labrador. The missionaries have translated the New Testament into the languages of the Greenlanders and the Esquimaux. In the West India Islands, there are seventeen settlements, in which Christian instruction is afforded to nearly 27,000 Negroes. Upwards of 1900 Hottentots are collected into congregations in South Africa. The good effects of the regulations uniformly established by the Brethren for the promotion of industry and civilization have particularly appeared among these people. The converts have been induced to cultivate the land ; they have learned various trades ; and have even succeeded in erecting a bridge over the river Zenderend, which will prove a great benefit to the surrounding country :—the Hottentots are a nation proverbially slothful ; this change is therefore entirely to be ascribed to the introduction of Christianity. There are other stations among the North American Indians, in South America, and in Russian Asia. In thirty-two stations there are 161 missionaries, and the congregations are about 32,000 in number.

By the exertions of *The Wesleyan Missionary Society*, formed in 1786, many thousands of the slaves in the West India islands have received instruction. Their conduct has been consistent and prudent; and the inhabitants of some of the islands have been so well convinced, by the evidence of facts, of the beneficial results of the mission, that they have voluntarily come forward to defray the expenses incurred. This Society has also several stations in the East Indies and in Ceylon. In the latter island, two priests, of the highest order of the Buddhist priesthood, have embraced Christianity: they have since visited England for further instruction, and, we believe, are now gone back to their own country. The whole number of stations occupied by this Society is 97; there are about 150 missionaries; and many schools have been established for the education of the young, both on Sundays and other days of the week. The establishments are most numerous in Ceylon, where there are 84 schools containing 4878 children, and conducted by 150 teachers.

The Baptist Missionary Society was instituted in 1792. Messrs. Carey and Thomas, the first missionaries, sailed from this country in 1793, and on their arrival in Bengal immediately commenced their active labours. They had to struggle with great difficulties, and met with numerous disappointments; but they persevered. The number of missionaries now employed is about 30, besides many native assistants, converts to Christianity, who, from their knowledge of their countrymen's habits and modes of thinking, are peculiarly adapted to the work. Twenty-five stations are occupied, situated in Bengal, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and Jamaica.

The Baptist missionaries have paid particular attention to the translation of the Scriptures, and have been signally successful in this department. In the space of twenty years they have translated and printed the word of God, in whole or in part, in no fewer than thirty-one languages and dialects! In five of these languages the whole Scriptures are published and in circulation. In two others the New Testament is printed; of these the Chinese is one, in which language the remainder of the sacred volume will soon be published. Sixteen other versions of the New Testament are in the press, some of which are probably by this time nearly finished. On the importance and usefulness of these exertions it is impossible fully to calculate: by such labours the Missionaries leave a rich legacy to future generations, and may justly be regarded as the best benefactors of India for ages to come.

At Serampore, the seat of the translations, seventeen presses are employed; the paper for their use, of a better quality and more durable texture than any before manufactured in India, is furnished from a manufactory on the spot established by the missionaries. A laudable attention to the temporal necessities of the natives, has induced them to institute a Savings Bank; and Dr. Carey has lately exerted himself with success in the formation of an agricultural and horticultural society, of which the governor-general has accepted the patronage, and which has been joined by several of the most opulent of the natives.

The education of the young has proved a powerful auxiliary to their exertions.

exertions. Under the superintendence of the missionaries, upwards of 10,000 children receive valuable instruction; they are supplied with compendiums of useful knowledge, which, by means of the 'Scientific Copy Books,' are well impressed on their memories. The effect already produced by these schools, may be gathered from the following extract from one of the missionaries' journals:—

"This morning, asked my pundit who has lately visited every school connected with the Society, whether he had witnessed any effects of the instruction now afforded to children? He replied, 'Yes, sir, the effects are astonishing, both among the children and the parents. A few months ago, before your books were introduced, if I had asked a boy at school what was the matter during the late eclipse, he would have replied that the giant Rahoo was eating the moon, and would have joined in the beating of drums, &c. to frighten him, that he might let go his grasp. But now they all know better; they see such an event without alarm, know it to be produced by the shadow of the earth, and despise the foolish ideas and customs they formerly entertained and practised. A few months ago, had a snake bit a person, he would have done nothing but immediately call for a priest to repeat a muntra (or incantation) over him, and, if the snake was poisonous, die in the repetition; but now, as soon as he is bitten, he puts no faith in muntras, but directly ties a bandage over the wound, and gets a hot iron applied to burn out the poison.'"

The literary labours of the Baptist Missionaries have been various and important. They have compiled grammars and lexicons of several of the Eastern languages. Dr. Carey is one of the professors in the college of Fort William, Calcutta; a college has been recently founded at Serampore, at a great expense, where the native youth will have the opportunity of obtaining a knowledge of religion, science, and literature.

In 1795 *The London Missionary Society* was formed, and has been extensively useful in various and distant parts of the world. In several of the South Sea Islands, to which missionaries were sent soon after the formation of the society, the system of idolatry is abolished; large buildings are erected for Christian worship; the Sabbath is religiously observed; education is progressively advancing; spelling-books and portions of the Scriptures have been printed in the Tahitian language; and considerable improvements are already observable in industry and civilization.

Dr. Morrison is stationed at Canton in China; he has translated the whole Bible into Chinese, great part of which is printed and in circulation. He is otherwise actively employed in missionary concerns. At Malacca, an Anglo-Chinese college has been established, which is under the superintendence of Dr. Milne. In the East Indies, 24 missionaries are assiduously labouring; several thousand children are under their care. Vigorous efforts are made for the enlightening and civilization of the uncultivated tribes of South Africa.

The King of Madagascar having recently entered into a treaty with our Government, by which the slave trade is abolished in his dominions, Mr. Jones, one of the missionaries of this society, accompanied the
British

British commissioner, in order to solicit permission to introduce Christianity into the country. The king, having thoroughly informed himself of the views of the society, cordially sanctioned the project, and wrote a letter to the directors, of which the following is an extract :—

“ Mr. Jones, Your missionary, having satisfied me that those sent out by your society have no other object than to enlighten the people by persuasion and conviction, and to discover to them the means of becoming happy, by evangelizing and civilizing them, after the manner of European nations, and this not by force, contrary to the light of their understandings : therefore, gentlemen, I request you to send me, if convenient, as many missionaries as you may deem proper, provided you send skilful artisans to make my people workmen, as well as good Christians.”

In consequence of this application, another missionary and four artisans have been appointed to proceed to Madagascar. Eight youths, sent by the King to England to be instructed in useful learning and arts, are now under the care of the British and Foreign School Society ; their progress in writing, speaking, and reading the English language, is highly creditable to them. Should they be spared to return, the knowledge they will have gained will doubtless enable them to render essential service to the land of their birth.

The other stations occupied by this society are in Russia, Russian Tartary, the Mediterranean, and the West Indies. The whole number of stations is fifty, in which are 140 labourers, including missionaries, assistants, native teachers, schoolmasters, &c.

The Church Missionary Society, conducted (as its name imports) by members of the Church of England, was formed in 1801. Its operations are carried on with great vigour, and on a large scale, by a supply of able missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, and by the translation of the Scriptures and the English Liturgy into several of the Eastern languages. Besides eighteen stations in British India, there are agents supported and employed by this society in Western Africa, Ceylon, the West Indies, Malta, and Constantinople : the stations connected with these districts are twenty-one in number. The missionaries in Western Africa are chiefly occupied among the liberated Negroes, who are distributed into several towns and hamlets, and are making great progress both in Christian knowledge and in habits of industry and order. Regent's Town, one of these places, contains 1218 inhabitants. It is laid out with regularity in nineteen streets. There is a large church, a government-house, a parsonage-house, an hospital, school-houses, store-houses, a bridge of several arches, all of stone, as are some of the native dwellings, and other buildings ; the land in the neighbourhood is cultivated, various trades are carried on, a daily market is held, and the whole place is rapidly advancing in civilization.

The following fact will serve to show the benign influence of Christian principles, wherever they are sincerely believed and practised :—On a late occasion, when a body of newly-liberated slaves arrived in Regent's Town, the inhabitants met the enfeebled sufferers, carried them up the hill on their backs, brought them food from all quarters, and clothed them in their own garments :—whereas before the introduction of religion
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among them, the Negro would scarcely notice any stranger, however wretched, if he were not of his own family or tribe.

Upwards of 200 Missionaries are employed by this Society; more than 10,000 children are under instruction. Printing presses are established in various places; churches have been erected, and many hundreds have been converted to Christianity.

PROCEEDINGS OF BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Refuge for the Destitute.—A general court of the governors of this institution was held in February last, when a very gratifying report was made. It is, or ought to be, generally known that the object of the Refuge is to provide a place for the reformation of persons discharged from prison, or from the hulks,—for unhappy females, and others, who, though willing to work, are unable from loss of character to earn an honest maintenance. Within this asylum, they are no longer exposed to the temptations of vice: the most kind and persevering exertions are employed to induce them to renounce their former guilty habits; religious instruction is imparted; useful trades are taught; and when their conduct has afforded reason to believe that they can with safety quit the institution, suitable situations are provided for them.

The Report was very interesting and encouraging. It stated, that this institution has already examined the cases of 2,800 objects, of whom 1,500 have been admitted into the two branches of the institution, a majority of whom have been recovered from vice and misery, and restored to society.

The number of males received into the Hoxton establishment last year, was 54, which, with 61 in the establishment at its commencement, make 115: of these 55 have been discharged, and 60 remain. Of those discharged, 31 have been apprenticed, and 9 others were provided with employment, or restored to their friends.

Of the females, 66 were in the house in Hackney Road at the commencement of the year, and 50 have been admitted, making together 116, of whom 24 have been placed in respectable service, 17 restored to their friends, and 58 remain in the establishment.

The employment of both sexes is an object of the first consideration. Of the males, between 20 and 30 are constantly employed in tailoring, and as many in shoemaking; several in bookbinding; a few in basket-making, and the rest in cutting fire wood for sale. The females are occupied in washing and in household work. With this employment is connected a daily course of religious instruction and devotion, and there are schools for both sexes.—There is also a temporary refuge attached to each establishment, where destitute objects are sent by the committee, on the payment of 7s. per week. Into these asylums, 148 persons have been received during the last year.

Mendicity Society.—The fourth anniversary meeting of the Society for the Suppression of Mendicity was held on the 27th of February, and was numerous and respectably attended. From the Report it appeared that the number of cases had decreased from 4546 in the

the year before last, to 2339, the number of cases in the last year, but that the average expenditure on each case had been proportionately increased. The society had taken measures for the formation of an asylum to receive female servants out of place, and prevent the contagion of common lodging-houses. Notwithstanding the experience and the utmost vigilance of the governors, they had been greatly imposed upon by the most numerous class of mendicants—those who alleged want of work as the cause of their distress. For this class the managers had hit upon a plan to prevent imposition, and which had succeeded to a degree by no means anticipated. A wharf had been hired on the Grand Junction canal, to which were sent such as professed to be willing to work, to break stones for the roads. These persons were paid for their labour by the ton, and furnished with provisions by the society; but out of 257, who had been sent there, 193 absconded, and the results were such as to prove the utility of labour as a test, and the impositions which those are subjected to who give relief in the streets indiscriminately. Having entered into a system of investigation into the circumstances under which *begging letters* were written, the committee had obtained a list of 900 worthless individuals, who in that manner lived by committing depredations on the public, and there was on an average only one in five found worthy of attention.

At a late meeting of the committee, a report of the proceedings in the *begging letter department* was read, of which the following are extracts:—

“Respecting the cause of charity, the committee hope it has been greatly benefited by the opportunity afforded to the subscribers, of distinguishing the appeals of positive and genuine misery from the artful and fallacious tales of distress. The fact is, indeed, established, that, during the course of many years, gross impositions have been regularly and systematically practised on the nobility and gentry of this country by persons whose only trade is begging by letter; and it is lamentable to reflect how considerable have been the sums thus obtained; how the easy credulity of benevolence has served the purposes of deep-laid fraud; how the money intended to lessen the sum of human calamity has, by its hasty or improvident appropriation, gone to the encouragement of imposture, idleness, and profligacy. The committee have a list of 600 worthless individuals, who, in this manner, are in the practice of committing their depredations on the public; and it is a striking fact, that of the *begging-letter cases* investigated by your committee, there is, on an average, only one out of five which they have reported deserving attention.

“The labours of the committee have not been confined, however, to the detection of falsehood, or the exposure of fraud. It has also been their delightful task, after ascertaining the existence of positive wretchedness, to turn the tide of benevolence into its proper and legitimate channels: and the board will be gratified to learn, that, through the instrumentality of the begging-letter committee, many cases of real and unaffected misery have been relieved, effectually and permanently, by a consolidation of those contributions which, but for this system of investigation, would probably have been diffused and wasted amongst those importunate and worthless letter-writers, who have inundated the town,

town, during many years, with counterfeit representations of distress. And it is matter of congratulation, that while your committee have, in numberless instances, unmasked the impostor, and marred the prospects of his disgraceful traffic, their single recommendation has sufficed to carry consolation and joy into the bosoms of worthy, and afflicted, and destitute families; that the society has thus multiplied its opportunities of removing or assuaging human misery, and advancing its claims on the countenance and support of a benevolent public."

Guardian Society.—This institution, established "for the preservation of public morals, providing a temporary asylum, with suitable employment, for females who have deviated from the paths of virtue," has lately published a very able and interesting Report. From this document we learn that the following facts have been clearly established:—

"That houses of the worst possible description are established in various parts of the metropolis, daring and defying all attempts to put them down; that their agents are incessantly at work, disguised in various ways, labouring with the utmost ingenuity of wickedness to ensnare the ignorant and unwary; that the streets are thronged day and night with females, who are in intimate union with thieves of all sorts, and are associated with depraved characters of every description; that of these unhappy creatures, the average age is from eighteen to twenty-two; and that the period during which their life of wretchedness and sin continues (owing to irregular hours, exposure to the weather, and frequent intoxication) is generally not more than from two to three years."

The committee deplore the inadequacy of all the legislative enactments at present in force on this subject, it being proved "that the law, as it at present stands, is wholly unequal to the punishment of the guilty, or the protection of the innocent, to remove the evil, or to check its growth."

No one, whose sensibilities are at all alive to human misery, can witness those scenes of moral degradation which are constantly to be beheld in the streets of London, without feelings of disgust and pity. The committee forcibly remark—

"Every outcast woman we behold is, in her sphere and daily walk, a moral pestilence. Need we appeal to the hearts of parents? They know full well how deep and constant a source of anxiety this subject is to them: this is the weapon that stabs domestic peace; that cuts asunder all those social and endearing ties which in their union constitute the sweetness and loveliness of civilized life: it severs the brother from the sister—the child from the parent—the husband from the wife. From the same fountain of iniquity flows every variety of theft, and riot, and murder; it is the prolific mother of crime; and it is only by a vigorous and unremitting attention to do all we can to stem this evil, that we may hope, as lovers of our country, to preserve its morals; as members of society, to promote its happiness; and as heads of families, and filling the various parts of the domestic circle, to ensure the continuance of that pure and quiet bliss, which is comprised and expressed in one delightful word—our home."

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One hundred and twenty-seven females have been under the care of this society during the last year, at the asylum, New-road St. George's in the East; of these, twelve have been provided for in service, twenty have been restored to their friends, two have been sent to their parishes, one has died, forty have been discharged or have withdrawn, and fifty-two now remain under the care of the society.—Several instances are given of females who have been restored to their friends, placed in service, or married, and who are now conducting themselves with the greatest propriety.

Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb.—An historical sketch of the purposes, progress, and present state of this institution, was published in November last, by which it appears, that during the first fourteen years nearly 100 children were educated and rendered useful members of society. In the subsequent fourteen years upwards of 500 children obtained the same advantages, making in the whole 600 persons who have been enabled to participate in the general requirements of their fellow-creatures, and have, in consequence, been rescued from a state of deprivation and ignorance, which, when unrelieved and uninstructed, often degenerates into confirmed fatuity.

The asylum was originally constructed for 150 children; but owing to the increased number of applications, it has finally been rendered adequate to the accommodation and instruction of 200, which is the present number of children in the institution.

It is scarcely necessary to observe, that few claims to compassion can be stronger than those which are formed by the imperfection of the senses; and, as in no case the development of the rational faculties is so entirely precluded, without persevering zeal and assistance, as in that of the deaf and dumb, it is possibly the most affecting of the whole. This peculiarity in the nature of their misfortunes is briefly but forcibly pointed out in the last year's Report, which concludes with a simple statement of many of the affecting cases which have been relieved; from which it appears, that in a selection of twenty families, which appear to have the most pressing claims on the society, the total number of children was 155, of whom no less than seventy-eight were deaf and dumb.

Marine Society.—The last Report of this Society contains the following statement of the disposal of boys from the 30th Sept. to the 31st Dec. 1821.

One hundred and one boys have been sent to sea, and 68 admitted in the last quarter: when received, they were in the greatest distress for the want of the necessaries of life.

The Marine Society has since its formation sent 33,087 boys to sea, and clothed nearly 40,000 men for the Royal Navy.

One hundred and sixty boys are kept on board the Society's ship; and the good effects of its management are extensive: the greatest satisfaction is derived from the general conduct of the boys, and the gratitude they manifest to their benefactors.

Seamen's Hospital.—At a late meeting of the Seamen's Hospital Society which was held at the London Tavern, a Report was made
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by the committee of management of their proceedings for the last year. It enlarged on the utility of the Society, which the habits of seamen rendered highly necessary for their relief in sickness: for it can only be conceived by those who have much acquaintance with seamen, how great a dislike they feel to enter an hospital on shore. —The Report acknowledged the liberality of Government, in at once complying with the application made to them by the Society for an hospital-ship, for which purpose *the Grampus* was immediately given; and it also commended the lords of the admiralty for having promptly made the required alterations, by which it was rendered in the highest degree convenient for the comfortable accommodation of diseased seamen.

The Report also mentioned the great advantage that was derived from that regulation of the Society, by which any sick seaman who presented himself for admission was immediately received, without any recommendation or qualification being required. It appeared that 413 sick seamen had been received on board *the Grampus*, of whom 13 had died, and the rest were either cured or under cure.

Royal Humane Society.—The forty-seventh anniversary of this institution was celebrated by a numerous and highly respectable assemblage of noblemen and gentlemen. The cases which have come under the notice of the society, during the past year, amount to 150, of which number 131 were successful, and 19 unsuccessful. The number of successful cases added to that of former years amounts to 5020.

It was resolved, that Dr. Fothergill's legacy be immediately funded, pursuant to the directions of his will, for the purpose of presenting annual or triennial medals out of the produce, for the following objects, viz. :—for the best essay or discovery on the following subjects: 1st, "On the prevention of shipwreck." 2dly, "On the preservation of shipwrecked mariners."

Captain Marriott, R. N. and several other gentlemen who had been instrumental in saving the lives of their fellow-creatures, received honorary medals from the hands of the noble president on this occasion.

House of Refuge, Dublin—The association for improving the condition of female prisoners in the city and county of Dublin, have lately directed the attention of the public to the pitiable condition of the numerous forlorn and destitute females, who are discharged from the gaols of that city. When these outcasts leave the prison, they have no place to go to, and are frequently driven to the commission of crime as no persons will take them into their houses for want of character, and other circumstances equally repelling. It is a melancholy fact, that not long since two wretched females actually drowned themselves a few days after they were discharged from prison.

These and many other deplorable cases which have come under the observation of the visitors, induced them to take immediate steps towards establishing a Refuge for such destitute females as evince, on their removal from prison, a desire to reform, and withdraw from their depraved connexions; willingly submitting to hard fare, strict discipline, and continued labour, until such time as the superintendants may feel justified in recommending them to proper situations.

It is proposed by the association to fit up a house in the most frugal manner for the reception of fifty women. A matron and servant are the only persons to be employed except the inmates; and it is hoped that their labour in washing, spinning, and such other work as can be procured, will go far towards their maintenance.

Borough Road School—On the 21st of January the children educated in the central schools of the British and Foreign School Society in the Borough Road were publicly examined before a respectable assembly.

The examination commenced in the girls' school; when, after exhibiting various samples of needle-work, which the ladies present pronounced to be well executed, the writing of those who are sufficiently advanced to make use of copy-books was exhibited.

A number of the girls then read the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, on which they were questioned by the chairman, and afterwards by several gentlemen present. Their answers were clear, prompt, and satisfactory.

After a short exercise in their knowledge of the tables in arithmetic, the company adjourned to the boys' school.

Some boys were presented who had not been in the school quite six months, and who on their admission knew not a single letter. They read a lesson very distinctly, and exhibited words written in a good plain text hand.

The boys in the seventh class were next examined. They read the scripture lessons very well; they also exhibited specimens of good plain writing.

The boys in the eighth or highest class were then called upon to read the 19th chapter of John, and other passages in the society's scripture selections. They were questioned thereon both by the master and some gentlemen present. The answers given afforded the highest satisfaction to every one present.

A short exhibition was then given of their talents in arithmetic, when the expert manner in which sums were executed, both surprised and gratified the assembly.

A most interesting exhibition was made of the progress of eight youths from Madagascar, who had been sent over to this country by Governor Farquhar of the Mauritius, and placed under the care of the British Government. These lads, who in June last knew not a word of English, and who were thereby detained from entering the school nearly six weeks, have, notwithstanding, acquired considerable proficiency. They can now read easy lessons, and both write and spell words of two syllables.

Jews' Free School for 600 Boys and 300 Girls.—The new building of this highly useful institution has been opened with the solemnity of a consecration, and a subsequent examination of the scholars.

The consecration was conducted according to the Judaic practice on such occasions. The Rev. Dr. Hirschel, chief rabbi of the congregation denominated German Jews, accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Meldola, of that denominated Portuguese, together with several other rabbis, made seven circuits round the boys' school, preceded by some of the

the committee, and sixteen boys bearing Hebrew bibles, prayer-books, and the Mishna; during which perambulation, the remaining boys in their places sung a Hebrew anthem; after this, a portion of the Mishna was recited by the boys who carried the books, and the 30th and 122d Psalms were repeated.

The annual examination next followed, and exhibited an excellent specimen of the progress made in a short space of time by the scholars in the various branches both of the Hebrew and the English languages, as well as in writing and arithmetic. A Hebrew ode was then recited, with great precision and emphasis, by a very young boy, and a translation of the same was delivered with equal impressiveness by another young scholar. Two psalms were then repeated, and a very appropriate prayer, composed for the occasion, was read with great fervency by the Rev. Dr. Hirschel. The boys then chanted a solemn Hebrew hymn, and retired. A report of the state of the charity, and votes of thanks to the officers, concluded this very interesting meeting.

The building is situated in Bell-lane, Spitalfields, is built on a very extensive and improved plan, and consists of a school for 600 boys, 100 feet long and 50 feet wide; the roof of which is considered to be the lightest ever formed for such a space. The girls' school will contain 300. Another room for a small number of scholars in the higher branches of learning, and residences for the master and mistress, besides ample play-grounds, are provided.

School at Tunstall for training Girls for Service.—The school was built last summer, and is forty-eight feet long, and eighteen feet wide. It contains a school-room, eating-room, kitchen and pantry, with three airy bed-rooms above, and a wash-house at the end of it.

It was opened on the 25th of last September, and before Christmas the number of scholars was completed. Twenty girls are accommodated; who are clothed, lodged, boarded, and educated, for three shillings a week; seven shillings entrance; a complete change of new clothes being required on their admission. Most of the girls are sent, and supported in the whole, or in part, by their parents. In many instances, a poor parent is aided in his weekly payment by some benevolent friend or friends in his immediate neighbourhood; while in other cases, the children have been admitted gratuitously, in a dependence upon annual subscriptions to defray the expense. There are seven girls in the school at present, at a loss of fifteen shillings weekly.

The age is not very strictly limited; but it is wished not to admit any under eleven, except in cases of peculiar urgency: from eleven or twelve, to fourteen or fifteen, is deemed the most desirable period for their residence in the school.

Three young women are now in it, (two of them above twenty,) who have had small sums of money left them; and with a rare exercise of good sense, are appropriating a part to the purpose of thus remedying the defects of education in their earlier years. It is truly pleasing to witness the cheerfulness and humility with which they submit to the discipline of the school.

Washing is conducted at the school by a laundress hired for the purpose,

purpose, and who lives there. Thus, while the girls have the advantage of learning the business of a considerable wash, the laundress undertakes at the same time the superintendence of the household department, at a trifling expense to the institution; while the mistress is left at liberty for the school-room.

There are always three girls in office, as house-maid, laundry-maid, and kitchen-maid, under the direction of the laundress. They continue in these capacities for a fortnight at a time; and are thus learning household work, at the same time that they are going forward with their instruction in the school.

The object in view is to fit them for respectable service, without lifting them above the humblest situations which Providence may assign them in after life. If more than this were attempted, it is conceived that an injury, rather than a benefit, would be done both to the girls themselves and to society at large.

Hence, in the school-room nothing is taught beyond reading, writing, pence- and multiplication-tables, and the first four rules, simple and compound, in arithmetic; knitting, marking, plain sewing, mending, and cutting out.

In the household department, as they are actively and constantly engaged in cleaning, washing, ironing, baking, and preparing the meals, &c. they will obtain, it is hoped, a general knowledge of work, and of tidiness and quickness in the execution of it, which will lay a good foundation for future service, without raising their expectations too highly. With the same view, particular attention is paid both to their food and dress.

The advantages of such an institution must be obvious. Sunday- and day-schools may do much towards ameliorating the condition of the rising generation; but it too frequently happens that the good they endeavour to effect, is grievously counteracted at home. In many cases, it must evidently be no small advantage in forming the minds of the young, and preparing them for future usefulness, to have them freed from that counteraction.

In a school, too, of this nature, many must acquire that knowledge of which otherwise they would remain wholly ignorant. And if it is desirable to send out useful servants into society, it is equally desirable to be training up young women in habits of economy, tidiness, and industry, which may promote their comfort and respectability in their own families after the period of service. Depending upon the divine blessing, unceasing pains are taken to lead them to a knowledge of religious truth; while, at the same time, every thing is urged upon them, which is calculated to promote, through life, the happiness and interests of themselves and their employers.

With respect to procuring work for the school, plans have been formed, and are now in operation, which will ensure a sufficiency.

1. The girls will of course make their own clothes, and be taught to keep them in the neatest order and repair. The whole of every Saturday morning is devoted to this latter purpose. Darning and patching are amongst the most useful things that they have to learn.

2. It

2. It is proposed to take in sewing and knitting at a reasonable rate. In a country place like Tunstall, however, it is not to be expected that much work will be obtained in this way.

3. A repository of ready-made linen will be kept at the school. Farming servants and others who are distant from their friends, and are consequently obliged to put out the making of their linen, will find it answer their purpose to get supplied here, as the different articles will be sold at the wholesale price of the materials, with the addition of a moderate charge for the making.

Charitable individuals may also perhaps sometimes procure bundles of baby-linen, &c. at the repository, for the purposes of charity.

4. But the source of employment which will be the most abundant, and the arrangement for which has given the most unfeigned pleasure to those concerned in it, is the following: it is proposed to devote all the knitting and sewing, which are not wanted for other purposes, to the aid of the Spitalfields Benevolent Society. The girls will thus have an ample continuance of the most useful various kinds of work; an important benefit will be rendered to a society which has peculiar claims on the public at large; nor will the moral good to the young people, it is hoped, be trifling, taught as they will thus be, to sympathize with those who are so much more destitute than themselves. Thankful contentment with their lot seems, in these days especially, to be one of the most necessary duties to urge on the minds of the rising generation; and it is conceived, that no better means can be adopted for this purpose, than to make them familiar with the deeper miseries of many of their fellow-creatures.

It is freely confessed, that this scheme, which has grown incidentally, as it were, out of the original design, seems to crown the objects of the institution, and greatly to augment the hope which is indulged of its utility.

The expense of building and furnishing has been 240*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.*

Savings Bank at New York.—The value of an institution is to be estimated by the evil which it prevents, or by the good which it produces: in some the effects are more remote, in others more immediate. Banks for savings are among the latter; the attempt is no sooner made, than the most salutary effects follow.

An act having been passed by the Legislature to incorporate an association, by the name of a "Bank for Savings," in the City of New York; the establishment was opened in July 1819 on the premises of the New York Institution, granted to the trustees by the Academy of Arts, &c. On this occasion, the trustees had the satisfaction of receiving the sum of 2807 dollars from eighty depositors. By a subsequent Report of this institution, which has been published, it appears that from the above period to the end of the same year, including six entire months, the number of depositors had increased to 1527, who had lodged the sum of 153,378 dollars in the hands of the trustees; and the institution still continues to enjoy the same measure of success. From the classification of the number of depositors, it appears that 496 were mechanics or persons carrying on trades, 170 domestics, 118 female ditto;

ditto, 276 females under age, ninety-eight widows, twenty orphans, 287 males under age, fifteen apprentices, and twenty seamen. The trustees were led to anticipate that the establishment of an institution of this nature, which, by inculcating economy among the middle and lower classes of society, and inducing them to spare their earnings for future exigencies, thus necessarily withdrawing them from places of public resort, would excite the enmity of those whose emolument was the fruit of prodigal expenditure. Happily, however, few such instances have occurred; on the contrary, it appears that several public tavern-keepers have brought their money to the bank for safety and increase. Such examples, it is hoped, will operate upon those whose conduct has heretofore been reprehensible; and a reform at the sources of waste, will soon spread its influence through a large portion of the population.

It is observed, in the Report of the trustees, that in every part of an active population, and particularly in large cities, the difficulty of procuring the reward of labour is not so great as the power to preserve it. The man who attends to the regular discharge of his duties, and is enabled to lay up a weekly sum from his hard-earned income, is too often the dupe of the idle, the profligate, the designing, or the unfortunate. Want of caution, and sometimes an excusable vanity, induce the possessor of an increasing fund to reveal the knowledge of it to his less prosperous neighbour: the desire of accumulation, and the hope of bettering his condition, will incline the listener to try the means with which his friend can furnish him, on some object of speculation;—he tries, and both are ruined. There are others who live only to prey upon society; they insinuate themselves into the confidence of the unsuspecting, give the most plausible reasons for the small sums they ask, and the strongest assurances of a speedy re-payment: the money is lent, but the lender too soon finds that the fruit of years of labour is gone for ever. This reasoning has been justified by many cases which have come before the notice of the trustees of the savings bank. The causes, as often stated by the sufferers themselves, arose alike from their want of some secure place of deposit, and their ignorance how to improve what they had laid up. The sums are generally too small to be received at any of the banks; and where this is not the case, it was found equally as difficult to retain it, as if it had been actually in the owner's hands: the temptation to loan was the same.—Though many depositors understand how to invest their money in public funds, yet, anticipating an early use for it, or fearing a loss from the fluctuations of the funds, they preferred letting it lie useless. In proof of this, numerous instances have occurred where sums of from 100 to 300 dollars were found to have lain unimproved for many years, whilst others had lost the whole.

The trustees state, in their Report, that the habit of saving among the depositors becomes very soon not only delightful, but permanent. Those who have brought their one dollar, are anxious to increase it to five, and so on. The number of re-deposits sufficiently confirms this fact: and such has been the effect on the habits of emigrants from Great Britain, that the very guineas which they received from the banks for savings at home, they have deposited in the one at New York, immediately

diately after landing. Seamen are proverbially improvident, not so much perhaps from a love of waste, as from a total ignorance how to dispose of their money. Having no one to direct them, the wages which they have earned amidst storms and tempests, they scatter on shore without reflection. Of this useful class of men, a few have found their way to the savings bank. One seaman, belonging to one of the regular traders to Liverpool, brought home with him 360 dollars: his captain directed him to the bank for savings, where he deposited his treasure; and appeared heartily pleased, that, under the guidance of his commander, he had at last found a harbour of safety. It is truly gratifying to observe the attention which has been paid by parents and guardians to the future comfort and security of minors. The deposits for this class are very numerous.

RECORD OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

Report from the National Vaccine Establishment.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT PEEL,

Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

National Vaccine Establishment, Percy-street, Jan. 31.

SIR,—Vaccination has now been submitted to the test of another year's experience, and the result is an increase of our confidence in the benefits of it. We are happy to say that it appears to have been practised more extensively than it was, notwithstanding the influence of exaggerated rumours of the frequent occurrence of small-pox subsequently, on the minds of some persons, and the obstinate prejudices of others, who still continue to adopt inoculation for that disease. The unavoidable consequence of the latter practice is to supply a constant source of infection, and to put the merits of vaccination perpetually to the severest trial.

Of small-pox, in the modified and peculiar form which it assumes when it attacks a patient who has been previously vaccinated, many cases indeed have been reported to us in the course of last year, and some have fallen within the sphere of our own observation; but the disorder has always run a safe course, being uniformly exempt from the secondary fever, in which the patient dies most commonly, when he dies of small-pox.

For the truth of this assertion, we appeal to the testimony of the whole medical world; and for a proof that the number of such cases bears no proportion to the thousands who have profited to the fullest extent of security, by its protecting influence, we appeal confidently to all who frequent the theatres and crowded assemblies, to admit that they do not discover in the rising generation any longer that disfigurement of the human face which was obvious every where some years since.

To account for occasional failures, of which we readily admit the existence, something is to be attributed to those anomalies which prevail throughout nature, and which the physician observes, not in some peculiar constitutions only, but in the same constitution at different periods of life, rendering the human frame at one time susceptible of disorder from a mere change of the wind, and capable, at another, of resisting the most malignant and subtle contagion. But amongst the most frequent sources of failure which have occurred, and will for a time continue to occur, is to be numbered that careless facility with which unskilful benevolence undertook to perform vaccination in the early years of the discovery; for experience has taught us, that a strict inquiry into the condition of the patient to be vaccinated, great attention to the state of the matter to be inserted, and a vigilant observation of the progress

gress of the vesicles on the part of the operator, are all essentially necessary to its complete success.

That less enlightened parents should hesitate to accept a substitute for inoculation, which is not perfect in all its pretensions, and absolutely and altogether effectual to exempt the objects of their solicitude from every future possible inconvenience does not surprise us: but we cannot forbear to express our unqualified reprobation of the conduct of those medical practitioners, who, knowing well that vaccination scarcely occasions the slightest indisposition, that it spreads no contagion, that in a very large proportion of cases it affords an entire security against small-pox, and in almost every instance is a protection against danger from that disease, are yet hardly enough to persevere in recommending the insertion of a poison, of which they cannot pretend to anticipate either the measure or the issue, (for no discernment is able to distinguish those constitutions which will admit inoculated small-pox with safety,) and there are some families so dangerously affected by all the eruptive diseases, that they fall into imminent hazard in taking any of them. This remark has a particular application to small-pox. A family lost its two first-born children of the small-pox, inoculated by two of the most skilful surgeons of the time: nor is it improbable that the parents might have had to lament the loss of more children, under the same formidable disease, if the promulgation of the protecting influence of vaccination had not happily interposed to rescue them from the consequences of a repetition of the fatal experiment. Of their remaining children, one took the small-pox after vaccination, and went through it in that mild and mitigated form which stamps a value upon this resource, as real in the eye of reason and sound philosophy, as when it prevents the malady altogether.

We have contended, Sir, for these its merits, with all the powers of our understanding, and with all that just and fair pretension to convince others, to which we are entitled by being firmly and sincerely convinced ourselves. Nor shall we relax in our efforts to promote its adoption, but continue to exert the influence which the benevolent designs of Parliament, in establishing this Board, have given us for extending the benefits of this salutary practice.

That the blessing is not yet absolutely perfect, we are ready to admit; but when we compare it with inoculation for the small-pox, the only alternative, we have no hesitation in stating, that the comparison affords an irresistible proof of its superior claims to regard; for we learn from ample experience, that the number of cases of small-pox, in the safe form which it is found to assume after vaccination, is by no means equal to the number of deaths by inoculation; an evidence quite irrefragable, and, as it appears to us, decisive as to the incalculable advantages of the practice of the first over that of the latter method.

The number of persons who have died of small-pox this year within the bills of mortality is only 508; not more than two-thirds of the number who fell a sacrifice to that disease the year before: and as in our last Report we had the satisfaction of stating that more persons had been vaccinated during the preceding than in any former twelve months, we flatter ourselves that this diminution of the number of deaths from small-pox may fairly be attributed to the wider diffusion of vaccination.

(Signed) HENRY HALFORD, President.

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By Order of the Board,

JAMES HERVEY, M.D., Registrar.

POPULATION.

The following Statement of the Population of the several Counties of Great Britain, in the Years 1801, 1811, and 1821, has been laid before Parliament.

ENGLAND.				WALES.			
COUNTIES.	1801.	1811.	1821.	COUNTIES.	1801.	1811.	1821.
Bedford	63,393	70,213	83,716	Anglesea	33,806	37,045	45,063
Berks	109,215	118,277	131,977	Brecon	31,633	37,735	43,613
Buckingham	107,444	117,650	131,068	Cardigan	42,956	50,260	57,311
Cambridge	89,346	101,109	121,909	Carmarthen	67,317	77,217	90,239
Chester	191,751	227,031	270,098	Carnarvon	41,521	49,336	57,958
Cornwall	188,269	216,667	257,447	Denbigh	60,352	64,240	76,511
Cumberland	117,230	133,744	156,124	Flint	39,622	46,518	53,784
Derby	161,142	185,487	213,333	Glamorgan	71,525	85,067	101,737
Devon	343,001	383,308	439,040	Merioneth	29,506	30,924	33,911
Dorset	115,319	124,693	144,499	Montgomery	47,978	51,931	59,899
Durham	160,361	177,625	207,673	Pembroke	56,280	60,615	74,009
Essex	226,437	252,473	289,424	Radnor	19,050	20,900	23,073
Gloucester	250,809	285,514	335,843				
Hereford	89,191	94,073	103,231	Totals	541,546	611,788	717,108
Hertford	97,557	111,654	129,714				
Huntingdon	37,568	42,208	48,771				
Kent	307,624	373,095	426,016	SCOTLAND.			
Lancaster	672,731	828,309	1,052,859	Aberdeen	123,082	135,075	155,141
Leicester	131,081	150,419	174,571	Argyll	71,859	85,585	96,165
Lincoln	208,557	237,891	283,058	Ayr	84,306	103,954	127,299
Middlesex	818,129	933,276	1,144,531	Banff	35,807	36,668	43,561
Monmouth	45,582	62,197	71,833	Berwick	30,621	30,779	33,385
Norfolk	273,371	291,999	344,368	Bute	11,791	12,033	13,797
Northampton	131,757	141,353	163,483	Caithness	22,609	23,419	30,288
Northumberland	157,101	172,161	198,965	Clackmannan	10,858	12,010	13,263
Nottingham	140,350	162,900	186,873	Dumbarton	20,710	24,189	27,317
Oxford	109,620	119,191	134,327	Dumfries	54,597	62,960	70,878
Rutland	16,356	16,380	18,487	Edinburgh	122,954	148,607	191,514
Salop	167,639	194,298	206,266	Elgin	26,705	28,108	31,162
Somerset	273,750	303,180	355,314	Fife	93,743	101,272	114,556
Southampton	219,656	245,080	282,203	Forfar	99,127	107,264	113,430
Stafford	239,153	295,153	341,824	Haddington	29,986	31,164	35,127
Suffolk	210,431	234,211	270,542	Inverness	74,292	78,336	90,157
Surrey	269,043	323,851	398,658	Kincardine	26,349	27,439	29,113
Sussex	159,311	190,083	232,927	Kinross	6,725	7,245	7,762
Warwick	208,190	228,735	274,392	Kirkcudbright	29,211	33,684	38,903
Westmoreland	41,617	45,922	51,359	Lanark	146,699	191,752	244,387
Wilts	185,107	193,828	222,157	Linlithgow	17,844	19,451	22,685
Worcester	139,333	160,546	184,424	Nairn	8,257	8,251	9,006
York, E. Riding	139,433	167,353	190,709	Orkney & Shetl.	46,824	46,153	53,124
— N. Riding	155,506	152,445	183,694	Peebles	8,735	9,935	10,046
— W. Riding	563,953	653,315	800,848	Perth	126,366	135,093	139,030
Totals	8,331,434	9,538,827	11,260,555	Renfrew	78,056	92,596	112,175
				Ross & Cromarty	55,343	60,853	68,828
				Roxburgh	33,682	37,230	40,892
				Selkirk	5,070	5,889	6,637
				Stirling	50,825	58,174	65,331
				Sutherland	23,117	23,629	23,840
				Wigtown	22,918	26,891	33,240
				Totals	1,599,068	1,805,688	2,092,014

SUMMARY.			
	1801.	1811.	1821.
England	8,331,434	9,538,827	11,260,555
Wales	541,546	611,788	717,108
Scotland	1,599,068	1,805,688	2,092,014
	10,472,048	11,956,303	14,069,677
Army and Navy	470,598	640,500	310,000
Total of Gr. Britain	10,942,646	12,596,803	14,379,677

Being an increase in the two last returns of 18 per cent. on England; of 17½ on Scotland, and 15½ on Wales.

CRIMES AND OFFENCES.

NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED, CONVICTED, SENTENCED, ACQUITTED, &c. IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

In the Years		1815.	1816.	1817.	1818.	1819.	1820.	1821.	Total Num- ber in the 7 Years.
COMMITTED FOR TRIAL.									
Viz.—	Male	6,096	7,347	11,758	11,995	19,075	11,595	11,179	71,319
	Females	1,782	1,744	2,174	2,292	2,179	2,115	1,942	14,168
Total		7,818	9,091	13,932	13,567	14,254	13,710	13,115	85,487
CONVICTED AND SENTENCED.									
To Death.		553	890	1,302	1,254	1,314	1,256	1,194	7,683
Transportation, for Life		38	60	108	122	138	221	155	837
14 Years		94	139	157	256	219	341	272	1,452
10 Years		—	—	—	2	—	1	1	4
7 Years		826	861	1,474	1,692	1,723	1,655	1,675	9,906
4 Years		—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
5 Years		—	3	1	—	1	—	1	6
4 Years		1	—	—	—	2	—	—	3
3 Years		7	16	25	7	19	15	10	99
2 Years		229	249	238	259	317	355	286	1,933
1 do. and above 6mo.		666	704	1,079	1,026	1,054	1,153	1,117	6,799
6 Months, and under		2,315	2,691	4,357	4,125	4,454	4,089	3,872	25,908
Whipping and Fine		154	190	320	235	268	252	265	1,684
Total Convicted		4,883	5,797	9,056	8,958	9,510	9,318	8,788	56,310
Acquitted		1,648	1,894	2,678	2,623	2,635	2,511	2,501	16,479
No Bills found, and not Prosecuted		1,287	1,410	2,198	1,987	2,109	1,881	1,826	12,698
Total		7,818	9,091	13,932	13,561	14,254	13,710	13,115	85,487
• Of whom were Executed		57	95	115	97	108	107	114	699

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THE INQUIRER.

AUGUST 1822.

ART. XIV.—*Remarks on some Modern Opinions relative to the Questions of Materialism and Necessity.*

IT has long been a favourite opinion with us, that time and the good sense of mankind apply a more effectual antidote to mischievous qualities in popular works, than is ordinarily afforded by organized and deliberate resistance. However this may be, we are quite certain that we are following the wiser policy, in proceeding to the utmost extent of passive endurance, than in hazarding a defeat, or even a doubtful victory, by advancing to the attack with inadequate arms.

At the same time it is possible that a work may assume so marked a character, or its author may stand so prominent before the public eye, as to call for a public and deliberate expression of opposite opinions, even at the hazard of giving to the objectionable views an extended circulation. How far this may have been the case with respect to the physiological lectures first published in 1819 by Mr. Lawrence, we shall not endeavour to decide. Of late they have been drawn further into the arena by the animadversions which they have met with in a court of equity; and it is at once unfortunate, and, we suppose, unavoidable, that, as on this occasion they have been placed out of the protection of the law, so they can at present obtain a sale, even though their author should desire their suppression.

Meanwhile the speculations of Mr. Lawrence in favour of materialism are encountered by a species of resistance, which, if we estimate it rightly, is calculated to promote, rather than to arrest, the diffusion of his theory. A popular work has, by this time, passed through five editions, which arrays against him doctrines to the full as untenable as his own, drawn from the same sources, and supported by far less knowledge of the subject.

If, as we firmly believe, the admission of an immaterial principle be requisite to the admission of the doctrines of revealed religion, it is certainly desirable that the quantity of evidence on which immaterialism rests, should be ascertained antecedently to that direct proof of it which the gospel affords. It is expedient that we should find some point where we may place our foot, between the conflicting evidence of those whom the light of nature leads

to a confident belief in the distinct existence of the soul, and those who can perceive by this light no other principle than matter.

If the latter class of reasoners succeed, they prejudice our reception of revealed religion by establishing, on the grounds of human reason, doctrines opposite to those which revealed religion inculcates. If the former class of reasoners fail to convince, their ill-judging friendship is mischievous to the cause which they would advocate, and no time should be lost before we disentangle that cause from the errors with which they may have encumbered it. Under these impressions we shall pursue the question of materialism, through Mr. Lawrence's reasoning in favour of it, through our own in opposition to it, and through those bolder speculations by which Mr. Rennell* has endeavoured to arrive at the latter species of conclusion.

We have endeavoured to concentrate Mr. Lawrence's physiological argument, and to give it in his own vigorous language.

"The same reasoning (Mr. Lawrence urges†), the same facts, in consequence of which we attribute digestion to the stomach, and the various secretions to their respective glands, compel us to assign sensation, judgement, reasoning, as functions to that organic apparatus with which they are connected. If I am told that thought is inconsistent with matter, that we cannot conceive how medullary matter can reflect or perceive, I acknowledge my ignorance how these purposes are effected, but assert that I am equally ignorant how the liver secretes bile, and how the muscles contract. Experience is in all these cases our sole instructress; and the constant conjunctions of phenomena, which she exhibits, are my sole ground for affirming their necessary connexion.—We see that the number and kind of intellectual phenomena in different animals correspond closely with the degree of development of the brain;—and we are able to follow this series through Monkeys, Orang-outangs, Calmucks, Caribs, Hottentots, Negroes, up to Europeans. In ascending these steps of one ladder, where, we ask, shall we place the boundary of unassisted organization? where find the beginning of the immaterial adjunct?

"Conceding an immaterial principle to man, we must equally concede it to the more rational animals, which exhibit manifestations differing only in degree from some of the human: conceding it to *them*, we shall find ourselves compelled to proceed in a descending series down to the oyster, the sea anemone, the polypus, the microscopic animalcules. This subject, Mr. Lawrence urges, has an intimate connexion with pathology. We refer changes in

* Remarks on Scepticism.

† Vide Lawrence on Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man.
the

the biliary secretion to the liver; we explain disordered states of respiration by assuming some analogous condition of the lungs. We do not talk of jaundice, or cholera hepatitis, as the affections of an immaterial hepatic being. For the ravings of phrensy and delirium, or the suspension of intellectual phænomena arising from the pressure of a piece of bone, we find an adequate explanation in the state of the substance of the brain, or of its circulation, without fancying that the *mind* is delirious, mad, or drunk. The effects of medical treatment in insanity corroborate these views.—Even they who talk of and believe in diseases of the head are too wise to put their faith in mental remedies. They find it expedient to resort to active medical treatment. ‘I have examined,’ says Mr. Lawrence, ‘many heads of insane persons, and have hardly seen a single brain which has not exhibited obvious marks of disease.’”

We have in the above abstract endeavoured to put our readers in possession of Mr. Lawrence’s materialism. We do not entertain the same opinions with him as to its reasonableness, and we propose to meet it by a fair statement of our own sentiments on the same subject, and by pointing out such errors as occur to us in his line of argument.

It is difficult to travel through a discussion of this nature without frequent reference to the name of Dr. Priestley; and although the scientific honours of that eminent man seem likely to outlive those which he obtained from abstract or theological research, yet we should do injustice to the question which we pretend to treat, if we should pursue it without some reference to Dr. Priestley’s speculations.

We do not consider ourselves as justly chargeable with any offence against the rules of Sir Isaac Newton, such as Dr. Priestley would impute to us*, in attributing the phænomena of thought to a principle in the human being essentially distinct from *that*, the

* Dr. Priestley considers his opponents, and Mr. Locke among the rest, as forgetting Sir Issac Newton’s admonition, that we are to admit no more causes of things than are sufficient to explain appearances. (Vide *Disquisitions*, pages 2 and 72). The reasoning used in the sequel of this paragraph is admirably laid down by Condorcet. “Puisque l’existence des corps n’est pour nous que la permanence d’êtres, dont les propriétés repondent à un certain ordre de nos sensations, il en résulte, qu’elle n’a rien de plus certain, que celle d’autres êtres qui se manifestent également par leurs effets sur nous. Et puisque nos observations sur nos propres facultés conformées par celles, que nous faisons, sur les êtres, qui animent aussi des corps, ne nous montrent aucune analogie, entre l’être qui sent ou qui pense, et l’être qui nous offre les phénomènes, de l’étendue ou de l’impénétrabilité, il n’y a aucune raison de croire ces êtres de la même nature. Ainsi la spiritualité de l’ame n’est pas une opinion qui ait besoin de preuves, mais le résultat simple et naturel d’une analyse de nos idées et de nos facultés.”—*Vie de M. Turgot*.

existence of which is attested by our senses. We think, on the other hand, that we should exceed the legitimate exclusions and rejections within which Lord Bacon would confine the process of analysis, if we were to fall into the contrary opinion; in other words, we should generalize rashly. To view *that* essence, of which extension and solidity are attributes, as the same in kind with that to which the phenomena of thought appertain, would be, indeed, equivalent to obtaining a conclusion directly opposite to that which is warranted by our premises. Our knowledge of the essences of things is obtained from our knowledge of their qualities. What then is there that can warrant our asserting distinctness of essence except distinctness of qualities? and what sets of qualities are there more distinct than those which the immaterialist attributes to mind, and those which he assigns to matter?

Much certainly may be urged as to the connexion, that subsists between the brain, the organ of the mind, and the mind itself. We are ourselves disposed to admit it, as amounting to the closest reciprocal dependency. But we are totally incapable of receiving this closeness of connexion as "an irrefragable argument, that it is properly no other than one and the same thing which is subject to those affections" that we attribute to an immaterial principle, and again to those qualities by which, in common with the rest of mankind, we characterize matter. With respect to the difficulty that Dr. Priestley urges against us, when we assert a reciprocal influence of mind and body, we confess its magnitude; but we do not consider it as authorizing us to advance from closeness of connexion between mind and body to the supposition that they are identical. How, he asks, can a reciprocal influence be exerted by agents that have nothing in common, and what medium of communication is there between mind and body, viewed as distinct existences? If this question express a difficulty, it is one at which Dr. Priestley has no right to be alarmed: for he has overcome a much greater one; that, namely, which is involved in the supposition of a thinking portion of brain to which his hasty generalization leads him*.

In his undue anxiety to avoid the assigning unnecessary causes, and, therefore, to discover the same kind of relation to matter in the qualities of mind, as in those which are, at all hands, attributed to matter, Dr. Priestley overlooks an important difference in these relations. Certainly we at no time either see or are conscious of either of these sets of qualities, without being at the same time compelled to admit their actual co-existence with something material. But, that we may be authorized to assign to the former class of phenomena, the same necessary connexion with matter which we

* Vide Disquisitions by Dr. Priestley.

allow to the latter, we must make out a further point, namely, that they are essential to our conception of matter. For this, in truth, is the relation borne to it by such qualities as extension, figure and solidity: our idea of matter would be incomplete without them. Whereas this is so far from holding good with the phænomena which the immaterialist attributes to mind, so far are these from being essential to our conception of a something material, that some persons find it impossible to frame an idea of a thinking, a reflecting, a conscious form of matter.

Much unreasonable difficulty has on the other hand been found by some persons, in accepting the doctrines opposed to materialism, on the ground that they are unable to conceive existence unconnected with the presence of matter. It may be expedient to observe, that in holding these doctrines we mean to assert nothing more than the existence of a principle which need not be conceived as necessarily undergoing a process of death, when the said process takes place in that portion of the human being which meets our senses. We shall take an illustration of our meaning from the gospel of St. Luke, in the words that our Saviour addresses to the repentant thief on the cross: "Verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise." These words, in their obvious meaning, express a continuity of existence in some part or principle of the person to whom they are addressed, notwithstanding that process of death which was to take place between their occurrence and the meeting which they promise. These words certainly illustrate our meaning; but it appears to us that they do much more, inasmuch as they go far toward settling any question that may exist as to the doctrine of immaterialism being the doctrine of scripture.

We do not think it necessary to rest long on this question: if any one, however, entertain a doubt, whether the promise of our Saviour was realized in the way we are supposing, or whether, on the other hand, the interview in paradise was to be the result of a direct miracle performed in relation to this favoured penitent, and occasioning his bodily resurrection,—if any one entertain a doubt on this point, we earnestly refer him to the vivid description given by St. Peter of that intermediate state into which our Lord descended:—"Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." In this passage we again view our Saviour holding converse with repentant sinners in paradise; where he finds them possessing an existence intermediate between the dissolution of their bodies and their final resurrection. This state, then, is not peculiar to the repentant

repentant thief, but is common to him with other spirits of the same kind in paradise. It is probable that another mansion is assigned to the unrepentant: but if we therefore extend our materialism to beings in general, and suppose them enjoying a corporeal existence in this intermediate abode, what, we may ask, is there left for a resurrection to resuscitate? What is there about us that is not *at present* immortal?

Such is the absurdity into which the materialist must fall in interpreting these passages, unless he prefer to controvert scripture at another point, and to deny the *existence* of the intermediate state to which we have alluded. This is indeed actually done by him; for Dr. Priestley urges as an objection to the immaterial system, that it necessitates "our providing some receptacle for the souls of the dead;" and affirms "that there is no hint concerning the nature or use of such an intermediate state in the scriptures*." A very bold affirmation, if at least he allow that the texts above quoted are authentic.

We have had no intention to discuss in this place the entire question, whether materialism is countenanced by scriptural authority. We confess that this question appears to us scarcely to merit a deliberate argument. In another part of the holy writings we are told, as if it were intended that any question on the subject should be precluded, "not to fear them who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but rather to fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

The *materialist Christian*, who is able to withstand the argument against his opinion involved in this eloquent appeal, must be endowed with powers of disbelief far exceeding our powers of persuasion.

We believe, then, the doctrines of the materialist to be inconsistent with our holy religion. With respect to the opposite opinion, all that we are endeavouring at present to prove is, not its truth, but its probability: for its truth we depend on scriptural authority, and scriptural authority appears to speak to this point with a clearness and distinctness that can only be answered by that class of arguments which it is our present object to controvert; arguments that would place this species of testimony, as used in defence of immaterialism, in apparent opposition to the light of nature.

The most prominent feature in the arguments by which Mr. Lawrence would support *his* materialism, is their tendency to place those properties which we attribute to mind, in the same kind of relation to a material organ, as those which are confessedly

* Vide Disquisitions.

physical. And here we shall at once suggest to this acute physiologist, that in taking the same grounds for assigning mental properties to the brain, as those on which he attributes digestion to the stomach, secretion to the liver, and muscular contraction to the contracting muscle, he overlooks one very important difference in the relations which he thus considers illustrative of each other. Secretion, digestion, and muscular contraction, are subjects of experiment. We see muscles contract, and our senses attest the processes of digestion and secretion, in such relations to the stomach and the liver, as oblige us to assert that these organs are possessed of the functions of digestion and secretion. We should be glad to know from what analogous source of information Mr. Lawrence's opinion, that the brain *thinks*, is derived? Does he consider thought a kind of secretion? Certainly, co-existence and mutual dependency, which constitute in truth his *sole ground* for attributing thought as a function to the brain, have not constituted his *sole ground* for attributing hepatic phenomena to the liver. On this ground, indeed, he might just as well have attributed these phenomena to the *brain*, on the conditions of which they are strictly dependent. But it is a far more decided species of evidence which he possesses in favour of our attributing physical properties to their respective organs. Nor can we allow his right to consider the phenomena of mind as holding the same kind of relation to matter, which he assigns to physical phenomena, until he can support this assumption on grounds of the same kind.

As for the arguments which Mr. Lawrence obtains from the history of disease, we readily admit, that we treat the brain and not the mind in disorders called mental: but we acknowledge no such inference as Mr. Lawrence would draw from this admission. Thus, though we do not depend upon moral influences as medical agents, we may urge that moral influences have both caused and cured disorders of the mind. A letter suddenly received, has, as Mr. Rennell well observes, occasioned apoplexy. It contains some afflicting intelligence;—the receiver of it casts his eye upon its contents, and drops down without sense or motion.—“What is the cause of this disorder, the effects of which are thus visible? It is produced by a sheet of white paper, distinguished by a few black marks. But no one would be absurd enough to suppose that it was the effect of the paper alone, or of the characters inscribed upon it, unless those characters conveyed some meaning to the understanding*.” Now the immaterialist has as much right to make use of this class of facts in support of *his* hypothesis, as

* Vide Remarks on Scepticism.

the materialist can have to avail himself of those adduced by Mr. Lawrence, in proving that insanity is a disease of the material organ. It matters not to this remark, to assure us that there is a corresponding alteration in the brain, with the state of mind which we are supposing. This we shall take for granted in either view of the case. We only urge, that where the affection of mind is thus prominent and obvious, we have the same right to consider it influential in causing or curing the disease, which Mr. Lawrence has to assign the bodily affection as curative in the class of cases which *he* alludes to.

We certainly may express our hearty concurrence with Mr. Lawrence, as to the expediency of physical rather than moral measures, in what are called head affections. But in many of these affections, the medical immaterialist may urge, that he is recommending, not that line of practice which he considers the most *appropriate*, but that which he has found the most *manageable*. He may state, consistently with the doctrines which we are upholding, that, although he believes in the distinct existence of mind, he is ignorant of its nature; and that in this consciousness of ignorance he directs his measures rather at the bodily organ, concerning which he understands something, than at the *moral* seat of the disease. This immaterial principle, he may urge, is, at present, unknown to him, in its relations to medical treatment, which in the existing state of science is conversant with little more than objects of sense. This he may urge,—and truly the extreme uncertainty which will attend his most approved measures in disorders of the mind, will warrant his conjecturing that they have been directed at something connected with the seat of the malady, rather than at the seat of the malady itself.

In the wild and casual influences exerted by the animal magnetizers on their disciples or patients, which they choose to consider *systematic*, and when successful to denominate *cures*, there has been much which might lead the immaterialist to suppose, that these enthusiasts had possessed themselves of some such "*inlets to the ideas*," as Dr. Clark supposes, "*not furnished by the body*." Certainly the corporeal means by which they have appeared to affect the minds of their disciples, bear no proportion to the effect produced; if we may measure this effect by the strength with which the mind thus influenced seems to have re-acted on the bodily disease which the magnetizer has undertaken to cure. It is to be feared that the fantastic speculations of the magnetizers concerning their imaginary fluid, have thrown into unmerited shade the effects which they have actually produced. There certainly is no unreasonableness in the supposition, that the influence of the mind over the body *may* sometimes be so organized and reduced

reduced to principles, as to avail more than it does *at present* towards the cure of diseases.

There is another topic employed by Mr. Lawrence, which requires to be noticed, if indeed a jocular sally deserves to be treated as an argument. Whatever it is, we believe the point, which it seems intended to gain, may be conceded to Mr. Lawrence with perfect safety, as far as the interests of our doctrine are concerned. We will, indeed, at once admit the existence of an immaterial principle wherever we see life, whether in the European, the Negro, or the Oyster. An immaterial principle is not as such necessarily immortal. We shall, in return, only demand of Mr. Lawrence, that the human soul may be permitted to retain its relative importance in the scale of existences.

It is scarcely necessary, we imagine, to observe that the arguments here adduced in favour of an immaterial principle as essential to our conception of a living being, can have no further influence on the direct proof of the immortality of the soul, than as clearing away any difficulties which would meet it at the threshold, if human reason led us to the conclusion that mind and matter constitute one single undivided essence. It is true, that as far as the distinct existence of these two principles is proved, so far we are enabled to affirm that the death of the body does not involve a corresponding dissolution of the soul; at the same time, we are, we believe, obliged to admit, that as at the moment of death our senses attest a dissolution of the body, and as we have been previously aware of the close alliance subsisting between mind and body, and have no evidence equally distinct with that of sense of a continued existence of mind, we must lean in our *unassisted* conjectures to the supposition that it also has undergone a process of dissolution.

With respect, then, to the doctrine of immortality, the above reasoning leaves us entirely dependent for relief from our inevitable doubts and fears on the revealed promises of God.

It is far otherwise with the belief of those persons whom the doctrines which we must now proceed to examine, may chance to convince. The friends of Mr. Rennell can indeed have no difficulty in arriving at conclusions decisively favourable to the immortality of the soul, by the agency of their own unassisted reason: they see the soul, not linked, as we view it, in absolute, and, for the present life, indissoluble connexion with matter, but energizing and reposing without any reference to the conditions of the body. The death of the body scarcely entitles *them* to dream of a dissolution of the thinking principle, which they view with undoubting certainty as at that moment set at liberty from fetters which it
has

has previously worn very loosely. This confidence they obtain from the stores of natural philosophy.

Believing, as we do, the importance of a sound and correctly defined materialism to the just belief of our religion,—and believing that inaccurate views of the quantity of evidence which this doctrine may obtain from human reason, will hazard its rejection with many who shall happen to discover such flaws;—believing all this, we are anxious to make, and to maintain, our protest against the reasoning that contains them.

The nature of our limits does not allow us to extract the whole argument which Mr. Rennell draws from physiology, as confronting the materialism of Mr. Lawrence and of the French school: we shall present our readers with extracts from this argument, referring them for further information to Mr. Rennell's work on the one hand, and on the other to a letter purporting to be written by a Graduate in Medicine of the University of Oxford, for a larger exposition than we can afford of the objections that lie against it.

The furthest advance that unassisted reason could make towards establishing the distinct existence of an immaterial principle, would be to represent it as actually energizing, without reference *to*, and independently *of*, the presence of matter. Accordingly, Mr. Rennell has attempted to make out this point, and has attempted it in vain. Physiology, from which he would obtain its proof, is in truth at variance with him, and tends to establish the most entire dependency of mind on matter, and, as the immaterialist would add, of matter on mind. But this is not all; as he draws his argument on this head from a source incapable of furnishing the requisite proof,—so he fails to establish another and a more important point; one which we believe to have already obtained satisfactory evidence, but not out of the stores of natural philosophy; we mean the *essential distinctness* of mind and matter. We have already pointed out that natural philosophy offers no objections to this doctrine, and that abstract reasoning is in favour of its truth; but there the light of human reason leaves us, and obliges us to seek for a confirmation of our metaphysical opinion from the revealed testimony of God. We firmly believe, that the intimate union of mind and matter leaves no space for the physiological proof by which Mr. Rennell would establish their distinct existence.

In the first of those arguments to which I shall advert, Mr. Rennell desires to establish the fact, that *life* is not a property of organized matter. He founds his position on the hypothesis that life commences subsequently to the existence of an organized body,
as

as in the *fetus in utero*; and that it may come to a termination before that organized body ceases to exist. Now the latter clause in Mr. Rennell's statement on this subject appears to us nearly unintelligible: as, however, it seems to contain the sum of his reasoning, we must present it to our readers, and we find it expedient to employ the words of the author.

"Thus then the organization of a body commences before its own independent life, as it continues after its death. Life, therefore, though it may depend upon a certain perfection in organization for its continuance, is, nevertheless, as totally distinct in its nature as the sound of a trumpet is from the instrument from which it was produced *."

Those who shall give themselves the trouble of a moment's reflection on this very original sentence, will observe, that the word 'therefore' precedes an illegitimate conclusion. Mr. Rennell has adduced the fact that some organization is distinct from life; he is not *therefore* at liberty to assert that all organization is similarly distinct from the vital principle. He asserts that in the *foetus* and the *corpse* we see an organized body uninformed by life: is he authorized by the truth of this assertion to presume that where life does *exist*, or *manifest itself*, as the materialist has a right to say, it is not a quality of the organized matter which it informs, but an independent essence?

If it were necessary to select portions out of the above mass of corrupt reasoning, we might observe, that the organization of a body does not continue after its death: from the instant of death, we have reason to date the commencement of a process of disorganization.

Mr. Rennell founds some curious proofs of the non-identity of mind and matter upon the *phænomena*, first of sleeping, and secondly of dreaming. He allows indeed his argument to proceed to an assertion of their *independent*, as well as their *distinct* existence. Now the latter of these suppositions we believe to be a sound one, but untenable on the grounds which Mr. Rennell takes; the former we conceive to be untenable on any ground, except such as a direct revelation may supply.

In surveying the *phænomena* of the sleeping state, Mr. Rennell contends that "it is an affection of the mind, rather than of the body; and that the refreshment which the latter receives from it, is from the suspension of its active and agitating principle†." He accordingly holds that the intellect and the body do not, at that time, undergo corresponding changes; and thus he obtains an argument in favour of their distinctness. "The intellect," he

* Rennell's Remarks, p. 82.

† Remarks, p. 92.

urges, "is then at rest, while the corporeal functions are in the same completeness of performance as if sleep were not present. The blood circulates as readily, and almost as rapidly, in the sleeping, as in the waking subject. Digestion, secretion, nutrition, and all the functions of the life of vegetation proceed, and yet the understanding is absent."

Now, by his theory of dreams, Mr. Rennell obtains an equally successful proof of the same independent existence of mind and body, from the fact, which he is there pleased to assume, that the mind during that state possesses a *peculiar activity of motion and perfection of faculties*. But surely Mr. Rennell must allow that *energy* of mind, which he says exists during dreaming, to neutralize the argument, which he would obtain from its *inactivity* during *sleep unmarked by dreams*, or to leave that argument weak and ineffective; since he must confess his uncertainty over how large a portion of sleep the process of dreaming may be spread. It is indeed very probable, that our more impressive dreams alone arrest the attention so as to be remembered. But these speculations are not decisive on the point before us. It is Mr. Rennell's object to discover a distinct and independent existence of the mind and the body during sleep, and under the influence of dreams. We believe that he is in error as to the state of the natural functions in their relation to the state of the mind. The circulation of the blood he himself admits to be retarded during sleep. But it is not from these sources that the physiologist would expect to illustrate the reciprocal dependency of body and mind. Neither does the absence of such proofs authorize a different supposition in Mr. Rennell. It is to the brain, the admitted organ of the mind, that Mr. Rennell must look for proofs to establish his position; and what single proof does he bring, or pretend to bring, to the point, that the brain does not under sleep, or during dreams, undergo changes analogous to the altered condition of the intellect? The burthen of proof in this case lies obviously on him. The connexion of the brain and the mind is admitted at all hands. Their mutual influence is, in truth, admitted by himself, though he overlooks the probability, which this implies, that in the above cases the intellect is preserving its strict correspondency with the body.

The probability that there is in sleep a state of the brain correspondent to the altered condition of the mind, is increased by the well known fact in pathology, that deep sleepiness, when it is a morbid symptom, always gives us reason to suspect the existence of cerebral disease. But it is in the slighter deviations from health, of daily, and with some persons almost of hourly occurrence, that the correspondency of the mind and of the body receives its clearest proof. How well this has been appreciated in former ages,
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as at present in our own, is evinced in the beautiful description given by Aretæus of the disorders of the studious character. It is illustrated by the experience of all who view this class of men with a medical eye, or even with the observant attention of friendship; and it is this kind of fact which defeats the attempts of physiology to discover by any light, which it can afford, the essential distinctness of the body and of the immaterial principle.

Mr. Rennell's proofs of an independency of the intellect, in regard to the body, drawn from the admitted fact that extraordinary mental vigour is sometimes observable immediately before death, are equally fallacious. The facts themselves constitute, in truth, an exception to the general rule. The mind, in an immense majority of instances, becomes weak as the body tends through old age towards death. In the cases of mental vigour immediately preceding dissolution, which are usually quoted, we believe that a violation of the general rule will rarely be made good. It will often be found that a temporary stimulus has excited the feeble mind to a short-lived exertion, or that some change in the circulation of the brain, perhaps that remission of inflammatory action which often precedes death, has renewed its original vigour in its declining moments.

Mr. Rennell attacks with much asperity the system of Messrs. Gall and Spurzheim, as involving materialism; and he wonders, with very little reason, that the eminent physiologists of the day have not come forward in a body to expose the absurdities of this system*.

We must not allow ourselves to mix up with the present discussion a direct scrutiny into the merits or demerits of the German *illuminati*. As, however, we believe that their fundamental position, the fact that the brain is the organ of the mind, is undoubtedly true, and, as the close connexion between the thinking principle and the brain, which Messrs. Gall and Spurzheim pretend to develop, seems peculiarly to excite the alarm of Mr. Rennell, we cannot forbear to assure the student who may chance to admit these doctrines, that he need not therefore consider himself a materialist. We know the influence of names, and are confident that a charge of this nature, made on the authority of a divine, may realize the very fact which it unjustly announces. The youthful student is bidden to change his scientific opinions, or to consider himself a believer in doctrines irreconcilable with his religion. His state of uncertainty is pitiable; for the conclusions of his intellect

* "So inconsistent with reason (says Mr. Rennell in his concluding remarks on this system) is every attempt which has been made to reduce our thoughts to a material origin, and to identify our understanding with any part of our corporeal frame." p. 101.

become (unnecessarily) opposed to his cherished opinions on the most important subject that can engage the attention of man.

Now, for our own parts, we are ready to confess that the opinions of Gall and Spurzheim, encumbered as they are with numerous errors of expression, of composition, and of logic, appear to us to tend rather to elucidate the connexion of the brain and the thinking principle, than to confound them as identical. * "Some men, indeed, start from these speculations, as if there were at the threshold of the subject a mass of improbableness and of impiety which no direct evidence could surmount: but where do they ground this supposition? It had been well known, before ever the speculations of these gentlemen had become public, that there exists a reciprocal dependency between the states of the mind and of the brain. If this be materialism, it did not originate with *them*. Again, it had been known before their time, that we are born with various tendencies, moral, physical, and intellectual. If they appropriated individual tendencies to separate material parts, whatever the general doctrine may have of a nature apparently repugnant to free agency, this is not to be laid at their door. The problem to reconcile natural tendencies with freedom of will, existed before their time; and as their assigning material organs to such tendencies did by no means render them more obviously connate or less subject to the influence of the will, so Messrs. Gall and Spurzheim cannot justly be accused of having opposed new difficulties to the solution of this problem."

We have given some instances of the fervour with which Mr. Rennell wields against materialism the arms that he has extorted from physiology: and we have, at the same time, endeavoured to diminish the number of the enemies whom he has to combat, by suggesting that Messrs. Gall and Spurzheim do not appertain to this heresy. Something we think is due to these gentlemen themselves, as they have been very roughly treated for opinions which they explicitly disavow †.

* Vide Letter to Mr. Rennell.

† "When our antagonists maintain," says Dr. Spurzheim, "that we are materialists, they ought to prove that we teach that there is nothing but matter. The falsehood of this accusation is very obvious by the following consideration. The expressive organ designates an instrument by means of which some faculty manifests itself. The muscles, for example, are the organs of voluntary motion; but the muscles are not the moving power. The eyes are the organs of sight; but the eyes are not the faculty of seeing. We separate the faculties of the soul or mind from the organs, and we consider the central parts as the organs of these faculties: viz. as the means by which these faculties manifest themselves. Even the adversaries of our doctrines must so far admit the dependence of the soul on the body."—*Physiognomical System*, p. 121.

For those, between whose opposed sentiments relatively to the evidence on which materialism rests, we have endeavoured to discover some middle point;—though speculatively at variance with each of them, yet we feel and acknowledge very high respect. The elegant talents and excellent principles of Mr. Rennell are well known; and if Mr. Lawrence has been seduced into some expressions of an irreverent cast relatively to serious subjects, we believe that the roughness with which scepticism had been imputed to him in a previous stage of his controversy with Mr. Abernethy, gave occasion to his unguarded asperity.

As to the doctrines maintained by these gentlemen concerning materialism, they obtain our most hearty opposition. The materialism of Mr. Lawrence is unscriptural: and his arguments in behalf of it appear to us as inconclusive as those by which his antagonist would controvert him. We regret that the latter gentleman should have ever ventured into physiology, or that the former should have ever quitted it.

We shall not aim at the appearance of connexion in our remarks, by endeavouring to force into the same head the materialism of Mr. Lawrence, and the more direct and deliberate attack made on our religious opinions by another work which it falls within our scheme to consider. We allude to the dramatic poem entitled *Cain*. If we were indeed ambitious of maintaining unity, we might urge in favour of this transition, that the materialism of the physiologist and the discontented fatalism of the noble poet have each obtained a source of increased circulation by the avowed inability of the law to protect the copyright of the respective authors. But *Cain* needs no such advantage: it possesses, we regret to admit, every circumstance and adjunct that may tend to promote the diffusion of any venomous ingredient that it may contain. Its topics admit of being rendered very intricate; the reasoning which it puts forth is plausible, and is invested in brilliant language; and finally, the *Edinburgh Review* has discovered that a moral may be extracted from it. Yet such as it is, this poem contains, we believe, the most deliberate attempt that has occurred in our day to render all evidence in favour of revealed religion antecedently improbable, by controverting the most important of those attributes, which revelation teaches us to assign to God.

A metaphysical treatise endeavouring to establish this point, we should be disposed to leave in the midst of that obscurity in which treatises concerning freedom of will generally involve their subject. But *here* we find the irreligious argument receiving its practical application. A *case* is placed before us; and a human being is plunged, by the impulse which he receives from this wayward argument, into guilt, over which he has no controul, and misery, which he
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does not deserve. This is giving to the phantasies of speculative impiety "a local habitation and a name," and engaging our most active sympathies in favour of those views which might otherwise be considered as no more than visionary hypothesis. But as this practical impiety is the most mischievous, so, we rejoice to say, it is the most easily developed and exposed. Questions concerning the origin of evil may exist, where the Edinburgh Review places them, in "mighty unfathomed obscurity." But the question, whether a modern Cain need plunge into wickedness, under the influence of metaphysical reasoning, is involved in no necessary darkness.

What may have been the besetting errors of the brother of Abel we know not. The Cain of Lord Byron presents to us a being plunged into the blackest despondency and discontent, by a strong conviction that he is beset with evils, in relation to which he is equally powerless and undeserving. The selfish and narrow moodiness which renders a real character of this kind disagreeable, and therefore harmless, is lost under the splendour of poetry and eloquence, and nothing is allowed to meet our eye, except what appears, by being accounted for on principles of necessity, either pitiable or pardonable. But what is the real position of this melancholy being? It is certainly obvious that man, as a creature, is in one sense unpossessed of freedom of will; namely, that he *must* act consistently with the laws according to which he is created. But it is, on the other hand, equally obvious, that in every individual case man is free to act or not to act, according to his own choice, or to the choice of others. The latter is the plain and practical answer to any arguments advanced in favour of the scheme of necessity, whenever these arguments are applied to the regulation of our conduct. Our distinct and clear perception of freedom of will in the performance of *this* or *that* action, set against our consciousness that we act agreeably to the conditions of our being, and cannot act otherwise, may form a speculative paradox; but this does not shake our conviction of our ultimate freedom of choice. And this is the *practical* point, which we should regret to consider *left in obscurity*. Justness and goodness are terms applied absolutely, and not analogically, to God, in consequence of his possessing those qualities which are so called in men. They have no practical meaning, except what we collect from our observations of human nature. In this sense God is just and good; for he punishes and rewards those actions which we punish and reward, in a higher degree, and with a more strict admeasurement, than it is possible for us to attain. We have not scrupled to apply the attributes of justness and goodness to our own conduct in the conferring such rewards and punishments, though we have been conscious of the above abstract argument

argument against the freedom of human will, and, by consequence, against the freedom to act, or to abstain from action, in those whom we have punished. Why then should our consciousness of this kind of necessity, as existing in relation to the actions of men, render us averse to assign such attributes to the Divinity? If this question be answered favourably to the views which religion prescribes, what is there remaining in the metaphysical subtlety of Lord Byron, that need occasion the perplexity in which he would entangle us?

We have a great dislike to disquisitions concerning the origin of evil. We cannot however agree with the Edinburgh Reviewer in consigning the whole question to unfathomable obscurity, so as to take in those cases in which it has a reference to moral conduct. In this practical point of view it appears to us to possess no obscurity whatever, and it is in this point of view that it comes before us in the Mystery of Lord Byron. In this poem, the existence of evil in the world affords to the imagination of the first murderer an argument against the justice of God. But, let us ask, what should we know either of the goodness or the justice of the Deity, but for the scheme of moral virtue which it has pleased him to unfold to us? and how can we conceive the existence of virtue without conceiving also the existence of vice? The intention of God that we should possess as much freedom of will as is compatible with our nature, as *created* and therefore *dependent* beings, is obvious. Co-existent with the kind of necessity which is involved in the very idea of that relation which subsists between the creature and the Creator, there has been given us a consciousness of the most complete freedom of will in regard to *this* or *that* action, and, consequently, of moral responsibility. In a word, our Creator has loosened around us the shackles of necessity, to the highest possible degree to which we can conceive a created being to be set at liberty. Instead of considering our actual state as embarrassed in regard to action, and enslaved to circumstances, we should be disposed to consider the extent to which we are *conscious* of freedom, as a standing miracle.

We have paid an extorted and uncomfortable tribute to the ethical qualities of Cain. There has been a time when we should have thought it impossible that a subject should engage our attention deeply associated with the poetry of Lord Byron, without compelling our imagination, even though engaged in severer tasks, to deviate among his romantic and impassioned characters, and the splendid imagery with which he surrounds them. But the wand of the enchanter has broken the charm which it had created. The magnificent portraiture on which we once thought it not sinful to gaze has vanished into thin air, and on the scene left desolate by its

departure there remains one portentous shadow, of which we start to find that the Laras, the Giaours, and the Corsairs, have been no more than incarnations. Alas! can the noble poet find no fitter model for high and heroic design than the Lucifer of his *Mystery*? And yet, now that he has unfolded this character, its right to be considered the completion and perfection of all the rest becomes instantly and painfully obvious.

Perhaps we may reasonably hope, that as his lordship has *at last* delivered himself of this monstrous birth, of which the former children of his brain may be considered typical, his future conceptions may be such as good and religious men may welcome with pleasure as well as admiration.

There is a very large and a very respectable portion of the community, who would start with horror at any direct attempt to reconcile their minds to *sceptical* opinions, without being very well able to defend, without, perhaps, having exactly *ascertained*, their own. In order to proselytize among persons such as these, the surest method is that adopted by Dr. Middleton, namely, to take some proposition which they shall consider religiously correct, and to support it by argument which they may feel themselves compelled to apply, by parity of reasoning, to the subversion of a scriptural doctrine. Thus Dr. Middleton assailed the popish miracles with arguments that had, some of them, as strong an application to those of the gospel. His *avowed* object, he took care, should be a good one; and, if the excursive talent of his reader send him beyond the bounds which the author, good harmless man, had prescribed to *his own* views,—how could *he* help that?

Where this method cannot be adopted, it is at all events expedient to take some proposition short of a direct denial of the authenticity of the scriptures, and from which the transition to such a denial may be made in the manner most gratifying to human vanity. We do not say, that the authors to whom we have been adverting have had a very decisive and determinate intention in what *they* have written; but we do affirm, that if an attack against revealed religion *had* been intended by the poet and the physiologist, they could not possibly have adopted a more advantageous method of carrying it on, than that which they have actually taken; unless indeed their subject had admitted of the more cunning species of warfare so ably carried on by Dr. Middleton. If in one single instance our efforts should avail against this destructive form of assault, they are more than repaid.

ART. XV.—*Prison Discipline**.

IT has now become a matter of some difficulty to say upon this subject any thing to which the attention of the public has not already been successfully called.

This we consider a ground of sincere congratulation. When we reflect how small a number of years has elapsed since Howard began to meditate his important career; when the prisoner was allowed to rot in his dungeon, without exciting, in any quarter, a thought respecting the air which he breathed, the food which he ate, the usage which he endured, or the temperature in which his deplorable nights and days were consumed; we feel at our hearts the encouragement which benevolence may thence derive for perseverance in every judicious design; since, already, there is not a light in which the subject can be viewed, in which it may not be said to be familiar to the public mind. The secrets of the prison house have been revealed. The state of the oppressor and of the oppressed has been disclosed. The evils, both moral and physical, which flow from ill regulated prisons, and thickly spread themselves over the land, have fixed the attention of the wise and good in every part of the civilized world. And in some places considerable efforts have been made to dry up that copious source of human suffering and crime.

Our attention has been attracted to this subject, the more particularly on the present occasion, by the recent publication of the "Third Report of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and for the Reformation of juvenile Offenders;" a society whose object ranks among the most important which can occupy the human mind; a society to which the world already owes no small part of the elucidation which the subject has happily received; and by whose future and continued exertions, we trust that every part of this important concern to which consideration may still be required, will be so repeatedly pressed upon the public attention, that the practical proceedings which naturally follow conviction, will not long be deferred.

The blessings to be derived from an improved state of prison discipline may be considered under two heads.

1st. As they relate to the prisoner himself.

2dly. As they relate to the community at large.

As respects the prisoner himself, the object of prison discipline is twofold: 1st, to prevent all violation towards him of the prin-

* Vid. The Third Report of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, &c.

ciples of humanity; and 2dly, to effect his reformation, and final return to usefulness and happiness.

That these are objects of first-rate importance no one will deny.

We hold it an indubitable maxim, flowing immediately from the first principles of justice, that all injury done to a prisoner, every evil inflicted upon him, not necessary to the righteous ends for which he has been deprived of his liberty, is as much a violation of morality, as much a crime, as if it had been inflicted upon any individual in the land.

A man, by being placed in a prison, does not cease to be a man; nor has he lost a single right belonging to him as a man, except those which the law has expressly taken away. He is still a moral agent, bound by duties towards others, as they are bound by duties towards him.

If every violation of humanity towards a prisoner ought to be accounted criminal, and ought to be prevented, it is of first-rate importance to determine what in his case should be considered a violation of humanity.

We may begin with a particular which is not liable to dispute. The *health* of the prisoner ought not to be injured. Every thing which has a tendency wholly or partially to destroy his health is inhumanity.

This implies a good deal. It implies the use of a wholesome apartment, a place free from bad air and filth, free from damp, and from injurious extremes of either heat or cold. It implies also a sufficiency of wholesome food, and of clothing.

While a man has the exercise of his natural powers, to provide himself with the means of preserving health, he is with propriety left to his own resources. If you deprive him of these resources, and do not provide him with what is necessary to the preservation of his health, you inflict an injury which the law did not intend; you deprive a human being of one of the best of all earthly possessions; and for such an injury leave him wholly without reparation. A more heinous violation of those sacred ties by which men are bound to one another, and society itself exists, can hardly be conceived.

Not only ought the health of the prisoner to be thus respected, it is also to be considered how far any evil, any the smallest suffering, not assigned by the law in express and unambiguous terms, will not fall under the same condemnation.

Some of the most fatal prejudices which obstruct the improvement of prison discipline here occur to be considered. How completely they are void of foundation will clearly and decisively be seen. A very slight analysis will throw sufficient light upon the case.

Some

Some persons are in prison solely for the purpose of safe custody; to prevent from escaping those who are supposed to have a motive to escape, when their presence is necessary to some important legal end. It is very evident that the least distressful of all modes in which their presence can be secured, with a due attention to the principle of economy, is in this case the only mode which is reconcilable to the principles of humanity and justice; it is undeniable that if they are made, by their situation, to sustain any inconvenience not required for the end, for which they are placed in custody, it is a crime equal in guilt to a similar inconvenience inflicted upon any other individual whatsoever. This is a proposition which we are persuaded we may leave to the clearness and force of its own evidence.

It is only necessary further, in relation to this point, to consider who are the parties who ought to be considered as in prison solely for the purpose of safe custody, and to be subject to no inconvenience which is inseparable from the attainment of that end.

In the first place, it is certain that all persons before trial ought to be considered as in that situation. The idea of *punishment* before trial, includes in it every thing which is odious and revolting to the moral sense.

After sentence, also, those persons, of whose punishment imprisonment is not by the Judge declared to form any part, ought to be considered as in prison to wait merely the time appointed for their punishment. All those criminals, to whose offences another punishment than imprisonment is assigned, ought, if imprisoned between the time of passing and executing their sentence, to be considered as in safe custody merely. Those who are sentenced even to be hanged, are sentenced to that punishment, and to no other. They are not sentenced to be tortured in prison before they are executed. If they are tortured in prison beforehand, this is a punishment to which they are not condemned by the law. It is a punishment not authorized by the law. It is a punishment therefore contrary to law. It is a crime.—The word torture is, commonly, applied to those cases only in which extreme suffering is endured. But it is evident that any degree of suffering wantonly applied is a degree of torture; and, when applied in a prison, without utility, without the express command of the law, ought to be stigmatized by the appellation of torture, or even a worse if it were afforded by the language.

It is very evident, therefore, that none of these cases come under the complaint of those persons who object to the humanity which is recommended in prison discipline, because it is not sufficiently calculated to intimidate offenders and to deter them from crime.

This objection is sometimes heard in places of great dignity and influence,

influence, and therefore requires the more to be duly considered; and, if unfounded and mischievous, to be exposed.

If this objection cannot possibly refer to any class of persons of whose punishment incarceration does not form a constituent part, it can only refer to those whose punishment is declared either wholly or partially to consist of imprisonment. We also are of opinion that imprisonment is a proper instrument of punishment; perhaps the most important of all instruments. The question is, by what means it can be rendered most conducive to its end; by the ordinary barbarous modes of prison misery, bad air, bad food, nastiness, tyrannical treatment, excessive cold, and excessive heat; or by other means, exclusive of these instruments of torture?

In the pain which, as punishment, is inflicted upon a criminal, one rule, the obvious dictate of common sense and common humanity, is invariably to be pursued. The pain which is inflicted upon the criminal ought to produce as great an impression as possible upon the minds of the other members of the community. The grand object of punishment is example; to deter others from the perpetration of similar crimes. If there be two modes of inflicting the same degree of pain upon a criminal, one in which little or no impression is made upon the minds of others, another in which a great impression is made; the first ought by all means to be rejected, the latter to be employed. If it is not, human misery, which surely ought not to be produced in greater quantity than is absolutely necessary, is expended in waste.

The evil which is inflicted upon a prisoner by the loathsomeness of a dungeon, by the cruelty or even by the neglect of a gaoler subject to no adequate superintendence and controul, can make but a very feeble impression upon the minds of men in general; because it is unseen and unthought of. The prisoner enters the gate of his prison and is forgotten. The whole conception of his case is confounded in the mere general idea of incarceration. Beyond that general idea there is nothing which takes hold of the imagination. To inflict evil upon a human being, evil thus unknown and unregarded, in the way of punishment, as a means of deterring others from the punishment of crime, is one of the most preposterous applications of power into which ignorance or wrong feeling ever was betrayed. The evil by which others are to be deterred must be a conspicuous evil. It must be an evil which fixes their attention, and which is frequently recalled to their thoughts. Surely the evil which is to produce these effects ought not to be an evil hidden from view in the recesses of a dungeon; evil dependent upon the accidental temper of a gaoler, the accidental goodness or badness of the accommodations of a gaol.

The point, we conceive, is perfectly clear and incontrovertible, that

that to inflict pain in prisons, artificially or negligently, as a punishment for crime, is a violation of the sound principles of legislation, and ought never to be endured: that if any evil beyond that of simple confinement, be supposed necessary to complete the due punishment of the crime, it ought to be evil of another sort than the secret miseries of a bad and ill conducted prison; it ought to be an evil selected by the Judge, proportioned to the case, and applied in such a manner as to operate the most forcibly upon the minds of others.

If this be certain, (and we should like to hear the argument by which it is to be controverted,) the consequence is inevitable;—That all misery in prisons, not inseparable from the confinement, instead of being cherished and preserved, as some men would have it to be, should on the other hand be carefully and studiously removed.

If the reformation of the criminal be regarded as a great and important end, another reason presents itself against the infliction of misery in prisons. A being under all the exasperated feelings which perpetual misery creates, the sort of misery engendered in bad and ill conducted prisons, is not in a situation favourable to reformation, but the very reverse. This sort of misery hardens the mind, and ends either in stupefaction, or a determined spirit of opposition full of hatred and the desire of revenge. It is ascertained by the most incontrovertible experience, that the most potent of all the instruments of reformation is gentleness and sympathy. The noble experiment of Mrs. Fry, the value of which can never be sufficiently prized, has afforded a new and signal proof of this important fact. It is not by inflicting misery upon a prisoner which hardly any body sees, and which nobody is the better for, that his heart is to be softened and his ear opened to the voice of the instructor. It is rather by removing all evil from him, but that which can be shown to answer an important end. He can be led to see that the pain which he endures is really the fruit of his own actions, where it is well calculated to prevent the repetition of such actions, and where it is evident that without the prevention of such actions the happiness of other men cannot be secured. He can there see that it is not out of malignity to him, (a thought which hardens and depraves,) but out of regard for others, that he is made to suffer, and that such suffering is not more than is required for the end.

If it be asked what is the limit to the accommodations which, under this notion of humanity, are to be allowed to the prisoner, the rule of economy sufficiently answers that question. Whatever is to be done at the public expense should be done in the cheapest possible manner. Nothing should be provided beyond what is absolutely necessary: as a fence against physical ills, the apartment
should

should be wholesome, but its wholesomeness provided for in the cheapest possible manner. The food should be wholesome and in sufficient quantity, but the cheapest that is wholesome should alone be afforded at the public expense; and so of all other things. In a case so very obvious, it is unnecessary for us to proceed to details.

The second object of prison discipline, as respects the prisoner himself, is his personal reformation; the eradication of his bad propensities and habits, the generation of good ones, and finally, where not condemned to perpetual imprisonment, his restoration to the happiness of freedom and to usefulness as a member of society.

If this be an object of the highest importance, (and who will deny that it is so?) the subject of prison discipline must also be regarded as of the highest importance: for it is this alone by which that desirable end can be attained.

We deem it unnecessary to accumulate evidence of the salutary, the wonderful, effects which are capable of being produced upon the most corrupt of human beings by proper treatment in a prison. The most satisfactory experience has been obtained upon this subject, and is familiar to the public. We cannot forbear again alluding, though we have done it so recently, to the effects produced, under the most unfavourable circumstances, by the Ladies' Committee in Newgate; because we conceive that this decisive experiment supersedes all discussion upon the subject, and throws a light upon the benefits of prison discipline which is altogether irresistible.

The grand particulars on which we conceive that the improvement of reformatory discipline depends, are Inspection, Classification, Work, Instruction. We shall offer a few reflections under each of these heads; and shall avail ourselves of the interesting facts which have been collected by the diligence of the Society, whose Third Report is now before us, respecting the actual state of this and other countries in these several respects.

1. We hardly know any thing which can be said to render the importance of inspection for good management in prisons, more evident than to us it appears to be in itself. It is the only security in which any reliance can be placed. To whatever part of a prison, or prison business, inspection does not extend, mismanagement may there be expected to erect for itself a throne.

If we think of the helplessness of a prisoner, from how many quarters evil may approach him, and from how many and how powerful motives he may be either neglected or oppressed;—that even neglect alone may bring upon him every species of suffering; and that to this neglect every creature upon whom he depends is
tempted

tempted by one of the strongest of motives, the love of ease; if we recollect, also, that the prisoners themselves are disposed to misconduct, and that nothing but the constant eye of a director can secure that species of behaviour on which reformation depends;—we shall easily understand that, for the attainment of the ends of prison discipline, inspection the most perfect which it is possible to apply is indispensably required.

It is good to contemplate what is necessary to render inspection complete, that on all occasions as near an approach as possible may be made to the state in which all its benefits are the most fully obtained. It may occasionally happen, that in one particular or another something must be abated from the completeness of inspection, that some other benefit may be the more perfectly secured. But in all such cases it is necessary carefully to ascertain the value of that portion of inspection which is given up, and to see that the benefit which is obtained in lieu of it, is at least equal to that which is lost.

To render inspection complete, it is very evident that the prisoner should be exposed to the eye of properly qualified inspectors every moment of his time, by night as well as by day. It is also evident that no prison is perfect, which does not afford *the means* of this complete inspection; which ought always to be applied wherever it is necessary, and departed from in a greater or less degree in the case of particular prisoners, in proportion as the confidence which may be reposed in them, or their particular feelings, may render advisable.

A simple architectural contrivance suffices for placing the whole and every part of the prison under the eye of the inspector, and we are very happy to perceive that the importance of it is becoming very generally understood. In the account of the Preston House of Correction (see the Appendix to the already-quoted Report, p. 42,) “It is much,” they say, “to be wished that the work-rooms had been so constructed as to radiate from a centre of inspection, as there is great facility in seeing the countenances of a long range of prisoners directly through the frames of their looms.” The benefit of a prison constructed upon this plan is also fully acknowledged (p. 2 of the same Appendix) in the account of the New House of Correction in Bedfordshire. “By the erection,” it is said, “of this New House of Correction on the *panopticon* (complete inspection) principle, in which the prisoners are carefully classed and separated, great advantage has also accrued towards separating and classing the various prisoners in the County Gaol and Old Bridewell.”

We cannot afford space to enter into details upon the subject of that architectural plan which is most conducive to inspection; and yet,

yet, from the degree in which it has been misapprehended by Mr. Holford in the pamphlet which he has published on the subject of prisons, we fear that explanations are still required. We recommend the perusal of the observations upon the objections of Mr. Holford, which are published by the Society for Prison Discipline, at page 194 of the Appendix of the Report.

It appears, however, that a conception may easily be formed of a circular building having an area within. If every apartment in this circular building is open towards this area or internal space, it is perfectly plain that every person in the prison will be visible to an eye properly situated in the middle of the inclosed area. A situation for the inspector is provided by a narrow tower rising in the middle of this area, while he himself is unseen. By means of lights properly disposed, every part of this prison may be visible by night as well as by day; and by the simple use of screens, any portion of its inmates may at any time have the full benefit of seclusion.

By this contrivance, the behaviour of the whole of the servants and attendants of the prison is as much under inspection as that of the prisoners; and nothing improper can take place without its being immediately known, and the means afforded of applying the proper remedy. A great security is also provided against the danger of escape, which a prisoner can hardly attempt while he is sure of being seen. The same degree of strength is not therefore required in prisons of this construction, and hence they may be constructed at a far less expense. This subject, however, of inspection, we cannot pursue any further at present; and must leave it, after having thrown out these imperfect suggestions.

2. The second grand requisite to a proper system of prison discipline, is *Classification*.

When it is considered, how very important are the effects of classification, and how obviously they press themselves upon every mind, it may well appear surprising that it should have been so long disregarded; and that in our prisons, not only under the eye, but by the command of the authors and administrators of the law, there should so often be seen mixed assemblages of human beings, which shock every good feeling of the human heart; assemblages, by permission of which, morality and policy are equally outraged.

Nothing can more forcibly exemplify the deadening effects of habit. The evils to which people are accustomed, more especially moral evils, they seldom appreciate as they ought; seldom look upon them with all the disapprobation which they deserve; seldom make such exertions to rescue themselves as the magnitude of the mischief ought to stimulate them to employ. It is astonishing to think how great a proportion of the evils which press upon mankind,

kind, and are capable of being removed, may be found to owe their continued existence to the apathy with which old abuses are endured.

From this very serious and well-established matter of fact, an obvious and important practical lesson arises, that no evils more require to be regarded with jealousy and hatred, than old evils. There is always a high probability that an old moral evil is not properly understood; and not believed to be that copious source of misery which it really is. A wise man will always be anxious to probe a gangrene of this sort to the bottom. No greater benefit can be rendered to society, than is conferred by those who lay open the nature of ancient evils, and subject them to the strictest scrutiny; who show with accuracy, and in detail, the train of their odious consequences; and who rouse the public mind from the torpor of habit, and that negligence of evil, however deplorable, which familiarity with it is so apt to produce.

In this point of view, the writings which have exposed so fully the evils which are generated in our prisons, by mixing together the innocent and the guilty, the young offender and the old, have been of the highest utility. According to the mode in which our criminal law operates, how liable is it to happen that a person imprisoned before trial—a person who upon trial shall be found to be innocent—a young person, who has borne an excellent character—shall be placed for months in a company of old and confirmed criminals! Here is a human being lost, according to all human probability, absolutely lost, both to himself and to society. How much better would it have been for an innocent being who is thus to be made a criminal and a wretch, how much better, both for himself and for society, if without judge or judicature he had been hanged at the door of the prison before he had been allowed to breathe the moral and deadly contagion to which he was otherwise doomed! Who, at the same time, is there who would not shudder at taking away the life of a human being in such circumstances? How few are there, on the other hand, who look upon his consignment to a moral and still more dreadful death, with any feeling but that of almost perfect indifference! Such is the deplorable consequence of looking upon evils with complacency because they are old!

The formation of prisons upon the complete inspection principle, affords important advantages for the accurate classification of the inmates.

The grand principle evidently is, to separate all those persons who are susceptible of deeper taints of corruption from those who are likely to produce them. All those who are least experienced or hardened in guilt should undoubtedly form one class;—all those
who

who are most experienced or hardened should form another. The intermediate classes of course must be formed by a judicious appreciation of the several and respective cases.

In prisons, the apartments of which are thoroughly pervious to the eyes of the inspectors, apartments may be diminished or enlarged by means of moveable partitions, rendered impervious to improper conversation by easy and obvious expedients. With these advantages, there never can be any difficulty in always forming the classes so as to suit exactly the several cases as they occur. All those who are likely to be the better for being with one another, or at any rate not the worse, may thus be placed together: all those who are likely to become worse for being placed together, may be kept effectually asunder. This is the principle of classification; and when this is done, the end is attained.

3. The importance of the inspection principle is such, that it extends to every thing. It is evidently the guarantee of all the benefit which is capable of being derived from setting the prisoners to work. In order to have work performed effectually and profitably by persons other than prisoners, where the reward of the labour is the potent motive to labour, where the labourers are not criminals, and persons of vicious habits labouring under compulsion, but persons of good characters, and to whom labour is the source of all their means both of enjoyment and subsistence,—it is well known that inspection is absolutely necessary, and that where inspection is not effectually performed, the result of every undertaking which depends upon the labours of others is greatly impaired.

It is hardly to be doubted that a great part of the failures which have attended the endeavour to introduce labour profitably into prisons, has been owing to the want of proper inspection.

Labour in prisons is recommended by the strongest considerations of utility.

In the first place, those who have offended the laws of their country, and who are placed for the security of the public under restraint, ought not to be maintained at the cost of others, unless in cases of absolute necessity. Where they have not other means of paying for their maintenance, they should be obliged to work for it.

As compensation is due from him who has done an injury to him who has received it, the labour of the prisoner, where required and applicable, should always be available to this purpose.

If it be considered that by far the greatest number of those who offend against the laws, are found amongst those whose situation in life requires them to work for their bread, but who have contracted habits unfavourable to the practice of regular industry, it will immediately be seen that work, and that performed under the most strict

strict and perfect system of inspection and controul, is absolutely necessary to afford a chance of reforming the greatest number of prisoners, and of restoring them to usefulness with those habits which alone can render them useful. Without habits of steady, persevering industry, they must remain the same vicious and noxious members of society as they had been before. But habits of labour can only be acquired by constant labouring;—a point on which it is evidently unnecessary to enlarge.

The means of obtaining (at least under adequate inspection, which is an indispensable requisite,) vigorous and persevering labour up to the limit of the labourer's strength, are sufficiently understood. They consist in attaching advantages to the performance, disadvantages to the non-performance, of the labour. The natural mode of attaching advantages to the performance, is by allowing the labourer to share in the profits of his labour. That of attaching disadvantages to the non-performance, is by allowing him nothing for pleasure,—nothing beyond absolute necessities, except what he purchases by the fruits of his labour.

We do not think that in the several trials which have been made, these motives have been often skilfully applied. We shall, however, take another opportunity to pursue this important practical subject a little more in detail.

Many interesting facts respecting the present arrangements for attaining the benefits of labour in the several prisons and penitentiaries of the united kingdom, are presented to view in the Third Report and Appendix, to which we have so often referred, of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline. In an instructive extract from a publication entitled “Observations on the Expediency of erecting provincial Penitentiaries in Ireland,” &c. which the Society have inserted in the appendix, we perceive the following words:—“Penitentiaries *properly constructed* being once erected, the annual expense of maintaining them will gradually decrease. At the outset it must be expected that the produce of labour will fall short of the expense; but as the organization of these establishments advances towards perfection, there is reason to believe that the produce of labour may nearly cover the expenditure, as at Preston in England; or even leave a surplus, as in Maryland in America.”

The account of the Preston House of Correction, which we inserted p. 94 of our first number, is exceedingly encouraging.

These effects, considerable as they are, were produced under unfavourable circumstances; for we are informed that “this prison was erected in 1792; and its plan does not therefore partake of the advantages which have since that period been introduced. There is *no* inspection; and the classification is not so complete as is desirable, especially with the females, who are often much thronged.

thronged. The effects of these disadvantages in the construction of the building, however, are much counteracted by the system of management.

This therefore shows how much may be effected, when to a system of good management are added all the advantages which are capable of being derived from a prison constructed upon the best possible plan. No doubt can be entertained of the economy, as well as the other unspeakable advantages which it is possible to attain.

4. We come now to the last of the heads under which we enumerated the objects of prison discipline, as it relates to the prisoner himself, namely, *Instruction*.

Under this head, little more seems to be necessary for us to do, than to adduce the proofs, which this Report so largely supplies, of the wide diffusion of proper notions on this subject; and the exertions which are so generally making to give practical effect to the convictions thus happily and generally entertained.

The Report informs us, that

“In many prisons, the instruction of the prisoners in reading and writing has been attended with excellent effects. Schools have been formed at Bedford, Durham, Chelmsford, Winchester, Hereford, Maidstone, Leicester House of Correction, Shrewsbury, Warwick, Worcester, &c. Much valuable assistance has been derived in this department from the labours of respectable individuals, especially females, acting under the sanction of the magistrates and direction of the chaplain. There are indeed many matters, in which the interests of the prisoner are deeply concerned, which, although incapable of being made the subject of direct legislation, are of considerable importance—works of usefulness, in which the magistrates, chaplain, or governor, cannot be expected to engage, but in the performance of which a Visiting Association might be rendered highly beneficial. No one will dispute the benefit of such labours, who has witnessed the admirable exertions of Mrs. FRY and her benevolent associates.”

In the Appendix, p. 1, under the head of Bedfordshire, we are happy to read that

“In both the county prisons, a library of religious, moral, and instructive books has been established, for the use of the prisoners, in addition to the usual supply of New Testaments and religious tracts.”

The following passage from the Report of the Chaplain of the Maidstone County Jail and House of Correction, inserted at page 32 of the Appendix to the Report, is so full of both encouragement and instruction, that we can do nothing more useful than contribute to its circulation :—

“I beg to acquaint the Magistrates, that their order for allowing such of the penitentiary prisoners as stood in need of instruction, two hours in each week, during the winter, for the purpose of attending a school, has been productive

ductive of the best success in the short period of time during which the plan has been adopted.

"The number of men in attendance has generally amounted to about twenty-five. The progress of adults must, in general, be slow, but many of the scholars have made considerable improvement. Their behaviour at the school has been uniformly such as to give me no cause for correcting, or even finding fault with them. The wardsman acts as schoolmaster, without any compensation, and has given entire satisfaction. I have had many opportunities of observing his conduct and useful services, as I always attend the school the whole, or part, of the time during which it is assembled.

"I am happy to state, that the plan of adult instruction has become generally prevalent throughout the gaol. I have been invited by the greater part of the prisoners for trial, to assist them in forming themselves into Schools for their mutual instruction.

"In Ward No. 1, there are twenty-six prisoners for trial, for felonies, now partaking of instruction. In No. 2, there are thirteen for trial for misdemeanors: and in No. 3, twenty-eight prisoners charged with capital felonies, all pursuing the same important object. These, together with the twenty-five in the Penitentiary School, form a total of 92 adults who are in a course of instruction.

"Of this number, twenty-four could read but very little, thirty-five were unacquainted with the alphabet: at this time several of these are able to read the New Testament; and in those who were previously instructed I have found, with few exceptions, a total ignorance of the first principles of Christian doctrine and duty.

"The Magistrates will be aware, that the adult schools amongst the unconvinced prisoners cannot be carried on with the most exact and constant attention; and from this cause, that attendance must proceed from the option of the prisoners; and the services also of the teachers are wholly gratuitous. I make it a rule to hold out no inducement whatever to perseverance, beyond the single circumstance of their own comfort and self-improvement, as I am desirous that their motive for pursuing the path of duty should be founded on a higher principle than that of any temporal consideration. But many of the prisoners give up a daily portion of their time for the purpose of instruction; and I can state, that it has been attended with the best effect upon their general conduct.

"It is affirmed, by the officers of the prison, that the change is very visible in the general conduct of the men, which they state to be very much better in every respect than they have witnessed at any former time; and observations to the same effect have of late been frequently entered by the Visiting Justices in their Journal.

"Profane language, which is usually so prevalent in prisons, is now very seldom heard. The conduct of the prisoners at Chapel is very materially improved; and the propriety with which they behave at all times during my instructions and intercourse with them is very satisfactory.

"I am most happy in stating, that the school for juvenile offenders is now going on in the most satisfactory manner. At present, it contains ten boys under seventeen years of age, of whom four did not know their letters when they entered the school. The most favourable change has lately been effected in the discipline of the school, and in the general conduct and progress of the scholars,

scholars, which I principally attributes to the appointment of a different master, and the diligence he has exerted in the discharge of his duties."

To the evidence afforded in the above passage of the small proportion of prisoners who can read, we add the testimony adduced (5th page of the Appendix) in the account of the County Jail and House of Correction of Cambridge: "The Governor states it as his belief, from observation, that not more than one-third of the prisoners can read." Of this important fact a large body of evidence might be collected; but with much of this we believe that our readers are already acquainted; and we think it best on the present occasion not to travel beyond the facts which the Report before us supplies.

On the best plan of instruction to be adopted in prisons, we have it in view to deliver our thoughts at large on some future occasion. This is a subject of sufficient importance to deserve our best consideration; and in the mean time we invite the communications of those whose experience and attention to the circumstance have best qualified them to advise.

We have now gone over the different topics which relate to one grand class of the benefits to be derived from prison discipline; namely, those which accrue to the prisoner himself.

We should proceed to those which accrue to the community at large. This is a subject still more extensive and important than that which we have discussed. It is therefore more than we can attempt to embrace in the present essay. We shall endeavour to do justice to it on a future occasion; and shall conclude the present article with some miscellaneous facts and observations, presented to us or suggested by the Society's present valuable Report.

We have great pleasure in notifying the fact of the establishment of a Royal Society in France for the amelioration of prisons. A Royal Ordonnance has been passed, regulating its establishment.

"A circular has been issued by the Minister of the Interior to all the departments, containing an account of this Institution, with a list of questions which were to be answered; and the Council General formed itself into Committees, in order to prepare Reports on different subjects. These Reports have been published, and afford a body of interesting and important information."

We cannot afford space for an account of these Reports; this however the reader will find summarily given at page 138 of the Appendix to this Report. It concludes with the following passage:

"These Reports having been delivered to His Excellency the Minister of the Interior, the Comte Decazes, they were, with an exposé of the French law of prisons, and a particular account of each prison, made the ground-work

work of a very detailed document, drawn up with great ability by the Minister, and which was presented to the King.

"In this statement is detailed the general system of the prisons in France. They should be of five kinds. 1. *Maisons de Police Municipale*, for crimes only requiring five days' detention. 2. *Maisons d'Arrêt*, to secure the accused, and to confine those who are sentenced for less than a year. 3. *Maisons de Justice*, for those who are about to be tried at the assizes. 4. *Maisons de Correction*, for children under twenty-one years, and condemned for more than a year. Of these there are nineteen existing in France. 5. *Maisons Centrales de Détention*, where women, and old men who are sentenced to the hulks, are confined. In these were about 20,000 prisoners. These two last-named prisons have the means of employment. The *Bagnes* are placed under the Minister of the Marine. There is also a sketch of the laws relative to Prisons, and a particular account of each prison where abuses exist, under the heads of Health, Food, Separation, Work, Infirmary, Clothing, Religious Instruction, and Building. It is suggested that a large grant of money should be levied by a slight additional rate in each department. The sum already granted amounts only to 500,000 francs, little more than 20,000*l*.

"The Appendix to this document contains accounts of the number of prisoners confined, the crimes for which they are condemned, the situation in which they are placed, the work which they have done, and the produce of that work."

Here we see that separate prisons are made for separate classes of prisoners. This, however, is by no means necessary; as all the ends can be most perfectly obtained, in prisons properly constructed, though containing within the same walls all descriptions of prisoners. The expense of so many prisons would, in many places, render the object unattainable. This is to aim at something brilliant and grand in the means; not to study, as the one thing needful, the sure accomplishment of the end. As one of the grand obstructions in the way of prison discipline is the art of obtaining proper prisons, the reduction of expense is on that, as well as on other material grounds, a matter of the very highest importance.

There is a Report from the Ladies' Committee, confirming by continued experience the certainty of the happy effects which judicious management is calculated to produce upon the worst specimens of human kind. Our readers will be gratified with the following extracts.

"At this period, we have but few comparatively under our care (about thirty tried and sixty un-tried prisoners): some have been sent to various Houses of Correction, and fifty-seven have just been conveyed to the ships for transportation; the latter all left the prison in a quiet and becoming manner. Many alleviations have been provided for these, which, with employment and regulations for their conduct during their voyage to New South Wales, may tend to promote good order, and thus be the means of procuring for some of them respectable

spectable situations, when exposed to those temptations, which are peculiarly incidental to outcasts in a foreign land.

"In addition to the school for children, an adult school has lately been formed on the un-tried side, in which the prisoners are taught to read as soon as they are admitted into the prison; and which introduces them (often from the streets) into a degree of wholesome discipline, and prepares them for further instruction in the regular adult school, on the other side of the prison, where those who are desirous of learning to read, are removed after conviction."

The Report concludes with the following words :

"We think it right to add some interesting facts, respecting three of our women who have left the prison since last year: two of these, who were under sentence of death, have received a free pardon; one has been assisted to procure a mangle, and is obtaining a respectable livelihood; the other has been admitted as nurse into an hospital; a third has been received into the family of one of our friends, as a servant, and we have the satisfaction of hearing that all conduct themselves with uniform propriety.

"It will doubtless be acceptable to learn, that our Association still extends its care to GILTSPUR-STREET COUNTER, by a deputation of several of its members: to this prison some of the prisoners from Newgate are committed for correction, during a stated period, and where the system is carried on much in the same manner as in Newgate; the women are classed under a matron, supplied with work, and have the benefit of hearing the Holy Scriptures read to them.

"With these encouragements, the Committee cannot but hope that the system they have adopted in Newgate will meet with a general reception in other prisons, and will continue to be diffused until not one prisoner, in this Christian country, is left destitute of that assistance, which the more enlightened are called upon to extend to the ignorant and wretched; considering that we are 'all the children of One Universal Father.'"

The conduct of Mrs. Tatnall, the wife of the governor of Warwick county gaol, ought not to be passed over without particular applause. It is an example which ought to excite imitation. "The present visit" (says the statement before us, at p. 77 of the Appendix) "was quite unexpected."—After an account of what the visitors saw of the prisoners, their labours, situation, &c. in other parts of the prison, they say :

"We next entered the yard where the convicted felons, about fifty in number, were walking up and down, chiefly in pairs, a greater number not being allowed to walk together. One turnkey superintended them; and they were under inspection from the Governor's room.

"The general behaviour of this assemblage of the most desperate men in the county appeared submissive and orderly: the moment they saw Mrs. Tatnall, every hat was pulled off, and this token of respect seemed perfectly voluntary. She inquired after one or two, by name, who had been sick, and was answered in a manner that shewed their gratitude for the kind treatment they had received from her.

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"The day-rooms and sleeping-cells were all clean; the floors of the former are washed twice, the latter once, a-day. The walls had been recently white-washed. In every room were pasted on the wall the 'Prison Rules,' 'Advice to Prisoners,' and 'Evening Prayers.'

"The very great want of space in this county prison occasions this large assemblage of prisoners. In the convicted felon-yard, above mentioned, a much larger number than fifty have been often congregated; the inconvenience is endeavoured to be remedied, by placing an officer amongst them, to prevent the mischief of contamination as much as possible.

"Mrs. Tatnall continues to direct the employment of the female prisoners, the instruction of the boys, and their labour. Let the gaol be ever so full, she occasionally assembles the men in their day-room, reads the Scriptures or other books to them, and addresses them in a manner suitable to their condition, without receiving the slightest insult or interruption."

After the cheering exhibition of so much that is excellent in the conduct of our countrymen relative to prisons, there are some things which excite sensations of a very different nature. Of Tothill Fields Bridewell, Westminster, we read at p. 50 the following particulars :

"This very defective prison is in nearly the same state in every respect, as described in Mr. Buxton's work on prison discipline. At Easter Sessions 1818, the prison was presented as insufficient by the Grand Jury; since which period, some exertions were made by the Magistrates of Westminster to improve, if not rebuild, the prison; but it was found that a part of the building belonged to, and was claimed by, the Dean and Chapter, and from that time to the present nothing has been done, and this prison continues to be a disgrace to that part of the metropolis."

Other instances of a very defective state of things are adduced in the Yarmouth (Norfolk) Bridewell, and in the Worcester city gaol.

We conclude this article with the following passage from the Report itself:

"The deplorable condition of the Borough prisons is well known. Owing to the smallness of their size, and the general inadequacy of the funds applicable to their amendment, they do not generally admit of any material improvement. Until they be abolished, the prisons of England can never be, what they ought to be, at once the terror, and the reformation, of the criminal. It does not appear indeed that any necessity whatever exists for the continuance of these defective establishments, as the persons usually committed to them might be sent to the county prisons. In the Bill in question, there is a clause which suggests the expediency, and renders lawful, such a transfer, and points out a mode of arranging the expense. But it is apprehended that the benefit of this clause will be very partial, as the recommendation will be neglected by those who are indifferent, and opposed by others who are unfriendly, to improvements in prison discipline. The advantage of the clause being thus lost, and the introduction of the most salutary provisions of the Act not being generally

rally practicable in these places of confinement, the Bill must necessarily become a dead letter as to the government of a great proportion of the prisons in the kingdom.

"The Committee cannot refrain from adverting to a subject not noticed by the present Bill, and which, in their opinion, is very intimately connected with the interests of justice. The present delay in the gaol-deliveries is productive of evils, the extent and importance of which give them a claim to the serious and immediate attention of His Majesty's Government.

"From the long period which elapses between the Summer Assizes in one year and the Lent Assizes in the year following, many prisoners are frequently exposed to an imprisonment of three, six, and even eight, months, before they are brought to trial; a severe hardship, to be defended on no just grounds, and indeed in direct opposition to that maxim of English jurisprudence, which considers every man innocent till proved to be guilty. By this practice, however, a heavy punishment is inflicted, not only before the law convicts, but in many cases where it eventually pronounces an acquittal.

"From papers laid before Parliament, it appears that at Maidstone Lent Assizes, in 1819, there were 177 prisoners for trial; twenty-nine of these had been in confinement before the 1st of October, a period of six months. Now, it is well known that for many crimes six months imprisonment is considered a sufficient punishment: and it is a fact that, at the same sessions, twenty-five felons were sentenced for different terms, not exceeding that period. Yet, here, twenty-nine individuals are punished with the same severity before trial, as that to which twenty-five felons are subjected after being convicted of a breach of the laws. It is still more worthy of remark, that of these twenty-nine, seventeen were declared innocent, or discharged without prosecution.

"At the same Assizes, at Chelmsford, the injustice of the practice was as strongly illustrated. Of 166 prisoners brought up for trial, twenty-five were in prison before the 1st of October preceding. Of these, eleven were acquitted or discharged by proclamation. Two had been in confinement eight months, three upwards of seven months, and three upwards of six months: while sixteen convicted of felony were sentenced to shorter periods of imprisonment than these had already suffered.

"Nor is this evil so grievous in one or two particular instances only; for, from the parliamentary returns, it appears that the whole number of prisoners tried at the same Lent Assizes in England and Wales, exclusive of Middlesex, was 2700: 405 of whom were in confinement before the preceding 1st of October, which number was increased to 1270 by the 1st of January. Thus it appears that more than one-seventh of the whole number of prisoners, innocent or guilty, had suffered six to eight months imprisonment before trial; and nearly one-half, from three to six months."

ART. XVI.—"*Théorie des Peines et des Récompenses, par M. J. Bentham ; rédigée en François, d'après les Manuscrits, par M. E. Dumont.*"

[Continued from p. 132.]

OUR author, after having completed his views on the subject of imprisonment, next compares the two punishments of imprisonment and transportation. The respective advantages and disadvantages of both are distinctly placed before our view; and it appears that as to the great ends of *example* and *reformation*, transportation is far inferior to imprisonment. Transportation is also much more expensive to the state. These general principles are illustrated in a most striking manner in chapter the eleventh, on Botany Bay. The facts, argument, and eloquence contained in this admirable chapter cannot fail to make their just impression on the public mind. By the late Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the state of Botany Bay, we learn that the government of the colony is now better regulated, that cultivation is more extended, that the inhabitants are not exposed, as they were during the first years of the establishment, to famine. It appears also that the police (for even at Botany Bay there must be a police) is better managed, the number of crimes diminished, and that there is reason to hope that the disorders arising from the excessive use of spirituous liquors are likely to be still further diminished, when in a year or two a certain contract or license which the Government had made with some individuals shall expire. But all these actual and expected improvements do not materially affect the general question, respecting the comparative advantages of transportation and imprisonment, as modes of punishment. There is one point in which our author differs from most of those, who detect faults in the laws or in any thing else. His aim is continually to suggest amendments, and to propose some safe practical remedy or substitute for that, to which he objects.

"Let us (says he) never forget that for all practical purposes, the examination of any given punishment would be but fruitless labour, if it were not compared with some other punishment, to determine which ought to be preferred. It is with punishments as with taxes. To point out that a certain tax is an evil, is only to sow the seeds of discontent; but to become really useful, the person, who makes to the public this dangerous discovery, must at the same time suggest other means of producing, with fewer inconveniencies, an equal effect."

After pointing out the evils of the system of transportation, and establishing the comparatively superior advantages of imprisonment, our author shows the means by which the punishment of imprisonment

ment may be rendered still more useful than it is at present. He gives a full, or (if we may be permitted the expression) a working plan of a prison on a new construction, calculated to remedy the inconveniencies and evils of those in present use. This prison provides for the great objects of example, reformation, and prevention of crimes. It is infinitely superior to others in *security*, in *economy*, in the humane purpose of protecting *the health of the prisoners*, and in providing that they shall be subject to no evil but that which the law awards;—thus reducing their sufferings to the smallest possible portion of pain, which can effect the purpose of reformation.

Of Bentham's prison, or as he calls it *Panopticon*, most of our readers have probably heard, as it has been of late the subject of much parliamentary and public discussion. Its principle—central inspection—is well known. For the details we must refer to the work itself.

"It should be observed, however, (as our author says,) that the success of such a well-regulated prison is not now a mere probability, founded only on theoretic reasoning. The experiment has been tried at Philadelphia, at New York (and at *Edinburgh*), and has completely succeeded. Besides the official reports of the director of the Philadelphia prison, we have the evidence of Mr. Weld in his excellent *Travels in America*; and we have the accounts given by two other travellers, whose concurrent testimony may be considered as more satisfactory and impartial, because they are persons of different habits and views. The one a Frenchman, the Duc de Liancourt, well skilled in the regulations of hospitals and prisons; the other an Englishman, Captain Turnbull, a man more intent upon maritime affairs than upon subjects of this sort. Both agree in representing the interior of this prison as a scene of peaceable and regular activity. Neither insolence nor severity is to be seen in the gaolers, nor impertinence or servility in the prisoners. They are spoken to with gentleness, no abusive expressions are ever used. If any fault is committed, the punishment of the culprit is solitary confinement for a certain number of days, and the registering his fault in a book where an account of each prisoner's conduct, debtor and creditor, is kept. Decency and cleanliness are every where to be seen, nothing to offend the most delicate senses. No disorderly noise of singing or disputing; but each, busied at his work, fears to interrupt or to be interrupted by his neighbour. Thus silence and tranquillity are preserved, as favourable both to industry and to reflexion, and well calculated to prevent those causes of irritation which are elsewhere so common between gaolers and prisoners.

"I was surprised (says Captain Turnbull) to find a woman acting as gaoler. This exciting my curiosity, I was upon inquiry informed that her husband had formerly been the gaoler; but that in attending his daughter who had been seized with the yellow fever in 1793, he had caught the disease and died, leaving the prisoners to regret having lost in him a friend and benefactor. In consideration of his services, his widow was chosen as his successor. She acquits herself of all her duties with as much exactness as humanity."

Could we expect to find such things in a prison! They recall to
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our memory, rather that picture of a future golden age painted by the hand of the prophet—when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and a child shall be their guide.

"I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of stating two other facts, which need no comments.—During the yellow fever in 1793, it was very difficult to find attendants for the sick in the hospital at Bush Hill. They had recourse to the prison. The request was made, and the danger of the service required was explained. As many as were wanted immediately volunteered in this dangerous service. They were all faithful to their trust, even to the conclusion of the tragical scene, and never asked for any salary while the term which had been prescribed for their imprisonment lasted. The women gave another proof of goodness: They were requested to give up their wooden beds for the use of the sick in the hospitals. Of their own accord, and eagerly, they offered the beds themselves!—What a difference between these women, emulous as they seem to have been of the virtues of *les sœurs de la Charité*, and the women of New Zealand, who were worse than the men!—What a difference between these Philadelphia prisoners, who went to tend the sick at the hazard of their lives, and the convicts of Botany Bay, who actually set fire to the hospitals and the prisons filled with their own fellow-sufferers! If the instances of good conduct of the American prisoners were only to be considered as a temporary suspension of vice and of crimes, there would be one great point gained; but we shall see that the reformation goes further still. Captain Turnbull assures us, that not five out of a hundred of these prisoners after they recovered their liberty were ever put into prison again for new offences."

Spirituuous liquors are absolutely excluded from the prisons both at New York and at Philadelphia; and one of the governors of the Penitentiary-house at New York states, that many who had come to prison with constitutions enfeebled by intemperance and debauchery, had under the regimen to which they were there subject recovered their health and vigour.—Both M. de Liancourt and Captain Turnbull have entered into the most exact details on this subject. We learn from them, that since the adoption of this system the fees of the physician, which had amounted annually to above twelve hundred dollars, have been reduced to one hundred and sixty.

We next come to *Capital Punishments*. Formerly the punishment of death was rendered more horrible in many cases by the cruel modes of execution, and by the infliction of various species of torture. We rejoice, with our author, that we are saved the description of all those instruments of torture, of all those barbarous modes of execution, which have been abolished by the governments of Europe, or, where not formally abolished, have fallen into disuse.

"Let us enjoy this happy effect of the progress of knowledge. There are few occasions on which philosophy can offer to Governments more just and honourable congratulations."

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The chapter on the long-contested subject of the Expediency of Capital Punishments is eloquent and energetic; but it is not a mere popular declamation. It is in truth what it professes to be—a summary of all the arguments in favour of capital punishments; and a comparison of these with the reasons, which may be urged for substituting other punishments in their stead. Some of the general observations, which occur in the course of this discussion, are well worthy of attention.

"Even if we consider those unhappy times, when a government degenerates into anarchy or tyranny, we may observe that capital punishments established by law, are ready prepared means of which it is more easy to make an unjust use than of most other modes of punishment; a tyrannical government might, it is true, at any time re-establish the legality of the punishment of death, even though it might have been abolished by the legislator. But such an innovation is not quite easy; it places violence in too open a light, it sounds the *tocsin* which alarms public opinion. Tyranny is much more at her ease when she can act under the veil of the laws, when she appears to follow only the ordinary course of justice, and when she finds public opinion accustomed to the species of punishment she wishes to inflict. The Duke of Alva, ferocious as he was, would never have dared to sacrifice his millions of victims in the Low-Countries, had it not been the received opinion of the times, that heresy was punishable with death. Biren, not less cruel than the Duke of Alva,—Biren, who peopled the deserts of Siberia with exiles, only mutilated his victims, because mutilation was a punishment in use at that period in his country; he did not dare to put them to death, because capital punishments were not customary. Here is a strong reason why we should avail ourselves of peaceable times to destroy those arms which people forget to fear when they are covered with rust; but which it is, alas! too easy to sharpen again, when the passions bring them again into use."

The collateral bad consequences of capital punishments are numerous; and there is great danger in inflicting the punishment of death for minor offences, contrary to public opinion. Instead of preventing, this tends to multiply crimes, by preparing for them sanctuaries in the pity of prosecutors and of jury-men, in the mercy of judges, and in the general sense of humanity. Our author had expatiated on this subject particularly as it relates to British jurisprudence. But his editor abridged much of what had been said on these points; because, just as this part of the work was going to the press, he found himself anticipated, and perceived that his arguments could no longer have the force of novelty. The subject was brought before parliament by Sir Samuel Romilly, who published afterwards his admirable 'Observations on the Criminal Law of England as it relates to Capital Punishments, and on the Mode in which it is executed.'

Mr. Dumont says this treatise ought to be read more than once; the style, which is still nearly that of a speech, carries the reader

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on too rapidly. It is only after returning to it, and reading it over again, that we fully perceive all its depth of thought, and all the range of observation and experience, which it comprehends. No wonder. It is the fruit of the profound attention of a man of superior abilities, who has never lost sight of this object; who has studied the criminal laws of Europe; and who has observed all the changes, which have been made in them during the last thirty years. Can it be doubted that this study and comparison of laws on a great scale must enlarge, and strengthen the understanding, more than the mere exclusive study of the jurisprudence of any single nation? Those, who have seen nothing out of England, are absolutely astonished, and incredulous, when they hear of the infrequency of crimes in countries where capital punishments have been abolished, or have been reserved for extraordinary cases. One of the bills brought into parliament by Sir Samuel Romilly on the penal laws, obtained the sanction of the legislature; five other bills of the same nature have passed the House of Commons with a continually increasing majority; and after reading the speeches of able statesmen in the House of Lords on this subject, there seems every reason to hope, that our criminal code will in time be rendered worthy of the British constitution, and of the good sense and humanity of the English nation.

"An immediate effect of the discussions which have taken place deserves to be remarked. In England and in Ireland many masters of cotton and linen manufactories, exposed by the nature of their business to great depredations, have united in petitioning for the abolition of the pain of death for this particular species of theft; alleging as their reason, that the severity of the law protects the thieves much more than it protects them."

The next general division of this work—" *Des Peines privatives,*" 'On Punishments, which operate as Privations,' comprehends all that affect in this manner property, such as confiscations, forfeitures, fines and penalties; or such as affect reputation; as public admonitions, reprimands, penitentiary punishments in ecclesiastical courts, —the being declared incapable of holding certain offices in the state—or incapable of giving evidence in a court of justice, or of receiving the benefit of certain civil or religious institutions. Under this head comes *outlawry, excommunication*, and all, in short, which, affecting the commercial credit, the public or private honour of an individual, can thus lessen his safety in society, or his social happiness. In explaining what is meant by *les peines de la sanction morale*,—those pains and penalties, which are inflicted not by law, but by public opinion,—our author gives us a beautiful description of the feelings and situation of a man who has committed an action which degrades him in public opinion, which deprives him of the protection

protection of public esteem, and which excommunicates him from the common benefits and pleasures of society.

"To form an adequate conception of the manner in which an individual is punished by (what I call the *moral sanction*) public opinion, we must observe the change which takes place with regard to him, the moment he has committed an action which public opinion condemns:—from that moment he loses a portion of the esteem, affection, and good-will which he enjoyed. In all his habitual connections or accidental intercourse with society, he perceives that he is no longer treated as he was formerly; that some people are no longer so well disposed to do him good offices; that to others he is become an object of malevolence—of malevolence which may act openly or secretly. Who can calculate or foresee the consequences of such a change? The dependence of each individual upon others is such, that the manner in which they are disposed towards him operates on the source of all his pleasures and pains. Every instant life seems coloured or faded by the reflection of the sentiments of our fellow creatures. At each instant the human heart dilates or contracts from the delightful proofs of their esteem, or the harsh expression of their disdain—an act of benevolence may save a man's life—the refusal of a service may be the cause of his death—at all events

'Abstract what others feel, what others think;
All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink.'

The sensibility to honour and shame, and consequently the power of public opinion over individuals, varies according to their sex, their education, their rank, their fortune, their professions, and many other circumstances. But though these may differ widely, though public opinion may never act equably on all degrees, yet it acts continually, and, time taken into the account, the power is immense.

"The higher the civilization of a country, the higher is this power raised. A popular government exalts it to its highest pitch, a despotic government reduces it to little or nothing. Whatever be the form of government, it is obviously of great consequence to the virtue and happiness of a state, that public opinion and law should speak the same sentiments, and should agree in their decisions. When the legislator decrees any ignominious punishment, that is to say, any which depends solely on the power of shame, he makes an appeal to the whole community, he calls upon the public to treat the culprit with contempt. The legislator draws, if we may so express it, a bill of exchange on public opinion. If the bill be protested, the imprudent drawer is the sufferer. In this point of view, ignominious punishments may be considered as dangerous instruments, which recoil and wound the hand that does not use them skilfully. But well-managed, how advantageous they are! When the legislator calls public opinion (*la sanction morale*) to his assistance; by thus trusting to it, he brings it into higher credit, and increases its force. When he announces the loss of honour as a great punishment, he renders honour a treasure of which he raises the value of possession in the eyes of each individual
***** But the legislator cannot at his will or pleasure stamp disgrace or dishonour on certain actions or on certain offences. These are some which
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do not excite public animadversion, or excite it only in a feeble degree. For instance, in England,—venality in certain elections, many species of frauds against the revenue, and in particular smuggling,—these are points in which popular sentiments are in direct opposition to those of the legislator. There are others on which they are wavering, undecided, or too weak to second his intentions ;—of this class we may mention duelling as an example."

For an excellent discussion on the difficult subject of duelling, we are referred, to avoid repetition, to the 2d vol. 14th and 15th chapters of the treatise on legislation. On the laws regarding *libels*, and those which relate to *smuggling*, we find in this part of the work some judicious remarks.

"Where law and public opinion do not coincide, a legislator (says our author) should not yield to erroneous popular opinion: this would be to abandon the helm when the vessel is in the midst of rocks and quicksands. It is in these difficult cases that he should use all his art to *reclaim* public opinion, and to direct it in favour of the laws. For this purpose the legislator has many and great means of influence."

The whole class of punishments which affect honour, beginning with simple blame, and going on to the "line extreme of human infamy," are passed in review: and as they pass, the power and utility of each is examined. In a species of this class, ignominy and personal insult are combined; the person of the offender is not actually touched, but the idea of his person is suggested by association, and thus by proxy he is exposed to public shame. We are amused by some of these ingenious devices, by some of these symbolic and emblematic punishments. For instance:

"Formerly among the Persians, if a man of distinguished rank committed certain faults, his person was exempt from punishment, but his clothes represented him, and received a public whipping. On the continent, it is still in some places the practice to execute in effigy criminals who abscond from justice. After an attempt on the life of one of the late kings of Portugal, many of the accomplices were punished in this manner. In Spain, a Duke de Medina Celi had committed an assassination: as the court could not, or would not, punish so powerful a nobleman with death, it condemned the duke to oblige all his pages to wear black stockings; and moreover obliged the duke to have a gibbet at the entrance to his palace. The late king allowed that the gibbet should be taken away, but the black stockings remained (at least till the year 1797) as a mark of infamy."

After having enumerated and appreciated all the means which the legislator hath of inflicting punishments which affect honour and reputation, and after suggesting all the milder modes by which he may influence public opinion, we next come to *Pecuniary Punishments*.

This chapter opens a vast field for discussion, into which we dare

dare not enter. Next follows a chapter "*Sur les Déchéances affectant la Condition*," On those penalties or forfeitures, which diminish the rights, privileges, or pleasures attached to certain relations or conditions in life.

Then we come to "*Déchéance de Protection légale*," Outlawry as it is called in England. An anecdote preserved by Selden in his *Table Talk*, shows how this punishment may operate in extraordinary cases. For instance, how a king of Spain was outlawed by an English merchant, and brought at last to pay his just debt.

"An English merchant had a demand against the king of Spain. The king would not pay his debt. Selden, who was the merchant's lawyer, advised him to proceed against this foreign monarch by an action of outlawry. Writ after writ was despatched to the sheriff, ordering him to seize His Majesty of Spain, and to bring him bodily before the Judges at Westminster. Of course the answer to the writ was in due form, that His Majesty was not to be found. After certain other customary proclamations, the said king still not being to be found, was declared an outlaw; and in due form it was pronounced that His Majesty of Spain had a *wolf's head*, and that any persons whatsoever might seize him and drag him to prison. It is possible, that notwithstanding the *caput lupinum*, the king might not have yielded; but luckily, His Majesty had various demands to make upon certain English merchants; and while the writ of outlawry subsisted, he had no access to the English courts of law. Upon this consideration, His Majesty's ambassador, Gondomar, submitted in his name, and paid the debt. This done, the wolf's head was taken off, and the king of Spain's own head was restored to its place."

But after all, the profit, pleasure, and honour, of outlawing a king cannot occur every day; and without being dazzled by this glorious victory over His Majesty of Spain, the philosophic legislator must examine this punishment of outlawry by his constant rule—utility. By comparing and balancing its advantages and disadvantages, he will determine how far it is useful to society. In former times, it was difficult to get at the person of an offender, but it appears now to be unnecessary; there are easier and more proportionate means of reaching the delinquent, and at the same time of avoiding all the objections to which this punishment is liable, on account of its *inequality*, and the encouragement it indirectly gives to the breach of good faith, honour, and honesty.

The fourth book of this work treats "*Des Peines déplacées*," On misplaced punishments,—punishments which fall upon the innocent instead of upon the guilty; or by which the innocent suffer as well as the guilty. From the nature of civil responsibility, and the circumstances of society which connect each person with others, the family, friends and connections of every individual are involved in some measure in whatever concerns him. They may be innocent while he is guilty, but his punishment must more

or

or less affect them. This is unavoidable, and in some respects advantageous, as it operates as a powerful motive to restrain from the commission of certain offences; and in some cases it may increase the vigilance of those who are responsible for prisoners, and who in public or private functions are charged with the care, guardianship, or custody of others. It is, however, necessary to separate our ideas of the advantageous and necessary, from the unnecessary and injurious application of this sort of punishment. This is done with great care and ability.

On *Vicarious Punishments*, where the culprit remains absolutely unpunished, and the punishment falls upon a person who had no share whatever in the guilt,—our author is justly severe; and here he lets loose his keen and happy talent for irony.

"Under the reign of James I. there flourished in England an illustrious philosophical knight, now almost forgotten, Sir Kenelm Digby; a man of birth, a man of learning, a profound adept in medical science. Having observed that the dressing of wounds is a painful operation, this benefactor of the human race invented a sympathetic powder of marvellous efficacy. If a few drops of the blood which flowed from the wound were sent to him in a phial bottle, that was enough; he mixed this blood with his sympathetic powder,—the patient's wound immediately closed of itself, and there was a radical cure. The presence of the patient was by no means necessary to Sir Kenelm. While the powder was acting on the blood of the wounded man, he might himself be at the antipodes. How unfortunate for our armies that this secret should be forgotten! The inventor of the sympathetic powder is not to blame for this; since he recorded the receipt for its composition, and the mode of its application in his Work, where they may be found by the curious reader.—What sympathetic powder is to the medical art, vicarious punishment is to the art of legislation. I was going to reason on this subject,—but to what purpose? The simple statement of the fact, that one man is punished for the fault of another, must, on the rational mind, have a stronger effect than any that could be produced by all the arguments of logic, or all the colours of rhetoric."

Confiscation of the property of those who commit suicide is one of the examples of vicarious punishment. The supposition that affection for his family would have power to restrain in the moment of despair the arm of the suicide, is, by the act he commits, proved at least in his case to be false.

"We see that disgust against life has prevailed over every other consideration. His family deprived of their parent, their head—and this is the moment that the law takes to reduce them to indigence, and to expose them to shame."

The suicide cannot feel the stake that is driven through his corpse; the silent dead cannot be provoked by the "posthumous infamy"

infamy" of an ignominious burial. But the disgrace is fixed upon his family, the shame is felt by the survivors. This punishing the innocent family cannot be vindicated with any appearance of justice, except on the plea of example. It may be said that the example of their sufferings will deter others from suicide. And it may be added, in extenuation of the apparent cruelty of this law, that—

"It is seldom executed, that the coroner's inquest eludes it, by declaring the suicide to have been out of his senses, and that the king has it always in his power to restore to the widow and orphans their inheritance. But why preserve in a national code of laws, a law, which it is so often necessary to elude? And by what means is it eluded? ***** The remedy for all these violent laws is in perjury. So then, perjury becomes a *panacea*, and the law sets humanity in opposition to religion ***** In all cases, where punishment is denounced against the family of a delinquent, he is in fact aimed at, and it is taken for granted that the punishment will operate upon him. But is this principle good, and is it useful? To ask whether a pain arising from sympathy acts with as much force as a direct pain; is in other words to ask whether the love we bear to others is equal to the love we feel for ourselves. If self-love be the strongest, it follows, that recourse should not be had to the weaker principle, to the reflected pains of sympathy, till all that human nature can suffer by direct punishment has been exhausted."

To *misplaced punishments* there are principally these objections: That in some cases the punishment may be null, as where the culprit has no wife or family: then a *direct punishment* must be inflicted on such men: but if there be a proper direct punishment for them, why should not it be applied in all cases?

After having made these general objections to the whole class of *vicarious* and *transitive* punishments, our author, with a degree of judicious care which gives us confidence in him as a practical guide, points out in what cases exceptions should be made:—for example, in case of treason or rebellion, where confiscation of the property of the traitor or rebel must be considered as a defensive measure on the part of the state, as disarming the enemy, as necessary to deprive the criminal of the means of doing future injury. But as this punishment extends to his family, who may not have been his accomplices, their guilt should not be taken for granted; they should not be condemned without proof. Bentham wishes that there should be an act respecting property similar to the *Habeas Corpus* with regard to the person: an act, which should empower the sovereign, in troublesome times, to seize the possessions of suspected individuals connected by relationship with a rebel. This would be a real security, and a most advantageous measure in criminal circumstances. But that which is proper in time of war is unnecessary,

unnecessary, and therefore unfit, in peaceable times. As soon as the danger is past, every person, whose guilt has not been proved, is presumed to be innocent; and to such all their confiscated property should be restored.

There is another class of *misplaced punishments*, which our author calls *fortuitous*, where the punishment of the law falls at hazard, and may chance to fall not only upon an innocent person, but on one who has no manner of connexion with the culprit, and may not only be a stranger to him, but ignorant even of his offence. Three examples are given from our English law:—The depriving a witness of his right to give evidence in a court of justice; Deodands; and that species of confiscation of freehold property, which is the consequence of the possessor of the freehold being convicted of certain crimes.

“A man commits a secret murder; he sells his property to you—Twenty years afterwards his crime is discovered—he is prosecuted, convicted, condemned, and his land is forfeit to the king. In the meantime you may have sold, conveyed away, mortgaged it; it may have passed through fifty hands,—that makes no difference. If it had been your wife whom the murderer had killed, it would come to the same thing; you would have lost your wife by his crime, and your fortune by his punishment.”

Then as to *deodands*.

“You are, suppose, a farmer—you employ your son to drive your cart—by accident, he falls out of the cart, the wheels go over his body and he is killed. The king or some other person in his name is now to have your cart. This is the only consolation which the law of England affords you for the loss of your son.”

The utility and expediency of depriving persons guilty of certain offences, of the right to give evidence in a court of justice, is next examined. This discussion is admirably conducted, and may be of great practical utility. The arguments are new, and strong, founded upon an intimate knowledge of human nature, an enlarged philosophical view of law and justice, and a thorough practical acquaintance with the business of life. We regret that our limits will not permit us to lay the whole of the argument before our readers; we cannot in conscience garble it. We may, however, mention a fact, which is quoted as a proof and example of the manner in which the innocent suffer by this punishment, instead of the guilty.

“The case of Pendoeh and Machender may shew the hurtful effects of this part of English law. The attestation of three witnesses is necessary for a will, which disposes of landed property. Two witnesses to the will in question were unimpeachable. But it was discovered, that the third had been convicted of petty larceny, and had been whipped. This happened before he signed his name to the will, but how long before does not appear. The lawsuit was commenced five years afterwards. The man being inadmissible as
a witness

a witness, the number of witnesses required for the will was insufficient, and he in whose favour the will had been made lost the estate."

We pass over a chapter of *Excommunication*, that weapon of the spiritual court, which "like the sword of Hudibras hews giants in twain, and spits a lark." Excommunication is here considered only as a temporal punishment as it exists in the English law; but the editor is aware the subject is no longer interesting, because these old ecclesiastical arms grow more and more rusty every day from disuse. It is necessary, however, to advert to the existence of such statutes, in order to obtain their formal abolition. Nor is this a point of small importance. We must recollect what is said on the subject of dormant laws by one, who, though he has been accused of being "too fond of the right to pursue the expedient," was certainly no theoretic reformer, but a steady friend to political order and to the powers that be.

"A penal law not ordinarily put in execution (says Burke) seems to be a very absurd and a very dangerous thing. For if its principle be right, if the object of its prohibitions and penalties be a real evil, then you do in effect permit that very evil, which not only the reason of the thing, but your very law declares ought not to be permitted: and thus it reflects exceedingly on the wisdom, and consequently derogates not a little from the authority, of a legislature, who can at once forbid and suffer, and in the same breath promulgate penalty and indemnity to the same persons, and for the very same actions. But if the object of the law be no moral or political evil, then you ought not to hold even a terror to those whom you ought certainly not to punish: for if it is not right to hurt, it is neither right nor wise to menace. Such laws therefore as must be defective either in justice, or wisdom, or both, so they cannot exist without a considerable degree of danger. Take them which way you will, they are prest with ugly alternatives."

After analysing *complex punishments*—those which are composed of various undefined and variable portions of pain or penalty—the editor, who has it in his power to consider our English laws and law terms without the reverential prepossessions of an Englishman, indulges his wit at the expense of some of our prescriptive absurdities, which continue to be law because they have subsisted time out of mind, and the propriety or intelligibility of whose uncouth names we never think even of questioning—*benefit of clergy*, and *felony with or without benefit of clergy*. He observes that—

"Felony is a word of which the sense appears to have undergone several revolutions.—Some etymologists, to shew that they understood Greek, derived it from the Greek. If they had understood Arabic, they would not have failed to find for it an Arabic origin. Sir Edward Coke, who knew nothing of Greek, but who knew a little Latin, and who never lost any opportunity of displaying that little—makes the word felony come from *fel* (*fiet*) gall. With as much probability he might have insisted upon its coming from *felis* a cat, a treacherous

cherous cunning animal. Another derivation is brought from two Anglo-Saxon words,—*fee*, which in that ancient tongue and in modern English means a species of property or money given upon certain occasions; and *lon*, which in modern German signifies *prix*, price. *Fee-lon* of consequence signifies *pretium feudi*. The author of the Commentaries on the Laws of England adopts this last etymology. But felony is a term which implies an active sense; it represents an action, and should, I think, be derived from a verb rather than from two substantives, which taken separately or conjointly have no active signification. The verb *fallere* is probably the origin of the French *faillir*. There is an Anglo-Saxon verb which is probably the root of the English verb *to fail*. By a metaphysical process, very common in all languages, this word, passing from the direct to the figurative sense, has been brought to signify, falling into error—being in fault—failing in duty—falling off from allegiance. This derivation is one of Spelman's, which appears to me the most natural and rational. But here is quite enough about the word *felony*. No matter where it comes from, provided it goes away.

"When this word was brought into English jurisprudence after the Norman conquest, it was applied only to a small number of crimes, which were of the greatest enormity: robbery committed arms in hand—arson—homicide;—such were the first crimes which constituted felony. But men of law by different subtleties added clause on clause and punishment on punishment still under the same name. At the same time the legislature, not knowing how to do better, added continually to the list of these punishable offences, still calling them *felonies*, till at last it has become the denomination not of a single crime, or a single punishment, but of a heterogeneous mass of punishments and of crimes of all sorts and of all degrees. If you tell me that a man has committed a felony, I am not the least forwarder as to my knowledge of his offence: all the idea that this word presents to my mind is the notion of the punishment which he is to suffer, and even this notion is not definite. As to his offence, it may be an offence against an individual, or it may be an offence against a particular set of men,—an offence against the state, or an offence against himself. Felony, in short, is a term which confounds all order, defies every species of arrangement, and spreads darkness over all English penal legislation."

We cannot follow our author further through the present definitions of felony with and without benefit of clergy: but all he says on this subject is well worthy of attention.

"One of the punishments for certain crimes, that come under the head of *Felony without benefit of clergy*, is to have the letter *M* if for *murder*, or *T* for *thief*, branded in large letters with a red-hot iron on the left thumb.

"But this punishment has been changed so far from the original words and meaning of the law, and the mode of its present execution in England, that it has become absolutely a farce. The mode is still to use a branding-iron indeed; but it is a cold iron, and it is merely applied to the arm or leg of the delinquent, but leaves no mark. If a hot iron be used, a piece of raw bacon is put between the iron and the flesh; this broils and whizzes, to the great edification of all who assist at the ceremony.—'What should be great we turn to

farce.' What powerful effect the fear of the shame of being branded with an indelible ignominious mark may have upon the human mind, may be estimated from a fact quoted from Stedman.

"A Frenchman of the name of Destrades, who had introduced the culture of indigo into Surinam, and who during many years had been universally esteemed and respected in that colony, was taken ill at the house of one of his friends at Demerara. An abscess was formed on his shoulder: he would not allow any human creature to dress or to see it; it grew worse and worse, and he became dangerously ill; but still he could not be prevailed upon to admit of any surgical assistance. At length, when he despaired of recovery, he put an end to his life with a pistol. Then his secret was revealed; on the shoulder was discovered the mark of a *V* (for *voleur*) with which he had been branded.

"We do not cite this fact as an argument for restoring the English law to its former severity. Far from it. Here is a striking example of the cruel consequences of these *uncertain* punishments which operate according to the sensibility more than in proportion to the guilt of the offender, which extend through the whole of after life, so as to preclude all hope of redeeming character, and consequently to take away from the delinquent the motive and almost the possibility of reformation. No; we cannot desire to see again in use a punishment which so offends against one of the first conditions and objects of just punishment; but we point out that now is the time formally to abolish it—now, when the letter of the law has been changed, so that respect for precedent and ancient usage cannot be pleaded; now, when the mode of pretending to execute it exposes the law itself to contempt and derision.

Our author's observations throughout his examination of all the existing crimes and punishments included under the terms *felony with or without benefit of clergy*, are expressed with a happy alternation of reasoning and irony which mutually assist each other and agreeably relieve attention. For the mode of remedying every defect that is pointed out in any punishment, we are constantly referred to the chapter (the 6th) on the characteristics of just punishment. Under some of the heads there mentioned its fault must appear, and with its fault the principle at least by which we are to obtain the remedy may be found.

We have now gone through this Treatise on Punishments with a careful and almost with a jealous eye, keeping continually in mind that aphorism which Lord Coke justly upheld, "It is not the complaining tongue we need, but the amending hand."

In the work before us, tongue, hand, and heart go together, so as to deserve combined blessings and general confidence. The Editor in his preface tells us that this Treatise on Punishments and Rewards may be considered as opening to us the Tartarus and the Elysium of legislation: he observes that we should enter the Tartarus only for the purpose of endeavouring to soften the torments of those who
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are doomed there to abide; that over the gates of these infernal regions the terrible line of the poet,

"Lasciate speranza voi ch' entrate,"

should not be inscribed.

We have found the benevolent promise of the preface faithfully fulfilled. Our way has not been so dreary as, from the painful nature of the objects we had to examine, might have been anticipated. We have felt uniformly sustained not only by the hope, but by the reasonable expectation, that these labours will tend considerably to assuage the misery and increase the happiness of our fellow-creatures. We may trust with the more confidence to the pleasures of the promised Elysium. "Happily the subject of rewards, by its novelty, and by the idea of the virtues, talents, and services which it brings into view, will conduct the reader through a most agreeable road."

[To be continued in our next.]

ART. XVII.—*Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq. By Prince Hoare.*

[Continued from p. 148.]

WE return now to the year 1783, beyond which time we had stept to concentrate Mr. Sharp's labours in promoting Episcopacy in the United States. In this year a tragical event occurred at sea, which obliged him to renew his benevolent endeavours in behalf of African slaves. It took place on board the ship *Zong*, the captain of which, aided by the officers and crew, had thrown alive into the sea one hundred and thirty-two of the slaves, to defraud the underwriters. This case having been recorded in most of the early publications written for effecting the abolition of the slave-trade, and having been repeated in many others for the same purpose even to the present day, we feel it unnecessary either to take up the time or to harrow up the feelings of the reader by detailing it. We are bound, however, to mention it, that Mr. Sharp's labours may be duly appreciated on the occasion.

His determination was to prosecute, if possible, the captain and those concerned *for murder*. To prepare himself for this prosecution he attended a trial at Guildhall, which took place between the owners and the underwriters of the vessel; and that no fact, connected with his view of the subject, might be lost or misrepresented, he took with him a short-hand writer into court. But, alas! the persons thrown overboard were then considered only as horses, mules, or cattle, few people at that time of day interesting them-

selves in their cause as human beings. He had the misfortune to hear the counsel for the owners of the vessel make use of the following words :—" There is (said the counsel to the Judges) a person now in court (at the same time turning round and looking at Mr. Sharp) who intends to bring on a criminal prosecution for murder against the parties concerned ; but, said he, the blacks are *property*. So far from the guilt of any thing like a murderous act, or so far from any show or suggestion of cruelty, there was not even a surmise of impropriety in the transaction ; and to bring a charge of murder against the persons concerned would argue nothing less than madness in him who should bring it." He had the mortification also of hearing Lord Mansfield himself uttering nearly the same ideas. " The matter left to the jury," said his lordship, " was, whether it was from *necessity* ; for they could have no doubt (though it shocked him very much) that the case of slaves was the same as if horses had been thrown overboard. It was a very shocking case."

After such exclamations, and by such persons, in a public court of justice, Mr. Sharp perceived that he should have more difficulties to encounter, than, in his simple and christian views of right and wrong, he had imagined. He was determined therefore to appeal to persons in authority to assist him in the case in question. He wrote therefore to the Duke of Portland, then first Lord of the Treasury, to implore his interference in this case ; but receiving no answer, he addressed himself to the Lords of the Admiralty, and sent them an attested copy of the whole trial. He addressed himself, he said, to them, as persons whose province it was to inquire concerning all murders committed in British ships on the high seas : but here also he was again disappointed. Finding therefore that his efforts were ineffectual, he determined to give to this horrible transaction the utmost publicity in his power. He first sent a detail of it to the public papers. He then handed about manuscript copies of the minutes of the trial to the bishops, then to certain members in both houses of parliament, and lastly to benevolent individuals of character and influence in private life. By these means this tragedy became a subject of conversation, and there began with it a rising abhorrence of the slave-trade. In short, the providential interference of Mr. Sharp on this occasion may be considered as one of the great events, which shook the foundation of the slave-trade in this country, and which led to the formation, only four years afterwards, of a society for its abolition.

In the year 1786, notwithstanding the decree in favour of Somerset, there were individuals in London audacious enough to attempt to violate it, under the hope, no doubt, that they should escape discovery. A miscreant of this sort had seized Harry Demaine, a negro,

negro, and forced him on board a ship at Gravesend to be taken to Barbadoes and sold there as a slave. But it was no easy thing to elude the vigilance or to outstrip the activity of Mr. Sharp. No sooner was he informed of the transaction, than with an incredible celerity he procured a Habeas Corpus, and rescued him, as he had done Thomas Lewis, just as the vessel was getting under weigh to leave the Downs. A few minutes longer, and he had been too late.

About this time the decree in favour of Somerset began to be productive of a serious evil, which Mr. Sharp considered himself bound to correct. This led him into circumstances which occasioned him to become a benefactor in an entirely *new department*, and where his benevolence will be seen burning again with equal lustre as before. Though this decree might have been once or twice secretly eluded, it had yet given protection to the great body of Africans who were then, and who since that time had arrived, in England. The consequence of this was a great accumulation of black people in London, who had been slaves, and (as these had no masters to support them and no parishes to go to for relief) a great accumulation of black beggars in the streets. They were seen there in such numbers as to become a nuisance. As Mr. Sharp was their known patron, they all flocked to him. His purse was open to their wants, as far as it would go: but it required a large purse to relieve so many. In this situation he formed a scheme, by which he conceived that he should relieve the public and at the same time provide for their *permanent* support. He determined upon sending them to some spot in Africa, the land of their ancestors, at his own expense, where, when they were once landed under a proper leader, under a judicious code of laws, and with implements of husbandry, and suitable provisions for a time, they might by moderate industry gain their own livelihood. Just at this time Mr. Smeathman, who had lived for some years at the foot of the Sierra Leone mountains, and who knew the climate, and nature of the soil and productions there, and who had formed a plan for colonizing those parts, and substituting a natural trade in the produce of the country in lieu of the slave-trade, was in London inviting adventurers, but particularly the black poor, to accompany him on his return to his ancient abode. Mr. Sharp was very soon informed of Mr. Smeathman's plan; for the black people came to consult him, being unwilling to trust themselves with Mr. Smeathman without his special advice and consent. He accordingly had several meetings with Mr. Smeathman; and being convinced of the uprightness of his intentions, and of the practicability of his plan, he adopted it for his black orphans; and consented that Mr. Smeathman should become their leader; but he reserved to himself the power of drawing up a code of laws, which

which all of them should be bound to follow. Things having been thus settled, Mr. Sharp began to take down the names of all such as were willing to embark in the expedition, in order that he might know how large a vessel he was to provide; and in the interim he allowed every individual a weekly allowance out of his own pocket: but their number increasing daily, he found he had undertaken a task to which his own purse, consistently with his other engagements, was inadequate. He applied therefore without hesitation to His Majesty's Ministers, and these, knowing that the poor people in question had become a public nuisance, very willingly assisted him. They promised him transports to convey them to the destined spot. They ordered also to the persons going out a small weekly allowance from the Treasury, in addition to what Mr. Sharp gave them, to support them till they should embark. While the transports were getting ready, Mr. Smeathman was taken ill of a fever, and died in three days. This unhappily retarded the sailing of the expedition for several weeks; for a proper successor to Mr. Smeathman was to be found. At length Mr. Irwin was appointed agent-conductor; and, all things having been now prepared, the little fleet, consisting of the *Belisarius*, *Atlantic* and *Vernon*, transports, sailed on the 22d of February 1787, from the Thames, under convoy of His Majesty's sloop of war *Nautilus*, Capt. Thomson, with about 400 black people on board to found a free colony at Sierra Leone. Soon after they had left the Downs bad weather commenced, which dispersed all the vessels. They were collected however in Plymouth Sound on the 19th of March. Some of the settlers having gone on board in a diseased state, and others having drunk up their whole allowance of rum at once, which should have lasted them the whole day; and all of them being too much crowded between decks, and particularly during such a succession of stormy weather, a mortality took place, which carried off more than fifty of them before they reached Plymouth. Twenty-four were discharged there for mutinous behaviour, and twenty-two ran away. The remainder, accompanied by a few recruits of the same colour and description, left the Sound on the 8th of April. A further mortality was experienced on the passage, and a still greater after they had reached the promised land; for the vessels having been delayed so long in consequence of the death of Mr. Smeathman, the settlers did not arrive till the rains had set in,—the very season which it had been a most important object with Mr. Sharp to avoid.

On their arrival at Sierra Leone Captain Thomson made a treaty with the native chiefs, of whom he purchased twenty miles square of land, for their use, lying along the banks of the river. He then fixed upon an eligible spot for their town, and assisted them, as far

far as he could, in raising their huts. Their number at this time had been reduced to 276. Unable to do more for them, he took his departure, and left them to their fate.

Being now left to themselves, it may be proper to take a short view of the government which Mr. Sharp had given them, and under which they were to live. In the first place they were to be prohibited, *this being a fundamental law* of the settlement, from holding any kind of property in the persons of men as slaves, and from selling either man, woman, or child. No monopoly was to be allowed in land, but a division was to be made of it according to a plan proposed; and a reservation made for public services in each township, &c. The managers of the expedition were to have no absolute authority as established governors or judges over the people, but were to be considered only as overseers of the Society's property, and paid accordingly. The defence, legislation, public justice, government, and subordination of the settlement were to be kept up by following as a pattern the ancient Anglo-Saxon government of frank-pledge, *in tythings and hundreds*, and by an *annual election to offices by the people*. Under this form of government all public works, such as entrenchments, fortifications, canals, highways, sewers, &c. were to be performed by a *rotation of service*, in which the value of attendance was to be estimated, that defaulters might bear their share of the burthen: and watch and ward, or military service, was to be defrayed in the same manner; by which means no debt would be incurred for the defence of the state, and rich funds might be obtained for the credit of a public exchequer, without any perceivable burthen to the community, by a general agreement to punish *by fines or mulcts* in due proportion to the wealth and possession of the delinquents; increasing these by *repetition* for all offences, except *murder, rape, and unnatural crimes*, which by the laws of God *were unpardonable by any community*. The trials for offences were to be conducted under juries, and the legal process in all courts to be carried on in the king's name. The settlers also were bound, though they appointed their own civil officers internally, not to refuse to admit a governor or lieutenant of the king's appointment, with limited authority from the regal power, according to the constitution of England, whenever the Privy Council should think proper to send one.

Under this government, then, the settlers were to live. They began to act upon it as soon as they were landed. They chose Richard Weaver to be their chief in command, and others to the station of captains over tens and hundreds. They had marked out the streets of their town, and also above three hundred and sixty town lots of land, by the 12th. of June 1787. The next object was

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to clear the land. It appears that their system of government was quite efficient for their situation, and that most probably they would have done well, had things turned out favourably in other respects: but unhappily they had not arrived at Sierra Leone, on account of the delay of the expedition in England and the subsequent storms which separated the vessels, as has been before observed, till after the rains had set in. This was a calamity for which no provision could be made and no remedy could be found. Not having got up their huts in time, they had no sufficient shelter from the weather. Sickness ensued: Mr. Irwin, the agent-conductor, soon died. Mr. Gesau, the town-major, and Mr. Riccards, the gardener, followed him. Mr. Fraser, the chaplain, would have shared the same fate, had he not retired to the English factory at Bence Island. In this appalling state of things it was discovered that the seeds of the vegetables, which they had sown for their future support, had all failed. Their provisions too, which they had brought from England, were lessening every day, and they had no money to replace them by purchasing either rice or poultry of the natives. In addition to this, the slave-merchants had succeeded in setting some of the natives against them. King Tom had seized two of them, and actually sold them, and threatened to sell more. The prospect became now so terrific, that many of them left the colony. Some of them having been invited by the agents of the slave-factories in the neighbourhood to come into their employ, embraced the offer rather than submit to the hazard of starvation and massacre. Others escaped in vessels, not even excepting slave vessels, which touched at the spot; so that by the end of the rainy season not more than a hundred and thirty remained in one body.

Mr. Sharp received the disastrous account, now mentioned, by means of letters written to him by Weaver, Elliot, Reid, and others; so that he had no doubt of the facts. It struck him that the total breaking up of the colony was a probable event, and that all the public and private expense, which had been bestowed upon it, was in danger of being lost, together with the tract of land itself, and all the opportunities of good on which he had so ardently counted. His impression was, that he ought to send out a small vessel immediately with a few other settlers, and provisions for their relief. But a difficulty of no ordinary magnitude occurred, viz. who was to find the funds for such a purpose: he was already suffering under the pecuniary weight of the first expedition. Just at this time Mr. Whitbread, a gentleman well known at that period for his munificent charities, sent him one hundred guineas for the use of the poor settlers at Sierra Leone. It would be difficult to describe the effect which this kind present had upon Mr. Sharp's spirits.

spirits. It turned the scale : he no longer wavered. He no longer remembered his burthen, and regardless of future expense he chartered the brig *Myro*, of 160 tons, Captain Taylor, to sail to Sierra Leone. He provided clothes, arms, bedding, tools, implements, and provisions for fifty new settlers : he put also on board spruce-beer and live swine to kill upon the passage ; and, to obviate any future difficulties with respect to live provisions in the colony, he engaged Captain Taylor to touch at the Cape de Verd and take in fowls, pigs, goats, sheep, and a few bullocks. Towards this latter expense Government had given him from the Treasury 200*l*. The two expeditions had now cost him 1785*l*. 18*s*. 8*d*. At length fifty settlers came on board, but, several leaving the ship afterwards, thirty-nine only remained to perform the voyage. With these the *Myro* set sail on the 6th of June 1788. Captain Taylor, however, did not perform that important part of his contract which engaged him to call at the Cape de Verd, but proceeded direct to Sierra Leone, where he arrived after having lost thirteen persons on the voyage. Small, however, as the number of recruits was, the articles sent out proved a great and most welcome relief, for which the settlers testified their gratitude to Mr. Sharp. There were at this time not many of them on the original spot : some had left it and gone among the natives. The desertion had been so great, that at one period only forty of them remained together. They who remained had made some little progress in clearing the land, but they had not built permanent houses, nor church, nor court-house, nor prison. On the arrival of the *Myro*, the news of which was immediately spread through the country, the dispersed settlers returned. Some of the settlers had died ; but, taking in the survivors and the few recruits who were landed, one hundred and thirty were once more collected on the old spot. To these Captain Taylor delivered a letter from Mr. Sharp, which was addressed "To the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom on the Mountains of Sierra Leone ;" and which contained advice for their future guidance. One of the first things which Captain Taylor did, was to repurchase the land which had been paid for by Captain Thomson of the *Nautilus*. This was considered prudent, because some of the chiefs had refused to sign the former deed of purchase ; and as these, therefore, considered themselves to have still a claim upon the land, it was thought better to repurchase it than to leave any person of this description dissatisfied. A deed was accordingly prepared, and signed by all the chiefs. This produced something like amity, or a friendly disposition on the part of the natives, towards the settlers ; and the latter having been supplied with provisions and implements of husbandry, and also with articles both of convenience and even comfort, affairs began to wear

wear a new aspect in the colony. In fact, the sending out the brig *Myro* was *the salvation of it*.

Mr. Sharp began now to enjoy the hope that his labours would be ultimately crowned with success; but many months had not elapsed after the return of the *Myro* to England, when he was informed by subsequent dispatches of new disasters. Two slave-traders having committed acts of violence on two different occasions, the settlers had seized them, tried them, and fined them. The first result of this was, that six of the settlers were kidnapped and taken off into slavery. The second was a combination on the part of the slave-traders to cut off the colony itself. This, however, was a very difficult task, so long as the members of it kept together in one body. The plan, therefore, was to detach by degrees the cleverest men from among them. Accordingly the agents of some of the slave-factories in the neighbourhood offered to employ them at high salaries; and the consequence was, that the three principal persons among them, Tacitus, Estwick, and Collins, men who had been but just sent out in the brig *Myro*, accepted these wages of iniquity, and entered into the slave-trade. This news affected Mr. Sharp most deeply: he deplored their ingratitude, he deplored their want of principle. It was, however, some consolation to him to find that the rest of the settlers condemned the conduct of their deluded brethren, and that they promised to keep together. They seemed to think that they should be able to keep their ground, if he could gratify their wishes in two particulars. In the first place, hundreds of their letters to Mr. Sharp, which had been sent by the slave-vessels to England, had been purposely withheld from him, and they had scarcely any way of writing to him but by such vessels. They wished, therefore, that some small packet might be established between London and Sierra Leone, by means of which there might be a regular and safe communication between them. In the second place, they wished to have a small sloop, which they said they had plenty of seamen to man, by means of which they might go up and down the rivers, and furnish themselves with provisions, and open a trade in those productions of the country, which were articles of lawful commerce. This intelligence could not fail of securing the attention of Mr. Sharp. He saw in it something like a commercial spirit rising up among them, which might be highly advantageous to themselves, and something like a fixed determination to continue in the place.

After having given the subject due consideration, he waited upon several merchants of his own acquaintance in London, to try to engage them to enter into a trading connexion with the settlers. He applied also to Government to give him a small sloop out of those

those which had been taken and condemned in the smuggling trade. His application was seconded by Mr. Wilberforce. The result was the donation of the little vessel *Lapwing* of about forty tons burthen. He then called a meeting, at the King's Head in the Poultry, of the mercantile men whom he had before visited. Here it was resolved to establish a trading concern, which should go under the name of the St. George's Bay Company. His next step was to petition the king, which he did in his own name, to give to this Company a charter of incorporation. In this manner things were going on to his entire satisfaction, even indeed to joy, when the most disastrous news arrived from the colony again, which would have damped the spirits and broken the heart of almost any other man. Captain Savage of His Majesty's ship *Pomona*, to avenge an outrage committed on the crew of a slave-vessel, had burnt a town belonging to one of the native chiefs in the immediate neighbourhood; and the natives by way of retaliation had burnt the town of the settlers, the consequence of which was, that the settlement was broken up: It appeared that about 70 of the settlers, though they had been driven off, had returned, and tried to keep themselves together on the very ruins of the place. As to the rest, some went to the slave-factory at Bence Island, others to Rohanna under King Naimbanna, and others to other towns in the neighbourhood. Mr. Sharp was greatly afflicted at this news. He saw in a moment, that unless assistance was immediately sent out the colony would be irrecoverably lost, and that assuredly an opportunity would never occur again of getting such a number of persons together, so inured to the climate, and ready on the spot to support the free laws of British government on African soil. The poignancy, however, of his sufferings had only the effect of increasing his energy. He assembled immediately his mercantile friends before mentioned. It was resolved by them, that they would not wait for the charter of incorporation, but send out the *Lapwing*, as quickly as she could be fitted out, to afford the settlers a small temporary relief; to collect them, if possible, once more into a body; and to inform them of the progress made in establishing a trading Company to supply their future wants. The *Lapwing* sailed accordingly under the direction and command of Mr. Falconbridge, an experienced person, and one who had the good of the colony at heart. She arrived safe; Mr. Falconbridge found the settlers nearly all gone. He went, however, in quest of the others up the river, and presently collected 60 of them, whom he brought back and settled in a town in For a Bay, which he called Granville Town in honour of Mr. Sharp. After this, the arrival and the errand of the *Lapwing* becoming known in the country, others joined their former companions in For a Bay, till at length
nearly

nearly the whole of them returned ; and thus the prompt arrival of this little vessel *was the salvation of the colony again.*

Soon after this the completion of the charter took place under the name of the Sierra Leone Company. Twelve Directors were chosen, among whom was Mr. Sharp. The late revered and lamented Henry Thornton, Esq. M.P. was chosen the chairman. From this period the Memoirs give the history of the colony up to the time of their publication ; but it is unnecessary for us, as reviewers, to continue it. We should not indeed have entered so diffusely upon it, but that we have felt it due to the memory of Mr. Sharp to detail his undaunted courage, and his unwearied patience and perseverance, and to show that *to him alone is due the formation of a colony, which will one day be the means of spreading the benefits of civilization and Christianity through a considerable part of the vast continent of Africa.* Certainly without him the Sierra Leone Company would not have been formed ; and had he not supported this colony, when it so often hung as it were by a thread, till the formation of this Company, all had been lost. It was he who collected the black poor, the original settlers ; men who would have had no confidence in Mr. Smeathman, and who would never have ventured to trust themselves to the land of slavery, but on the faith of Mr. Sharp's word. It was he who sent out the Myro, and who kept them together when ready to fall asunder. It was he who sent out the Lapwing, and collected the different remains, after their dispersion, into one body. We trust, therefore, that we shall be pardoned for having entered so copiously into this subject. If the reader has a desire to know the subsequent history of this colony, we must refer him to the Memoirs for information.

Having now followed Mr. Sharp in his arduous task of African colonization, from about the beginning of 1787 to the beginning of 1792, (that we might have an uninterrupted view of his labours there,) we must go back to the former of these periods, in order that we may not pass over other of his transactions worthy of record.

In the year 1787, Mrs. Oglethorpe, widow of General Oglethorpe, mentioned in the former number, died at her seat at Cranham-hall, in Essex, and left Mr. Sharp the manor of Fairstead in Essex, *with a recommendation to settle it in his life-time to charitable uses after his death.* Mr. Sharp was no sooner in possession of the estate, than he began to think of the best manner of fulfilling the will of the donor. His first idea was to promote "a general asylum in London, as a means of uniting more effectually and usefully some of the established charities." This plan, however, he gave up, after mature consideration, for another : he thought it preferable

preferable to establish a reform in the London Workhouse. This reform was to be "for the encouragement of voluntary labourers there; that a due distinction might be made between industrious people when they cannot find employment, and the idle and vagrant poor, who are the proper objects for Bridewell Hospital; but more especially for the protection and employment of honest and industrious females, women-servants out of place, and poor girls." Having digested his plan, he made an offer of the Fairstead estate, after his decease, to the corporation of London, provided they would put it into practice. Many interviews took place between him and a Committee of the Common Council on the subject; but the committee, considering that it would cost the corporation a considerable sum of money to add those buildings to the London Workhouse which appeared to be necessary for the completion of the object, and that they should get no adequate profit from the estate till after the decease of Mr. Sharp, refused the offer; though he, Mr. Sharp, offered them an annual portion of the rent in the interim.

Having failed of success in this quarter, he proposed next to give the estate to the Bishop of London, and other Trustees, for the charity lately established "for the Conversion and religious Instruction and Education of Negro Slaves in the West Indies." He proposed, however, *to make a reservation of a few acres of the estate for another purpose, which cannot be better explained than by quoting his own words in a letter to the bishop on the subject.* "I wish," says he, "to create a small charge upon the estate, to provide *for the instruction of the poor children in the parish of Fairstead itself*, in reading, working and spinning, as a *mere matter of justice to the poor labourers of the soil from whence the revenue arises*; for it would seem a gross partiality to send away the whole revenue of the little district *for the instruction of foreigners*, and exclude *the poor natives of the manor* from the same advantages." I wish to reserve, under the same trust, about fourteen acres of land to be distributed or let from time to time in small portions, among the poor cottagers of the parish, for gardens or potatoe ground, under particular regulations which I have to propose, while they hold no other land; for *without such small portions of land, mere labourers in agriculture can scarcely subsist, since they have been deprived of the benefit of common land.*

It appears that the Bishop of London accepted the estate in trust; but he was obliged ultimately to give it up on account of the laws of mortmain; so that the attempt of Mr. Sharp to settle the reversion of it agreeably to the humane views of the testatrix became then impracticable.

Mr. Sharp began now to realize what he had suggested to the bishop

bishop relative to a small portion of the estate. He says in a letter to a friend: "I have already disposed of a few acres of the land. It is laid out in small lots *as cottage land*; some lots consisting of one acre and a half, but mostly of *one single acre* only; which lots are let to a few farmers' labourers (*those who have the largest families in the parish*) at a *low rent*; the income of which is expended in the instruction of *all the poor children* in the parish, whose parents cannot afford to pay for their schooling. The number of children in general has been from 15 to 20, and the cottagers are *perfectly contented*, and *pay their rents most thankfully*."

Such was the conduct of Mr. Sharp, in the capacity of landlord, to the poor labourers upon the Fairstead estate; a conduct which it becomes us to stop for a time and eulogise, not only because the principles, which led to it, would, if put into practice, be vitally efficient at all times in agricultural concerns, but because they would be particularly so at the present day, when our poor-rates have assumed a most awful appearance, and when the spirit of independence of our labourers is broken. Mr. Sharp conceives that there are duties due even from the proprietor of the soil, though he be not the farmer of it, to those who cultivate it, upon the principle that he obtains his revenue through their means; but more particularly since they, the cultivators, have been deprived of their ancient rights and privileges by the division of commons, a division, no doubt, which has frequently taken place to their detriment, and which, in our opinion, has been one, though not the greatest, of the great causes of the increase of our poor-rates. These duties, according to Mr. Sharp's notions, ought to be fulfilled in two ways;—by attending to the temporal comforts of the labourers themselves, and by the education of their children; under which ideas are evidently included both their *temporal* and *eternal* interests:—and mark how he himself attempted to realize these desirable objects. In the first place, he gave to each of his labourers, who had large families, *an acre of land* for gardens and potatoe ground at a *low rent*. This proved so beneficial to them, that, notwithstanding a rent-charge, they were all *contented and thankful*. In the second place, he *reserved the rent* arising from these gardens, *as a fund* for the instruction of their children, and it was efficient for this purpose. Here, then, we see, under this admirable system, the poor *not only comfortable* in their circumstances, but actually enabled to *educate* their own children *themselves*: and to our minds nothing is more evident, than that a *spirit of independence* was either generated among them or preserved; for these labourers were no more obliged to Mr. Sharp for his kindness in admitting them to become farmers, than a common farmer to his landlord, only that the former had their land at an easier rate. We mean to be understood to say, that the payment

ment of a rent took off to a certain extent from the weight of obligation. Such an example as this ought to be followed on every large farm in the kingdom; and though we might still hear of agricultural distress, we should hear of but few complaints from the labourers. An acre of good land (and none but good land should be selected for their use), one half to be planted with wheat, and the other with potatoes, and *vice versa* each succeeding year, would give, including two pigs which might be reared, nearly half-a-year's solid subsistence to a family of five persons. It would be strange if their wages would not supply the rest. The united sources of the produce of their land, and of their wages, would render their situation comfortable, and not only comfortable, but independent. A plan precisely similar to this, *i. e.* of letting an acre of land to a poor family and of introducing upon it the culture now described, has been adopted at the village of Terrington, in Norfolk, with the most signal success. The labourers there, for whose benefit it has been put in force, are not only comfortable and happy, but their spirit of independence, which had been broken, is restored. These, but three or four years ago, were *constantly resorting to the parish for relief*; but since the introduction of this plan they have made no application there, and the consequence has been that the rates have been much diminished. We cannot therefore too much admire the justice, the benevolence, and the wisdom of Mr. Sharp on the occasion now related. It is of a piece with his other good works, produced by the same spirit, and producing the same effects. No subject seems to have come before Mr. Sharp, to which his mind was not equal, and which did not prosper in his hands. The truth is, that he never undertook any thing in which there was not commixed with his plan, his duty to God and his fellow-creatures. Hence every thing which he undertook seemed, both in its beginning and in its progress, to have been the result of the most consummate wisdom:—but what indeed is true wisdom, as distinguished from that which is only specious, but the effusion of intellectual light tempered and limited by religion?

In this year (1787) the society was formed for the abolition of the slave-trade. Mr. Sharp having diffused so much light on this interesting and important subject, and having rendered himself so conspicuous by his persevering efforts in the cause of Somerset; by his publication of the tragical circumstances of the ship *Zong*; and by his meritorious interference in behalf of the black poor, and his subsequent attempts through their means to introduce colonization into Africa, was not only invited to become a member of the committee of that society, by those who were concerned in forming it, but was unanimously called to the chair. Here a wide field presented itself for the renovation of his labours. It can scarcely be necessary

necessary to say, that Mr. Sharp realized here, as elsewhere, the high opinion which had been formed of his zeal and labours in that righteous cause. The Memoirs, indeed, which we are now reviewing, when they introduce him into this committee, give an account of its formation to the end of its useful labours, during which they furnish us with anecdotes concerning him; but as this account is very long, and is abridged from Mr. Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, it would be beyond our limits, as well as unnecessary, to follow it. We shall therefore only observe, that Mr. Sharp lived to see this execrable trade abolished by the British Parliament, and add from the Memoirs, that, when the news of this glorious event was brought to him, he fell immediately on his knees in devotion and gratitude to his Creator, and this in the deepest reurement of his soul. Probably that interval was the most awful and happy in his whole life; an interval in which the pleasures, arising from adoration and thanksgiving to God, must have been heightened by an ecstasy of joy which no other earthly object could have given.

Having now done justice to the public life of Mr. Sharp, we shall look at him for a few moments as an individual. The Memoirs furnish us with many anecdotes and traits of his private character, from which, however, we shall only select the following:—Mr. Sharp is said to have possessed an even cheerfulness of temper. Though always serious, he never assumed the appearance of rigour, nor abstained from the common recreations of the world. He was delighted with young children, and took great pleasure in amusing them. He was fond of the animal creation, which he had studied with great care from his youth. When young, he had usually a jackdaw, or a bat, or a lizard, or some other living creature for a companion. It is said of him, that he never refused or neglected a charitable application. His sensibility in this respect increased with his years, so that in the latter part of his life, when he took rooms in the Temple, the doors of his chambers were beset from morning till night by a crowd of beggars. To do good more extensively, he became a member of many societies. He was well known at the hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem. He assisted at the African Association, African Institution, and Palestine Association. He was a member also of the Bible Society, Hibernian Society, Female-Penitentiary, and other excellent institutions. Humility and meekness were very leading features in his character. He was peculiarly delicate in his conduct towards others: and yet, humble, meek, and delicate as he was, he never lost the independence of his mind to whomsoever he wrote, or with whomsoever he conversed, on any occasion. He had no respect of persons in forming his judgement. The mandate of a king could not have biassed him. In
judging

judging of constitutional matters he referred to the constitution, and of human conduct to the New Testament, as the tests for his decision. His religion was without ostentation. He was attached in a most extraordinary manner to protestantism, and to the Established Church as a part of it. He was constant in his attendance on divine worship. He avoided all secular business on the Sunday. He fasted frequently according to the rites of the church. He was accustomed to read in his family the morning and evening prayers from the liturgy. Notwithstanding all this, he lived in habits of friendship and intimacy with men of all religious persuasions; for he did not consider the highest human virtue as exempt from error or as inconsistent with it. He was friendly to all literary pursuits, but particularly to those which related to pious researches into the Holy Scriptures,—a study which perhaps few men ever carried so far as himself. His doctrines of the Greek article and the Hebrew conversive *vau*, and of other particularities of the Hebrew language, though not unknown to some profound scholars before his time, had all the merit of discovery, and more than that merit in the valuable use which he made of them. His employment in reading, writing, and study, must have been both incessant and intense. He printed no less than sixty works, many of which indeed were but of a small size; and it is remarkable that only four of these were printed for sale. The rest he gave away. It is added of Mr. Sharp, that never was there a more loyal subject to the king, or a firmer friend to the constitution.

It was a maxim of Mr. Sharp, that human life ought to be a state of continued active preparation for the service of God both here and hereafter. Acting upon this, he became fitted for the awful change which was approaching. His health and strength declined gradually. The first symptom of this decline was a partial loss of memory, which was visible in something like an inability to connect his sentences, when he spoke both at the African Institution and at the Bible Society. On the day preceding his death he breakfasted, as usual, with the family. His weakness after this was very sensibly increased. He was several times compelled to lie down on his bed in the course of the afternoon. He appeared often to labour for breath. Night, and partial repose, came on. In the morning his countenance was changed—in colour only; in expression it remained unaltered. About four o'clock in the afternoon he fell into a tranquil slumber, in which, without a struggle or a sigh, on the 6th of July 1813, he breathed his last in the 79th year of his age. The talents, which had been intrusted to him as a steward, had been then faithfully disbursed, and were returned to the bosom of the Giver.

The news of his death immediately drew forth marks of the highest respect from some of the public bodies with which he had been connected. The British and Foreign Bible Society adopted a most suitable resolution on the occasion, which they inserted in the public papers, expressive of their gratitude and their grief. The African Institution sent a deputation of some of their choicest members to attend his funeral to the church at Fulham, where his remains were deposited in the family vault; but, not conceiving that they should acquit themselves of the debt of gratitude due to Mr. Sharp for his assiduous and unceasing efforts in the cause of the abolition of the slave-trade by this measure alone, they paid a more permanent tribute of respect to his memory by erecting to it a monument in Westminster Abbey. The work was executed by Mr. Chantrey, and exhibits in the centre a medallion of Mr. Sharp: on one side, in low relief, are a lion and a lamb lying down together; and on the other an African in the act of supplication. To these devices a most beautiful inscription, written by William Smith, Esq. member for Norwich, was added.

With respect to the Memoirs themselves we must now say a few words. Mr. Prince Hoare has certainly executed his work with great ability. When we consider the laborious task imposed upon him of examining whole boxes of manuscripts, and the prodigious variety of matter contained in these, we cannot help thinking that his arrangements and divisions have been very judicious. We do not indeed see how, out of such a chaos, there could have been produced light to show the intended objects more distinctly than Mr. Hoare has done. The work, to be sure, is very long. But then Mr. Sharp was no ordinary man. His objects too were multifarious, and his labours were incessant. It can therefore be no matter of astonishment that his life, and this a long one of nearly four score years, should have furnished materials, the record of which should require a considerable space. There is one characteristic of these Memoirs, always desirable, which is, that they may be relied upon as strictly true. They were compiled not from hearsay, but from manuscripts of the deceased, who was incapable of falsehood, and to the truth of which many valuable persons now living can add their testimony. We now recommend the work itself to the perusal of the reader; for every thing that Mr. Sharp wrote, and said, and did, is worthy of attention; and we have been obliged to omit even the mention of many circumstances in his life, as well as traits in his character, on account of the narrow limits which are usually allotted to a review.

ART. XVIII.—*On the Policy of removing the Restriction imposed on the Importation of East India Sugars.*

IT is our desire on the present occasion to draw the attention of our readers to the question which is agitating between the growers of sugar in the West Indies and those who advocate the admission of sugar from the East Indies, upon the same terms as those which are granted to the sugars of any of our other colonies.

The principal object of the few pages which we can at this time devote to the subject, will be to convey a due estimate of its importance, as affecting both the great interests of humanity and the more particular and immediate interests of the British nation. The facts in detail, which may be adduced in abundance, to establish the whole of the points in dispute, will be presented more fully to the reader, as future occasions may call upon us to revert to them.

It is not necessary for us, we confidently hope, to dwell upon the miseries of West India slavery, even when detached from the atrocities of the slave-trade. Of these an adequate idea, we cannot but believe, is already impressed upon the minds of our readers.

To those who have reflected upon the condition of their fellow creatures, raising sugar as slaves in the West Indies, a short argument must be perfectly conclusive.

The question is, How much of good is obtained on the one hand, how much of evil incurred on the other?

If the good obtained is overbalanced by the evil incurred, the conclusion is, that the good should be renounced, rather than the evil incurred. This is an universal rule. There is not a human being who will dare to controvert it; because the scorn and hatred of mankind would be his appropriate portion.

If, then, the certain, the notorious evils of West India slavery, are not only great in amount, but enormous; if the principal good derived from it can be shown to be capable of attainment, and of attainment in much greater perfection, from another source; and if all that remains of the good imputable to West India slavery, is a pittance, altogether insignificant compared with the evil which it produces, the propriety of resorting to that better source is fully and completely demonstrated.

The principal good derived from the labour of slaves in the cultivation of sugar in the West Indies is, incontrovertibly, the supply of sugar to the consumers of that article. The addition which is made to the pleasures of life by the use of that agreeable production is, of course, the sum total of the good of which it is productive. Whether this, taken at its highest estimation, ought to be regarded as an equivalent for the evils of West India slavery, might, we think, very well be questioned, even by those whose sympathy with the

sufferings of others is not very intense. But we are happily, on this occasion, relieved from the obligation of prosecuting any such inquiry, because we are enabled to affirm, and to affirm with assurance, that all the benefit derivable from the use of sugar is to be obtained by permitting its importation from the East Indies. It may be obtained not only in any quantity which may be required, but much cheaper than from the West Indies.

Let us first of all endeavour to ascertain the import of this proposition, of the truth of which we shall produce abundant evidence as we proceed.

As far as the consumers of sugar are concerned, the change would produce nothing but advantage. They would obtain the article from which their gratification is derived, and obtain it with less of a sacrifice than they did before. The circumstances, when taken in detail, are these. Every person who obtains by purchase an article, which is a source of gratification, obtains it by giving in exchange, something which is also a source of gratification, either mediately as money, or immediately as a consumable commodity. The consumer, therefore, who obtains sugar, makes a sacrifice to obtain it of something which is a source of gratification. If he obtains it from the West Indies, he makes a sacrifice to a certain extent of his sources of gratification; if he obtains it cheaper from the East Indies, he obtains the same quantity of this source of gratification, with a smaller sacrifice of his other sources of gratification. He is therefore a richer man upon the whole. All consumers are thus richer men upon the whole. The nation consists almost wholly of such consumers; the nation therefore is richer upon the whole, when it is allowed to obtain its sugars from the cheapest market.

Let us now, then, make up this account, and observe attentively the state of it. For one item, we have the annihilation of all that enormous mass of evils which is included in the term West Indian Slavery. For another item, we have the saving of all that sacrifice of the sources of gratification which every individual in the nation must bear to obtain sugar at a greater cost from the West Indies, than it might be obtained at from the East.

To these benefits, of all this magnitude, what is it that the West India gentlemen have to oppose?

If you admit East India sugars into the British market, we, they cry, shall be ruined.

This is what they have to say. This they repeat in all forms of expression. To this they apply all kinds of epithets, which they deem calculated to excite either sympathy in favour of themselves, or indignation against those who support the doctrine which they regard as injurious to them.

The results, at the utmost would be these: some hundreds of West

West India gentlemen, planters and merchants, would be a good deal less rich than they are, or hope to be, and a proportion of them would be deprived of riches. That these men may hold these advantages, they demand—That evils without number shall be inflicted upon a portion of their fellow creatures in the West Indies, some hundreds of times more numerous than themselves; and that every individual in the community at home, many thousand times more numerous than themselves, shall be deprived of a portion of the advantages which they might otherwise enjoy! Was the extravagance of self-love ever more glaringly displayed? What have these men done, that the rest of mankind should be called upon to make to them such sacrifices of themselves? Why should a portion of good to them be regarded as an equivalent for the loss of an infinitely greater portion to others?

From this, however, which is the real question at issue, they of course endeavour to draw away the attention of those who are to decide upon their pretensions. They have recourse to the delusive expedient of general phrases; and, by the introduction of topics on which they can anticipate a certain decision, they endeavour, and it is often a very successful endeavour, to make the decision of one question pass for that of another—the decision of a question, which has but little to do with the point at issue, pass as the very decision on that point itself.

Thus it is not the amount of evil incurred, to afford to them a certain portion of good, of which the West Indian pleaders make any mention. They use the term Justice. They say that justice is due to them. They cry out for justice; and affirm that unless they obtain the full amount of their demands, the nation will reflect upon them injustice. Now there can be no doubt that justice is a good thing; there can be no doubt that justice ought to be done to them, and to every body. They can anticipate this decision with certainty; and anticipating this decision, they endeavour to make it pass for a decision upon the question between them and the public. But this it is not; and as often as it is so apprehended, a delusion is practised, imposture is successful.

It is very worthy of remark, that a number of the best words are the most liable to this sort of abuse. Nothing is more common than thus to draw in the word religion, or the word loyalty, or the term good order, or the term constitution. It is easy to foresee what decision will be pronounced on any question arising out of these terms; and if this decision can be made to pass for the decision on another topic, which in itself is not entitled to any such decision, the delusion is consummated. There is none of the arts of the sophist against which it is of more importance that the lover of truth should be upon his guard.

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Nothing, however, can so little bear examination as the sort of argument which is thus manufactured. What! Is it injustice that your countrymen should have the natural liberty of purchasing their sugars, wherever it is most for their advantage to purchase them? Is not the argument of justice, on the contrary, against you? Is it not much more like injustice to seek to deprive your countrymen of what seems so worthy to be considered as a right?

Why should they be deprived of this advantage?

The only answer you can give, is, That you may enjoy an advantage at their cost. But this is the plea of all injustice. This is the object of all oppressors. They desire that they may be enabled to reap such and such advantages at the cost of others.

We desire the West India gentlemen to show wherein their case differs, in its essence, from that of any oppressors upon the face of the earth. We have shown that the advantage of them, a very small number, would by them be made to destroy the advantage of a much greater number. But the sacrifice of the interests of the many to those of the few, is exactly that in which all extensive oppression of necessity consists.

Driven from this general plea about injustice, the West India gentlemen have another expedient to which they resort. They say, the nation is bound to them by particular obligations. Let us hear their pleas upon this subject, and attentively examine what they are worth.

The laws establishing the monopoly of the colonies, they represent as the source of these obligations. The monopoly compelled the colonies to bring all their produce to the mother country, and to purchase in the mother country whatever they had occasion to purchase; and it was part of the same law to prohibit the importation into the mother country from any other country of certain articles the produce of these colonies.

We, say the colonists, having embarked our capital upon the faith of such laws, you are not at liberty to alter those laws.

Let us, then, calmly ask them, if it is really their doctrine that, when a bad law is made, it ought to be perpetual? Every law that is made and has any efficacy at all, turns so much of human action out of one channel into another. In doing so, it almost necessarily turns so much of capital out of one channel into another. There hardly can be a bad law, therefore, for which the plea of these gentlemen may not be urged. According to them, there ought to be no correction of errors. A false step in legislation, in which so many false steps are apt to be taken, ought never to be re-traced. The evils which oppress mankind ought never to be alleviated. Why? West India gentlemen, or other gentlemen in similar circumstances, have always an interest in perpetuating those evils. Extraordinary as this argument may seem when it is thus presented
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naked, it is but too often, alas! received with favour when dressed in colours to suit the occasion.

As the West India gentlemen will not, however, when the matter is thus presented, maintain that all bad laws should be perpetual, we are entitled to call upon them to show wherein the monopoly, they claim, differs from other bad laws; making it desirable that they should be abrogated, while it is preserved. We defy them to show any such difference; or to point out a single reason, for the preservation of this, which will not be equally good for the preservation of all the bad laws which can be shown to exist in the world. All bad laws are bad because they produce a balance of evil. This produces, as we have undertaken to prove, a balance of evil. If you say that the balance is less than in the case of some other laws, we do not deny it; but this is a difference only in degree; and every degree of evil is the proper object, not of choice, but rejection. The reason which is good for rejecting a great evil, is equally good for rejecting a small one.

But we have embarked, say the West India gentlemen, our capital upon the faith of those laws; and if you do not perpetuate them, you break faith with us. Faith is another of those very general terms with which the same sophistry is apt to be practised, which we have shown to be frequent in the case of the term justice. Nobody doubts that faith ought to be kept; but does it follow, because faith ought to be kept, that all bad laws, that any bad law, ought to be perpetual?

The facts are really these. Certain laws existed respecting the West Indies, and respecting property in general. Certain advantages appeared to you, all circumstances considered, likely to arise from embarking your capital in West India concerns; and you acted accordingly.

Is there in this case any thing which is different from any other pecuniary speculation whatsoever? Do all pecuniary speculations, then, proceed upon the supposition, that no laws are ever to be altered? Do pecuniary speculators in general set up such a pretension? They would but render themselves the objects of ridicule if they did. All pecuniary speculations proceed upon a calculation of contingencies; and that of an alteration in the laws is undoubtedly one of them.

Another thing must be called to the recollection of those gentlemen. It is this—That all laws are made under a condition: and this, in truth, is one of the most important circumstances attending their enactment. The condition to which we allude is this—That they shall be continued laws so long as they appear to be advantageous to the country, but no longer. This is a condition of which the West India gentlemen, when they embarked their property, could

could not be ignorant; because in all the proceedings of a righteous legislature it is necessarily implied. This, therefore, is a consideration of fundamental importance; and shows that the only question which remains for decision is, Whether liberty of importing sugars from the East Indies, on the same terms as from any other place, is, or is not, advantageous to the community at large? If this is the fact, we have only to ask the West India gentlemen, when they speak of the faith pledged by the laws of the West India monopoly, Whether they mean that part only of the faith which suits themselves, leaving all other parts out of the question; or whether it is not a part of the faith in question, a part of great importance to the community, that every law shall be repealed the moment it is found to be hurtful?

Notwithstanding the importance and indubitable certainty of this doctrine, it is still to be borne in mind, that there may be cases in which compensation may be reasonably due on account of losses sustained by the abrogation of a law. Such cases seem to be those; and those only, in which the abrogation takes place abruptly, and sooner than any reasonable expectation could have anticipated. If parties, having embarked capital upon the expectation that a certain law will continue during a certain limited time which a reflecting man can see no good reason for altering, within such a time should sustain loss by a precipitate abrogation, an equitable claim for compensation would, at least in many supposable cases, arise.

Even in this case, however, no reason would exist for the preservation of the law. The law, if hurtful, should be abolished; because by the very supposition, the evil done to the community by upholding it would be greater in amount than the evil done to the smaller number who might suffer by the abolition. The West India gentlemen are deprived even of the pretence of a precipitate abrogation. They have long had warning, abundant and superabundant. Property in the West Indies has never been regarded as worth more than a small number of years' purchase. For more than twice, for more than three times, that number of years, for it is more than that time since the first publication of the work of Smith "On Political Economy," the propriety of abolishing the West India monopoly has been not only alleged, but demonstrated. From that date, the eventual abolition of that injurious law was rendered certain. Every reflecting man must have looked forward to its abolition; and in all measures of his which could be affected by it, must have taken the prospect of that event into his calculation. The wonder, indeed, is, that a law, of which the badness was thus demonstrated, should have been allowed to exist so long. The case of the West India gentlemen, therefore, is completely taken out of that class of cases which on the abrogation of
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certain laws are entitled to compensation. If the West India gentleman has miscalculated, he has nobody to blame but himself. And it would be far too much to call upon us, the rest of the community, to take money out of our pockets to save him from the consequences of his own mistakes.

Having thus replied to the arguments of the West India gentlemen; having, as we think, refuted them, and shown them to be mere sophisms, (taking it for granted, all along, that the monopoly really is injurious, and that a balance of advantage would arise from the free importation of sugar,) we now proceed to show that this supposition is well founded, and that the advantage would be fully as great as we have represented it to be.

For the powers of our colonies in the East to afford a supply of sugar, we can avail ourselves of a high authority,—that of Sir Edward Colebrooke, one of the most experienced and esteemed of the servants of the East India Company, in his work entitled “Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal,” published at Calcutta in the year 1804.

“Excepting tobacco, (says the work in question, p. 120) which is exotic in India, this fruitful region seems to have been the parent country of most productions which were once ranked among luxuries, but which are now become necessities of life. The sugar-cane, whose very name was scarcely known by the ancient inhabitants of Europe, grew luxuriantly throughout Bengal in the remotest times.”

Sir Edward remarks, what is somewhat curious in the history of this plant, that Gaur, the ancient name of the capital of Bengal, and of the province itself, is apparently derived from Gur; and that this word, both in the ancient and modern languages of India, is the name for raw sugar. He adds that the word Sarcara, the Sanscrit term for manufactured sugar, is the same from which the Persian, Greek, Latin, and modern European names of the cane and its produce are derived.

Sir Edward informs us that from Benares to Rungpoor, and from the borders of Asam to those of Cuttack, there is scarcely a district in Bengal, or its dependent provinces, wherein the sugar cane does not flourish; that it thrives more especially in the provinces of Benares, Behar, Rungpoor, Burdwan, Beerbhoom, and Midnapoor; that it is successfully cultivated in all; and that no other bounds seem to be set to the possible production of it in that fruitful region, than the demand and consequent vend for it. With regard to the extent of supply, therefore, there is no dispute. To whatever degree the demand of Europe may progressively rise, the quantity produced will easily keep pace with it.

We next proceed to another important consideration; namely, the cost at which it can be raised. On this point, if we set aside the con-

consideration (which however can never be set aside for a moment) of the cultivation by slaves in the West Indies, the decision would wholly turn. If it could be produced and brought to England from the East Indies at a smaller cost than from the West, here would be a balance of advantage, which ought to govern the legislature.

On this point, also, Sir Edward Colebrooke affords us the most direct and decisive evidence.

“Raw sugar (he says) prepared in a mode peculiar to India, but analogous to the process of making Muscovado, costs less than five shillings sterling per hundred weight.”

This is perfectly conclusive. Without entering into statements of the cost at which sugar can be raised in the West Indies, or the proportion of saccharine matter in an equal weight of the different sugars, it is clear that the difference in point of cost is enormous, that the article from the West Indies costs several times as much as it would from the East.

It is observable, also, that the sugar is raised at this wonderfully small cost in the East Indies, notwithstanding the extreme rudeness and imperfection of the tools and instruments which the people employ, the clumsy and inartificial methods both of their agriculture and manufacture, and the almost total want of capital to facilitate their operations. How necessary and how great an improvement, in all these respects, would ensue, if the great European market were opened to them, and if European capital, European machinery and skill, were applied to the business, it is unnecessary to display. That all these improvements would lessen exceedingly the cost of production, and hence diminish the price, is a certain consequence.

Such, then, is one great advantage which would be derived from opening the British market to East India sugars. We proceed to another advantage, on the importance of which, in our apprehension, too much cannot possibly be said, but on which on the present occasion we deem it the less necessary to enlarge, that we are persuaded it will be duly estimated by those whom we are addressing. What we mean is the circumstance of the sugar in the East Indies being not produced by the labour of slaves, but of freemen.

This important fact an attempt has been made to controvert, but on grounds which are utterly ridiculous. The name slave, or bond servant, is indeed not altogether unknown in India; but it as little denotes any thing like the condition of a slave in the West Indies, as the term apprentice, who is also a bond servant, does in England. Again, it is to be observed that every labourer in the West Indies is a slave, and that in the most degrading, and dreadful sense of the term. It is only in a few districts in India that
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the condition of bond servant is known; and even where it is, the proportion of the labouring people who are in such a condition is small.

We observe that Mr. Cropper, in his Letters on this subject addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, a very seasonable and highly important publication, adduces some respectable testimony in proof of this fact; and we shall corroborate what he has there stated by the conclusive testimony of Sir Edward Colebrooke. We are satisfied, from a pretty large acquaintance with the subject, that Colebrooke's language on this subject is more comprehensive, to a considerable extent, than it ought in correctness to have been, or than it was by the writer intended to be; and that from his words a greater amount of bond labour might be supposed to be found in India than actually exists. Moreover, we shall quote the passage fully, and allow our adversaries the whole of the benefit of it.

"Slavery, indeed, is not unknown in Bengal. Throughout some districts the labours of husbandry are executed chiefly by bond servants. In certain provinces the ploughmen are mostly slaves of the peasants for whom they labour. But, treated by their masters more like hereditary servants or emancipated hinds than like purchased slaves, they labour with cheerful diligence and unforced zeal.

"In some places, also, the landlords have a claim to the servitude of thousands among the inhabitants of their estates. This claim, which is seldom enforced, and which in many instances is become wholly obsolete, is founded on some traditional rights, acquired many generations ago in a state of society different from the present. And slaves of this description do in fact enjoy every privilege of a freeman, except the name; or at worst they must be considered as villeins attached to the glebe, rather than as bondmen labouring for the sole benefit of their owners.

"Indeed, throughout India, the relation of master and slave appears to impose the duty of protection and cherishment on the master, as much as that of fidelity and obedience on the slave. And their mutual conduct is consistent with the sense of such an obligation, since it is marked with gentleness and indulgence on the one side, and with zeal and loyalty on the other.

"Though we admit the fact that slaves may be found in Bengal among the labourers in husbandry, yet in most provinces none but freemen are occupied in the business of agriculture."

It is well known that in India there is a class of women employed to exhibit themselves as dancers, a spectacle of which the people are excessively fond; and these women are also very generally devoted to the traffic of prostitution. It is remarkable that these are the principal class of slaves in India. We have it in our power to adduce another important testimony on this subject. Sir John Malcolm, well known as a distinguished officer in the service of the East India Company, and as an instructive author on Oriental subjects, submitted a Report to the Indian Government on the province
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of Malwa, which he recently governed,—a report which was printed in India, and forms a quarto volume. In this volume Sir John Malcolm says,

“Male slaves are few in Malwa, and are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. The case is very different with females, who almost in every instance are sold to prostitution; some, it is true, rise to be favourite mistresses of their master, and enjoy both power and luxury; while others are raised by the success in life of their sons: but these are exceptions. The dancing women, who are all slaves, are condemned to a life of toil and vice for the profit of others; and some of the first Rajpoot chiefs and zemindars in Malwa, who have from fifty to two hundred female slaves in their family, after employing them in all the menial labours of their house during the day, send them at night to their own dwellings, where they are at liberty to form such connexions as they please. But a large share of the profits of that promiscuous intercourse into which they fall is annually exacted by their master, who adds any children they happen to produce to his list of slaves. The female slaves in this condition, as well as those of the dancing sets, are not permitted to marry, and are often very harshly treated; so that the latter, from this cause, and the connexions they form, are constantly in the habit of running away.”

Indeed, from the state of the country, it is perfectly certain that the condition of the slaves, generally, can never be peculiarly miserable, can never, indeed, be much, if at all, below that of free labourers. The reason is, because they have the remedy in their own hands. They can run away. In a country of such boundless extent, in which concealment is so easy, and in which the law does nothing to aid pursuit, there can in general be no means of preventing a slave from escaping, except treating him so well that he cannot by freeing himself better his condition. This well known fact is a sufficient reply to a thousand arguments. If the Negroes in the West Indies had unlimited means of making their escape, and of finding a better subsistence, should we not find one of two results—either that they all abandoned their masters; or that, the mode of treating them being totally changed, they chose of themselves to remain?

After this evidence, if any body affirms that slavery is as much an objection to the raising of sugar in the East Indies, as it is in the West, he is to be treated as insincere, and as speaking against his own conviction. It is not argument that will cure him.

Such, then, are the important advantages which must of necessity arise from the equal admission of East India sugars into the British market.

Another consideration is very fit to be adduced,—that by such admission the gentlemen interested in the West Indies cannot, according to their own showing, sustain any disadvantage. In a pamphlet,
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published the other day, from the pen, as it is understood, of a distinguished member of the West India body, entitled "*Practical Observations on the British West India Sugar Trade*," we find it affirmed that, by "an impulse given to the cultivation of the more fertile soil of Cuba and Brazil, it has been progressively advancing, till they have attained an extent and cheapness of production which render a direct competition with them utterly ruinous." The meaning of this is explained in other pages, where it is stated that the monopoly of the British market is not enough for the purposes of the West India gentlemen. What distresses them is the state of the foreign markets, in which people will not buy dear sugar when they can obtain cheap.

"It is (says he) the low price the foreign grower sells at, which oppresses the markets for our surplus, that is complained of; the effect being to lower the price on the whole importation to the same level, the supplies always weighing on the market till it comes down to the price the foreign buyer will give for it."

The facts are as follows, and any body may judge of them. In the British West Indies more sugar is raised than the British market can take off. Cuba and Brazil sugars come to the rest of the European market much cheaper than the British growers can afford to sell. East India sugars come also through the free trade still cheaper to the foreign market. The British colonies are thus unable to sell any sugar out of the British islands, where they have the monopoly, except at a very low price. What is to be done with that surplus which exceeds the demand of the British market? If left to itself, it must be offered for sale in the British market, and continue to lower the price, till it is on a level with the price in foreign markets; that is to say, as cheap as it would have been had East India sugars, and all other sugars, been admitted on the same terms as West India sugars into the British market.

To save West India gentlemen from that ruin, then, which they say is impending over them, it is not enough that we should for their benefit deprive ourselves of the use of East India sugars. They have another truly modest proposal, which is, that we should tax ourselves for their benefit. They have a certain annual quantity of sugar, which they must sell abroad, in order to keep up the price high enough for their satisfaction at home. But this quantity, which they would thus send abroad, they must sell cheap. This they say would be ruinous to them. And, accordingly, they propose to us, the people of England, to make up the difference to them! Not only to buy dear of them, what we might buy cheap of others; but for every pound weight which they sell to others at a low price, to give them out of our pockets as much of our money as would make the price equal to that which they propose to extort from us! This

is the true account of what they think proper to ask to have done for them. We ought to give them a bounty, they say, to enable them to meet their competitors in the foreign market. A bounty! Those days, we trust, are gone by. A trade which cannot sustain itself without a bounty, is a trade which ought not to be sustained at all.

But, they say, we have a great capital embarked in the West Indies. British capital is British riches. This capital will be lost, unless the West Indian trade is supported. And the nation will be impoverished to the whole of that amount.

There is great sophistry involved in this language. It is highly expedient, therefore, that it should be unravelled; for it is employed on many other and very important occasions.

The true meaning of the word *capital* is, a fund employed for the purpose of production. The merchant's capital is that property of his which he employs in such a way as to bring him an annual return. Such is that of the farmer, such is that of the manufacturer, and that of every man who employs a capital. If it ceases to be productive, it deserves to be called capital no longer. It is useless, and whether it exists, or does not exist, makes no difference.

But by the very supposition, all capital employed in a line in which it cannot stand competition, and replace itself with a profit, is useless.

The nation has a certain quantity of capital, the source of all its annual produce. What the nation is interested in is this, that the produce arising annually from the employment of this capital should be the greatest possible. But that is always greatest when there is complete liberty of resorting to the cheapest market; which, in other words, is the liberty of getting the largest returns.

A certain supply of sugar is needed for Great Britain. A certain capital, and a large capital, is required to furnish that supply from the West Indies. But, says another man, I can afford you the same supply from the East Indies, with less than half that amount of capital, because I can get it at less than half the price. If one half, therefore, of all the capital embarked in the West Indies should thus be lost, the nation would still be a gainer.

Observe also that the West India gentleman would not sacrifice an ounce of his capital, unless it were advantageous to the country. If forced to sustain foreign competition, what would be his situation? There is part of his capital which it would be in his power to remove; part which it would not be in his power to remove. He would then calculate with himself in this manner:—If I continue to raise sugar with the whole of this capital, and sell it at the low prices, my annual return will be so much: If I withdraw off my capital all that is capable of being withdrawn, abandoning the rest, and employ this portion in the new sugar trade, or
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in any other trade, it will produce so much : Which of the two is the greater produce ? If the first, he continues the use of all his capital. If the latter, he makes a sacrifice of part of it. But he does so, only because he thereby increases his produce. It is therefore proved that no capital is ever lost in this manner, but when it is good for the country that it should be lost.

The West India gentlemen frequently make pompous mention of the importance of their trade to the navigation of the country. The fallacy of that talk, however, is now pretty generally understood. As far as the capital employed in the navigation or shipping of the country is concerned, the same argument holds exactly, which we have just applied to the capital of the West India gentlemen themselves. Whenever it ceases to be productive, under a system of freedom, it ceases to be of any use, and in fact ceases to be capital. For promoting the wealth of the country, no sacrifice ought ever to be made to it.

There is another point of view in which they exaggerate the importance of the shipping interest ; that upon the extent of it depends our power of providing a fleet in case of war. To be under any anxiety respecting a sufficiency of shipping in this country for the provision of a fleet equal to all our necessities, seems one of the most perfectly idle of all possible apprehensions. The West India gentlemen may rest assured that the time is gone by, never to return, when any uneasiness will be felt on that account. The very mention of the navigation laws is now treated with ridicule even by the House of Commons. Besides, there is a fact quite sufficient to afford satisfaction on this head ; that the voyage from the East Indies is calculated to employ as much shipping, certainly, as that from the West.

Beside the important advantages which we have thus shown would arise from the introduction of the only true principle of commerce, that of freedom, into the importation of sugar, and more especially, on the present occasion, from the free importation of East India sugars, advantages counterbalanced by disadvantages, which, however magnified on the other side, we have also fully shown to be of inconsiderable moment, having an immense balance of good to be derived from the change which we desire to see introduced, there is still one item in the account of benefits, which is of far too much importance to be passed over in silence. And that is, the advantage which would thence accrue to the people of India, and through them, as the dependants of this country, to this country itself. It is impossible not to see how a new demand, to so great an amount, for a production of their soil, to which that soil and their climate are so admirably adapted, would

would increase the value of their annual produce, the demand for their labour, and with it the well-being of all classes of the people. It is also impossible not to see how much the revenue of the East India Company, derived almost wholly from the rent of land in India, would be improved by the extended cultivation of so valuable an article of produce. In addition to all this, it is worthy of attention, that even in the way of compensation we seem to owe a little to India; our commercial intercourse with her having lately operated in a peculiar manner to her disadvantage. It is well known that her great manufacture was cotton goods; and our principal imports from that country consisted in articles of that manufacture. A very remarkable revolution in this branch of traffic has now taken place. From the happy and extraordinary improvements we have made in the art of manufacturing cotton goods by our wonderful machinery, we have so reduced the price, that not only do we not import, except a few fancy articles, from India, but we actually send our cotton goods to that country, and sell them cheaper than their own fabrics can be afforded by the natives. We have thus deprived them of a great branch of their own industry. And we have given them nothing in return; for, of the other articles of their produce, the only ones which we have any desire to consume, namely, certain products of their soil, we have hitherto most strangely bound ourselves not to import. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the exports from Great Britain to the East Indies are limited and inconsiderable. Commerce must be reciprocal. How can the people of India buy from us, if we take nothing from them by which they can pay us? If we take from them nothing but money, we make it scarce, and therefore prices fall so low that we can no longer sell at a profit.

It is not duly considered how much every branch of the commerce with India, a country so vast in extent and population, and so rich in produce, depends upon the free importation of sugar, rice and other gruff commodities. When a cargo consists, as under our present most impolitic regulations almost every cargo from India must consist, of fine goods, there is a great proportion of the freightage of the ship actually lost. For safety of sailing, a certain weight must be taken on board. Wherever an assorted cargo can be obtained, this is managed by a proper proportion of ponderous goods. Of this great advantage, the importers of East India goods are at present deprived. They are obliged to bring home their ships comparatively empty of goods, and filled with ballast. This great loss would be most happily prevented by the free importation of sugar and other products of the Indian soil. And the other articles of
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Indian produce would immediately receive an important reduction of price, by paying only part of the cost of freight, of which they are now under the absurdly created necessity of defraying the whole.

ART. XIX.—*Mr. Holman's Narrative of a Journey in the Years 1819, 1820, and 1821, through France, Italy, &c.*

WHEN we first took up this volume, we were disposed to regard the Narrative as altogether fictitious; we thought it a dull invention, and wondered a little at the laborious perseverance of the inventor. Had we ever hoped to see another De Foe, we might have closed the book with this conviction. The internal marks and tokens of reality are not so decisive as the world is apt habitually to profess. We have heard of some who died in the firm belief of the truth of Robinson Crusoe; and we have no doubt that the authenticity of the admirable "Journal of the Plague" would never have been questioned, if some prying critic had not started the incontestable fact, that the author was an infant at the period of that memorable event. Minuteness and copiousness of circumstance are certainly no conclusive criterions of reality. We have, however, no longer any scepticism about the present Narrative. The traveller we believe to be *à viris*, and to have given a very honest relation of his own tour. He appears to have been destined for the navy; and from early youth, for some years, to have been in the actual service of his profession. At five-and-twenty he lost his sight, and has ever since, that is, about ten years, remained totally, and he fears permanently, blind. Endowed with a busy and observing mind, and accustomed to incessant change of scene and country, repose became intolerable to him. From professional pursuits he was, of course, utterly excluded; to silent and consecutive meditation those pursuits must have indisposed him; and for readings he was entirely dependent on his friends. He soon acquired a greater facility of locomotion than he had anticipated; and the irresistible inclination succeeded of visiting different parts of his native country. In 1819, his health failing, and his ardour for knowledge and love of motion concurring, he determined to travel through the southern parts of Europe. In contempt of all the fears and warnings of his friends, he sallied forth without a companion, or servant, or knowledge of the countries he purposed to visit, or even of their language. His bold and resolute temper, accustomed to front dangers and surmount them, led him to despise the common and the uncommon perils of the tourist. The fearlessness and independence, which the profession of his early and *seeing* days is

so calculated to generate, bore him through all, not merely without difficulty, but with facility and pleasure. A natural gaiety, or a light-heartedness—the product of the same animating profession—seems never to have failed him; and the painful sense of his privation was forgotten in the kind sympathy, which, with scarcely an exception, he every where met with, from high and low, particularly—and which he gratefully and enthusiastically commemorates—from the female sex. These are circumstances that throw an interest upon the book, which neither the incidents, nor observations, nor information it contains are capable of exciting. There is nothing singular, but the single circumstance of the apparent temerity of the undertaking. This sightless traveller encounters few difficulties, and *makes* none; the ease and *non-chalance* with which he weathers all impediments are productive of something like disappointment. We cannot shake off the strong impression made upon our sensibility at the outset, nor the endless perplexities which our imagination figured as awaiting him: but all vanish before his intrepidity; and we soon find that the demand upon our sympathy, which we very naturally expected, vanishes with them. To forebode or bewail is quite superfluous; he might take the command of a frigate and circumnavigate the globe with as much success as he has climbed Vesuvius, and will traverse, as we hear he is on the point of doing, the wilds of Siberia.

We are in general apt to estimate the deprivation of sight at a far higher rate than its original and native absence. If those, who have been blind from their birth, be cheerful and contented, as is so commonly remarked, we attribute it at once to ignorance, and conclude that had they ever enjoyed the sense of sight, the remembrance of its charms, with the despair of recovering them, would cast the gloom of despondency on their brow, and colour their thoughts with the monotonous hues of complaint. And indeed, were it not for the condolences of their friends, they would no more think of deploring the want of it, or of speculating on its advantages, than we, who are in possession of all that nature has allotted to our kind, of seeking for what we never heard of, and the utility of which we can never conceive. But Mr. Holman presents, in his own person, a conspicuous and unquestionable fact to negative our previous conceptions. He is himself an instance of one who has shared the full benefit of this precious faculty till five-and-twenty; and yet, after the loss of it, retaining a cheerfulness, a liveliness, and activity, coupled with a degree of resignation, that leave us little to lament for him. The advantage is greatly in favour of those who have once participated of the blessing. Observe those who have been blind from their birth; they have no knowledge of forms but from feeling; and the inadequacy of this faculty for the complete perception

ception of forms is perfectly obvious; some are too large to be grasped, others too small to be handled, and others too remote to be reached: of motions, they know still less; of colours, nothing. The delicate workings of the human countenance, with all its eloquent indications, are lost to them. In a state of civilized life, feelings are suppressed, or displayed, or modified conventionally; and these modifications are acquirable solely by imitation, of the means of which the blind are utterly bereft. The natural expressions of their passions become just so many contortions; no tuition in the world can regulate them, destitute as they unhappily are of the sole mirror by which those expressions can be dressed and disciplined. They are, again, morally deficient; they know not when nor where to sympathize; they know not when nor where, as others do, to exhibit the symptoms of pleasure or disgust; nor even to smile, nor blush, nor weep, in accordance with the restrictions and admissions of society. They neither eat, nor drink, nor handle, like others; they cannot walk freely or fearlessly; or show either vigour of action, or grace of attitude. And how is it possible they should—depending on imitation, through the medium of sight, and of sight alone, as these things do? With all the benefit of the most vigilant inspection and monition, they can never acquire the ease and propriety of their more favoured fellows. The most minute and painful diligence on the part of those who have the care of them, is indispensable to make their appearance even tolerable. But the sad and lamentable consequence of these imperfections is, that while they irresistibly command our pity, our aid and our protection, they can rarely excite our esteem. The mere possession and exercise of the sound qualities of the heart are not enough to secure our esteem; we require them to be exhibited in the manner and measure to which custom has bound us, and to which we are, all of us, more or less indissolubly linked. All these sources of imperfection and of uncomfortable feeling, the man who has possessed the use of his eyes till the age of manhood, and mingled with the world, has had the due opportunity of perceiving and escaping. In the midst of after-darkness, his recollections are vivid; he knows what will be expected, and has habitually practised it; he recognises where and at what point the deficiency exists, and can provide for its supply; he has a distinct conception of the appearances of things, and can adapt his motions and phrases appropriately, and knows how to redeem the loss of one sense by the application of another. All this is remarkably and clearly exemplified in the case of Mr. Holman.

It is, again, the common opinion, that the loss of one sense is followed by superior sensibility in the rest. The fact is, a person deprived of one sense is compelled to make a more frequent use of

the rest—to attend more particularly to their indications. The powers of the other senses are more called into action ; but they do not acquire a greater capacity. *That* remains the same, but greater use is made of it. This superior efficacy, this increase of power, is usually ascribed almost exclusively to the touch ; and Mr. H. speaks of his in the same delusive tone. We suspect sounds become the source of much more considerable information than is generally supposed. There can be no motion without sound, and where there is life, there is motion ; every motion is peculiar, and the consequent sound is so too. Mr. H., we doubt not, will far better distinguish the roar of the waves, and the woods, and the distant roll of carriages, than we who have the double aid of eyes and ears, and can reciprocally correct the perceptions of one organ by the communications of the other. Mr. H. talks of an “undefinable power, almost resembling instinct, which he believes in a lively manner gives him ideas of whatever may be going forward externally.” This power, if its source be not in sounds, which we take to be the more probable conjecture, may be the result of his long acquaintance with visible things ; which his recollections as yet bring vividly before him ; but which, not proceeding immediately from sight, he attributes to some mysterious origin. In this case, a person blind from his birth can have no such sensations ; and we apprehend Mr. H. must lose them as his recollections fade away.

Mr. H. is a moral spectacle,—he will excuse this little anatomy of ours ; he has furnished us with little else to arrest our attention. The incidents of his tour are of slender interest ; and for his descriptions he is necessarily indebted to previous writers, or to the reports of his fellow-travellers, or to the gossiping of Ciceroni. We are disposed to receive his narrative with great complacency ; we are pleased with his good sense, and admire his activity and resolution ; we can tolerate the facetiousness now and then introduced, though of the coarser cast ; and will not be offended with his occasional levity, though it little harmonizes with the grave and compassionate feelings which his privation insensibly, and in spite of all his gaiety, excites in our bosoms.

The dependency, which any deprivation of a serious kind necessarily inflicts, naturally leads to religious feelings ; and a most grateful and consoling consequence it is. But Mr. H. displays an unreasoning sort of piety, which we think quite unworthy of his understanding. When he resists the entreaties of his friends, and contends that his previous habits and experience were sufficient to direct him through the common occurrences to which a traveller is exposed, he reasons well ; but it is mere prattling to talk of trusting to the protection of God in the midst of dangers, to which we voluntarily and

and without any necessity expose ourselves, and from which nothing but direct interference can rescue us. We have no warrant for rushing into unnecessary danger, and still less for expecting the laws of nature, which are the laws of providence, to be suspended in our favour. Otherwise, how shall we reconcile the destruction of myriads by what are termed *accidental* means? It is the ordinance of God, that we make use of our knowledge, and shun the perils which we are unable to encounter or repel. And again, when his friend at Bourdeaux took him to a woman of some celebrity for the cure of blindness, he says, "I wanted faith in her power to serve me; and, moreover, was satisfied with the opinions in which my medical friends had concurred, as well as reconciled to my deprivation, and *resigned to the will of providence.*" Still he had not neglected to seek the aid of surgical skill, and wisely; for what know we of the will of providence in matters of this kind, but that we are left at perfect liberty to use all the means, instruments, and remedies, which he has kindly cast in our way? It is pious, and a duty, to endure with patience and resignation whatever proves to be unchangeable; but to embrace an evil, when there is hope or prospect of removal, is not piety, but puerility.

We do not propose to track Mr. H. through his three years' tour. The labour would be alike wearisome and unprofitable. Of the places, which he has visited, he has nothing new to communicate, and we have similar tours in abundance from persons of equal credit and perfect vision. His book is strictly a "personal narrative," and will make that novel phrase much more familiar than Baron Humboldt's volumes, which, replete with science and speculation as they are, even to satiety, but bare of incident, are very little observant of the demands of their title. We shall give a few unconnected passages from Mr. H.'s book; such as are somewhat remarkable for interest or good sense.

CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH.

"There is something highly fascinating in the exterior, manners and converse of a Frenchman: courteous in his behaviour, he evinces a strong desire to please and be pleased; but although he manifests the speciousness of ardent friendship, his heart is not the soil in which this quality is capable of taking a firm and unshaken root; for as soon as the source from which it has emanated, and been supported, ceases to be present, the previous impressions disappear, and a blank is offered for the reception of new ones, equally vivid, but equally superficial.

"This mixture of susceptibility and indifference makes the Frenchman a gay and pleasing, but at the same time an uncertain, companion; he does not, like the Englishman, dwell on the enjoyments of the past, and entangle his mind with useless and prolonged regrets, but is ever ready to enliven new scenes of social intercourse; in short, he can ill sustain a state of *tristesse*, which he considers all his reflecting moments, and, whether thrown into contact

contact with his countrymen or strangers, is a sensualist in his social feelings, and must seek for pleasure and amusement; for in this he lives and has his being, and that man is his dearest friend who most contributes to his gratification.

"With respect to the fair sex, they are generally lively and fascinating; and possessed of susceptible feelings capable of being converted into strong attachments. These are some of the essential requisites for forming an amiable and virtuous character; but, alas! the good is perverted by the influence of an injudicious and trifling system of education, extended at most to superficial literary acquisitions, which barely serve for the dictation of an ungrammatical *billet-doux*, or the copying of a song. The most devoted attention is given to the art of pleasing, and the study of dress; attentions to which, with the auxiliaries of music and embroidery, form the leading occupations of young French females.

"In conversation they are acute, playful, and frequently sensible; but it cannot be wondered at, when the defects of education are taken into account, that there should be little which sinks deep into the heart and leaves an impression or promise of future matron-like virtue. Many ladies are, however, educated in convents, where they acquire a temporary spirit of bigotry, which wears off after they return into the world, and frequently leaves behind it a proportionate vacuum, or want of religious feeling.

"They generally marry young enough to enable a judicious husband to form a character if defective, or to correct it if deformed: but here they are truly to be pitied; for they soon experience a culpable neglect from those men who ought to be their inseparable protectors and advisers, and who, preferring the society of others, leave them incautiously to their own pursuits and feelings. Is it to be wondered at they should cease to cultivate the domestic virtues?

"To conclude, the French female contains within her those principles, which, under proper cultivation, would produce excellent wives and estimable women; and it is a serious reflection upon the national character, that such principles should be sacrificed by the indifference and neglect of those whose duty as well as interest it is, to elicit and establish her virtues." p. 70, &c.

VISIT TO THE VATICAN.

"My feelings on entering this museum of the finest sculpture in the world, were not of that rapturous nature which I hear every amateur of this beautiful and interesting art, or even a common observer, expresses. No! it was not with me as with others, who on entering the room are struck by a collection of the finest statues bursting on their view, not knowing what first or most to admire; being for a time lost in the confusion of delightful variety, and viewing them collectively, before they can fix their attention on any single object. How different were my feelings! for when it was announced that I was in the midst of these exquisite works of art, although my imagination was raised to the highest pitch, and well adapted to supply the deficiency of visual organs, it could but faintly convey to my mind the impressions which an ocular inspection as above described must have excited. This *coup d'œil*, with me, was not only wanting, but I had to walk up to each statue in rotation, and listen to a tame description of its beauties. I was not even allowed the advantage of examining by the touch, as soldiers were

were placed in each apartment to prevent such violation : had I been permitted this kind of examination, I doubt not that I might have been as highly gratified as those who saw ; for the sense of touch conveys to my mind as clear, or at least as satisfactory, ideas of the form, and I think I may add the force of expression, as sight does to others. I did occasionally examine them in this way by stealth, when I was apprized that the soldiers' backs were turned towards me." p. 152, &c.

M. HUBER.

" Among the incidents which I reflect upon with the greatest pleasure, I must place the very interesting visit we paid to M. Huber ; so well known in the literary world for his acute observations in Natural History, and particularly his patient and extraordinary investigation of the habits and economy of that valuable insect, the common honey-gathering bee. There existed a sympathy and fellow-feeling between this amiable man and myself of no common kind, for we had both of us long been secluded from all enjoyment of the ' visual ray ;' forty years before, and in the prime of life, M. Huber had the misfortune to lose his sight. Besides his superior acquaintance with natural history, M. Huber is a deep mathematician and accomplished musician.

" Before the present personal introduction, we were, however, not entirely unknown to each other, as through the medium of Dr. P—, when at Edinburgh, we had exchanged mutual compliments.

" At this time he was residing at his country house, about a mile and a half from Geneva. We here found him walking alone in his garden, for which purpose he has a string extended along a particular walk, which assists in guiding his steps with confidence when engaged in deep mental research.

" But, notwithstanding the public and literary character of M. Huber is so highly estimated, it is in the bosom of his family that his worth is most to be appreciated : his integrity, benevolence and urbanity have secured the respect and affection of all around him. He has been particularly fortunate in the companion of his domestic happiness. We had the pleasure of being introduced to Madame H., the following traits of whose character cannot fail to do her the highest honour. M. Huber and herself had formed an attachment for each other before his loss of sight : after this misfortune, her friends urged her to think no more of him ; but neither her affection nor magnanimity would allow her to desert in adversity that being whom she had loved in prosperity. They were married,—and she has had the exalted gratification of having bestowed a comfortable independence upon a worthy man, with whom she has now most happily descended far into the vale of life.

" One of the sons of M. Huber, emulating the literary character of his father, has distinguished himself by an Essay on the Economy of the Ant ; a work which has been thought worthy of translation into foreign languages.

" M. Huber's reception of me was cordial and flattering ; and after too short a visit for the full gratification of my feelings, I was obliged to tear myself away, impressed with indelible sentiments of respect and veneration for this truly amiable man and indefatigable philosopher." p. 291, &c.

MOUNT VESUVIUS.

" Notwithstanding the representations made to me on all sides, of the difficulties

difficulties which must attend it, my desire to visit Mount Vesuvius was of so ardent a nature that I certainly should have made the attempt alone, had not a friend, Mr. M., kindly volunteered to accompany me, but from whom, I have the vanity to say, I rather looked for amusement and information than guidance and protection. My friends endeavoured to dissuade me from this arduous undertaking; and when, after fully deciding upon the measure, I inquired in what way it was customary for others to make the ascent, replied, "Oh! they could *see* their way up." "Well, then," I retorted, "I have little doubt of being able to *feel* mine." I must acknowledge myself annoyed by having suggestions of difficulties persisted in, which I feel sensible in my own bosom do not insuperably exist; nor can I admit any person not in the same situation with myself, capable of estimating the powers, which, under the curtailment of one sense, another in consequence acquires. We set off from Naples about five o'clock in the afternoon, with the view of seeing the mountain by moonlight. After passing through Portici we reached Revina about seven o'clock, where we left the carriage to await our return and re-convey us to Naples. Taking a conductor from the house of Salvatori, whose family are esteemed the most respectable guides of the mountain, we immediately commenced our ascent. A number of asses are constantly in attendance at this point, for the purpose of assisting such as are incapable of walking, or apprehensive of fatigue, and which are able to convey their riders two-thirds of the way towards the summit; but in order that I might acquire a more correct idea of the nature of the road, we gave the preference to walking. We proceeded along a fair road until we arrived at a house about half way to the hermitage, where we rested a short time, and refreshed ourselves with wine and water; after this the road gradually became worse, so that if I had not on former occasions witnessed the astonishing powers of asses and mules, I should have conceived it impossible for them to have advanced along it. We reached the hermitage about half after eight, and at the suggestion of our guide recruited ourselves with some of the hermit's bread and wine; and then began the more arduous part of our journey. The road soon became very soft, being constituted of the light dust which had been thrown out from the crater; interspersed, however, with large and sharp stones ejected from the same source; some of which were of such immense size, that did we not bear in mind the astonishing powers of elementary fire, we could scarcely credit the possibility of such masses being hurled to this distance from out of the bowels of the mountain. One of the greatest inconveniences I found in this ascent was from the particles of ashes insinuating themselves within my shoes, and which annoyed my feet so much, that I was repeatedly compelled to take them off, in order to get rid of the irritating matter; hence I would recommend future travellers to ascend in white leathern boots.

"At length we reached the only part of the mountain which was at this time in a burning state, and which was throwing out flames and sulphurous vapour; when the guide, taking me by the arm, conducted me over a place where the fire and smoke issued from apertures between the stones we walked upon, and which we could hear crackling under our feet every instant, as if they were going to be separated and precipitate us into the bowels of the mountain. My imagination, I admit, was actively alive to the possible accidents which might have occurred; I followed, however, with all the confidence

confidence which my conviction of being under the care of a cautious leader did not fail to inspire. My guide appeared highly gratified with the incident, asserting that it was the first time one deprived of sight had ever ventured there; and adding that he was sure it would much surprise the king, when the circumstance became known to him, in the report which is daily made of the persons who visit the mountain. The ground was too hot under our feet, and the sulphurous vapour too strong, to allow of our remaining long in this situation; and when he thought he had given us a sufficient idea of the nature of this part of the mountain, we retired to a more solid and a cooler footing; previous to which, however, he directed my walking-cane towards the flames, which shrivelled the ferule and charred the lower part:—this I still retain as a memorial.

“From hence we were conducted to the edge of a small crater, now extinguished, from whence, about two months before, the Frenchman, rivalling the immortality of Empedocles, and desirous of the glory of dying a death worthy of the great nation, plunged into the fiery abyss. The guide placed my hand on the very spot where he was stated to have last stood before he thus rashly entered upon eternity. I was anxious to have proceeded up the cone to the border of the superior and large crater; but our guide objected, indeed refused, to conduct us to it, unless we awaited the dawn of morning: the moon, he said, was fast descending, so that we should be involved in darkness before we could attain it, and that consequently it would be attended with risk in the extreme to make the attempt.”

ART. XX.—*American Domestic Slavery.*

WE have before us “Minutes of the Seventeenth Session of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, assembled at Philadelphia” on the 3d of October, and continuing its sittings till the 29th of November, 1821; and are desirous of putting our readers briefly in possession of the present state of its affairs. It may be necessary, for the information of some of them, to observe, that this Convention consists of delegates from New York, Philadelphia, and Delaware; that its specific objects are the abolition of domestic slavery, and the protection of free Negroes illegally detained, and, generally, the improvement of the condition of the African race throughout the United States. The reports of the present session are, for the most part, of a very favourable kind: the constituent societies continue to add to their numbers; the schools for the education of Negro children prosper and increase; and kidnapping, though prevailing to an afflicting extent, is yet practised with less and less audacity—the public feeling, which has been created by the exertions of the Convention, rising progressively against it. On the other hand, the Reporters complain of the difficulties experienced in rescuing the victims from the gripe of their villainous captors; of obstacles thrown in
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the way of redress by quibbling evasions of the "Act for the gradual Abolition of Slavery;" of the failure of the attempt to persuade Congress to check the further extension of slavery in the south and west; and, with great reason and proper warmth, of its perpetration in Columbia, where the authority of Congress is peremptory, and local prejudices it might be supposed excluded. The acquisition of the Floridas is a new cause for the apprehension of further difficulties,—the demands of those states giving encouragement to kidnapping, and, by their remoteness and scattered population, facilitating concealment. Yet still the Convention has ample reason for congratulation, in the absolute good it has already effected, and in the fair promise of ultimate success from the growing popularity and diffusion of its principles and professions.

Such is the general tone of the Reports. Of the farther measures adopted before the breaking up of the session, we shall presently lay before our readers the "Plan for General Emancipation," and the "Circular Address," which will both afford a specimen of the spirit of their conduct, and prove that the management of the great concern is in able hands.

The continued existence of slavery in so large a portion of the United States, is a favourite topic of vituperation, in this country, with those who cherish a rancorous hatred against the Americans. This hatred has its source in political antipathies, and perhaps in commercial jealousies. But of all irrational things, national hatred is surely the most so. It neither reasons nor reflects. It is struck with no inconsistencies. *We* have, it is true, abandoned the right of enslaving our fellows: but is it for that cause to be forgotten, that our common ancestors were the authors of those laws which legalised the trading in slaves in this country, and established domestic slavery in America;—that, in this country, slavery was no other than a matter of trade, but that in America it constitutes a most important element of society;—that its renunciation in the one case, therefore, only cut away the unholy gains of a few traders, and interfered with the West India proprietors, but that, in the other, it destroys an habitual and general form of domestic accommodation throughout a whole nation? We do not say these distinctions exculpate the Americans; but we do say they account very satisfactorily for the greater embarrassments and longer delays encountered by the American abolitionists.

The right to enslave, constituted a part and parcel of the law of both countries: we have now abjured that right; but this abjuration of ours is neither of so remote a date, nor were we so prompt or unanimous in renouncing our share in that enormous abuse of power, as to exult in our own virtue, or to triumph over the tardy repentance

repentance of others, or to look down with scorn upon the efforts of those who are treading in the very footsteps of our own benevolent countrymen. It was by the most unwearied labour and perseverance, that a few active philanthropists resolutely but slowly worked their purpose amidst a thousand impediments opposed to them, as was natural, by those whose "craft was in danger," and unhappily, but as was equally natural, by bigoted statesmen, and their servile dependents, though *their* craft was in none. And was this purpose at last brought about by the acclamation of general conviction? No such thing: it was rather by the lucky preponderance of an able but transient and unpopular administration. Had the question of abolition been delayed one little month, we should, doubtless, at this very moment, have been plunged in deeper guilt, because with less excuse, than America herself. To be sure, the detestation of slavery seems now, and no doubt is, sincere and universal; no one dreams of reviving or of defending it; we might wonder, if any change of this kind could stir our wonder, what has become of all its stout supporters. But no one will suppose this sudden and general change of sentiment sprang from conviction. It is for the most part a familiar acquiescence in the current state of things. The iniquitous practice has ceased to be customary with us, and we are free to revile it in others. The temptation, along with the power, to commit the crime is withdrawn; and absence of guilt constitutes our purity:—such is the root of many of our fancied virtues. Still we entertain no manner of doubt, that the steady friends of humanity would eventually have carried their point against any set of men, or accumulation of obstacles; but it must have been the slow work of time and of importunity—convincing some into co-operation, but wearying out the opposition of more.

The same laborious and hard-won, perhaps the same fortuitous, victory, awaits the American abolitionists; they will not flag in their exertions: the virtuous end of their efforts will stimulate and strengthen them; and the indolence of the many will naturally sink under the activity of the few.

The foes of America, in the eagerness of their hostility, forget that she has by far the harder task to perform. It is not with her as it was with us. One act of our legislature swept the disgraceful sanction from our statute books for ever. In America, every State has its distinct legislature; and when opposition is surmounted in one, the same labours are to be toiled through in another, except so far as one instance of success is sure to smooth the way for a second.

But there is another point of difference, to which we have already
ready

ready alluded, and which, as it presents to America a more insuperable difficulty, is calculated to check a little the pride of our exultation. The greater part of the people of this country had no personal interest in slavery; it was a branch of commerce, and no more affected the customs and accommodations of Englishmen, than any the most indifferent carrying trade exercised by the obscurest merchant in the country. In America generally, every landholder of any importance, is, or has been, at the same time a slaveholder; his lands are tilled by slaves; they are his servants, in doors and out doors. Emancipation, therefore, comes home to him; it interferes with the management of his domestic affairs, and promises to lessen his profits, and leave him perhaps to the labours of his own hands. It is to take from him power and property. It is to make him condescend to hire, what before he might scourge at his pleasure. It is to make him learn that the thing he commanded had a *will*, which is to be consulted before it operates in his favour. We are no professed apologists for America; but we think there are strong distinctions between her case and ours, and such as should rather lead us to admire the extensive effects produced by a few benevolent individuals, than condemn a nation, because it will not do at once what no nation on earth ever yet did willingly,—renounce a long established custom.

It is no part of our intention at this time to enter minutely into the antecedent measures of the Convention. We have stated its general views; and hope to record its future proceedings, till it happily arrives at its ultimate object.

A Plan for the General Emancipation of Slaves.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights: among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments were instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”—*Declaration of Independence.*

“These self-evident truths, thus solemnly promulgated, and always admitted in theory, at least in relation to ourselves, are well known to be partially denied or disregarded, in most sections of the Union, in relation to the descendants of the African race. That a nation professing the principles of equal rights, and loudly proclaiming the justice of its laws, should contain a population, amounting to nearly one-seventh of the whole, who know little of the operation of those laws, except as instruments of oppression, is one of those political phenomena which prove how little the patriot's boast, or the orator's declamation, is guided by the light of truth.

“It must be admitted that it would neither be politic nor safe for the present system of slavery in the United States to be long continued, without providing some wise and certain means of eventual emancipation.

“Slavery,

"Slavery, with its present degrading characteristics, is a state of actual hostility between master and slave, in which 'a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; and this may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take part with us in such a contest.'—*Jefferson*.

"It is a truth generally acknowledged, that slavery is an evil, not only by those whom principle or education has taught to proscribe the practice, but by men of reflection, even in the very vortex of slavery. To condemn, then, what few, if any, will presume to defend, is rendered unnecessary; and the ingenuity of the philanthropist would be more judiciously exercised in devising a practicable remedy for this deep-rooted disease, than in heaping reproaches upon those, who, by the conduct of their ancestors, are placed in the condition of masters of slaves. Few of those who from their childhood have been placed in situations far removed from the scenes which slavery exhibits, can fully appreciate the difficulties, the vexations, and the anxieties, incident to the life of a slave-holder. To devise a plan, then, by which the condition both of the master and slave may be ameliorated, is a desideratum in the policy of this country:—a plan which will promote the immediate interest of the master, in the same ratio, that the slave is made to rise in the scale of moral and intellectual improvement; and which will eventuate in the ultimate enfranchisement of the long injured and degraded descendants of Africa. The evils of slavery being generally acknowledged, and its impolicy fully evinced, the important question which remains to be solved, will naturally present itself:—What are the means by which this evil is to be removed, consistently with the safety of the master and the happiness of the slave? Perhaps to some this question, considered on the ground of absolute justice, may appear of easy solution,—*Immediate, universal emancipation*.

"But however pleasing the prospect may be to the philanthropist, of getting clear of one of the evils of slavery, yet a full examination of local circumstances must convince us that this would be to cut, rather than untie, the Gordian knot.

"Reformation on a large scale is commonly slow. Habits long established are not easily and suddenly changed. But were it possible to induce the inhabitants of the slave-holding States to proclaim liberty to the captives, and to let loose at once the whole tide of black population, it may reasonably be questioned whether such a measure would not produce as much evil as it would cure. Besides, such a measure, if it were practicable, would fall short of simple justice. We owe to that injured race an immense debt, which the liberation of their bodies alone would not liquidate. It has been the policy of the slave-holder to keep the man whom he has doomed to interminable servitude, in the lowest state of mental degradation; to withhold from him as much as possible the means of improving the talents which nature has given him;—in short, to reduce him as near to the condition of a machine as a rational being could be. Every inducement, every excitement, to the exertion and development of native talent and genius, is wanting in the slave. Hence, to throw such a being, thus degraded, thus brutalized, upon society; and then expect him to exercise those rights which are the birthright of every son and daughter of Adam, with advantage to himself, or to the community upon which he is thrown, is to suppose that the laws established for the government of universal nature, should in this case be changed. As well might

might we expect a man to be born in the full maturity of his mental faculties, or an infant to run before it had learned the use of its limbs.

"A plan, then, for universal emancipation, to be practicable, must be gradual. The slave must be made to pass through a state of pupillage and minority, to fit him for the enjoyment and exercise of rational liberty.

"If then the extremes of emancipation, and perpetual, unlimited slavery, be dangerous, and impolitic, 'the safe and advisable measure must be between them.' And this brings us again to the question, How can we get clear of the evils of slavery, with safety to the master and advantage to the slave? For the solution of this difficult problem, the following Outlines of a plan for a gradual but *general* and *universal* emancipation are proposed. Let the slaves be attached to the soil,—give them an interest in the land they cultivate. Place them in the same situation in relation to their masters, as the peasantry of Russia in relation to their landlords. Let wise and salutary laws be enacted, in the several slave-holding States, for their general government. These laws should provide for the means of extending to the children of every slave, the benefits of school learning. The practice of arbitrary punishment for the most trivial offences, should be abolished.

"An important step towards the accomplishment of this plan would be, to prohibit by law the migration or transportation of slaves from one State to another:—and also to provide, that no slave should be sold, out of the county or town in which his master resides, without his own consent. Provision should then be made for the introduction of a system of general instruction on each farm or plantation; each slave who has a family should be furnished with a hut, and a portion of land to cultivate for his own use; for which he should pay to the landlord an annual rent. For each day he was employed by the master or landlord, he should be allowed a stipulated price: out of the proceeds of his stipulated wages, those things necessary for his comfortable maintenance should be deducted, if furnished by the master.

"The time given him to cultivate his allotment of ground, should be deducted from his annual hire. A wise and equitable system of laws, adapted to the condition of Blacks, should be established for their government. Then a character would be formed among them; acts of diligence and fidelity would meet their appropriate reward, and negligence and crime would be followed by their merited chastisement. The execution of this plan, in its fullest extent, would be followed by increased profits to the landholder.

"It would be productive of incalculable advantage to the slave, both in his civil and moral condition:—and thus the interest of the master, and the melioration of the condition of the slave, would be gradually and reciprocally advanced in the progress of this experiment. Although legislative provisions would greatly facilitate the adoption of this plan, it is not necessary for individuals to wait the movement of Government. Any one may introduce it on his own plantation, and reap many of its most important advantages.

"The plan now proposed is not new. It is not a Utopian and visionary theory, unsupported by experience. It has been successfully tried in the Island of Barbadoes by the late Joshua Steele; and the result exceeded his most sanguine expectations. 'The first principles of his plan,' says Dr. Dickson, 'are the plain ones of treating the slaves as human creatures: moving them to action by the hope of reward, as well as the fear of punishment; giving them out of their own labours, wages and land, sufficient to afford them

them the plainest necessities ; and protecting them against the capricious violence, too often of ignorant, unthinking, or unprincipled, and perhaps drunken men and boys, invested with arbitrary powers, as their managers, and ' drivers.' His plan is founded in nature, and has nothing in it of rash innovation. It does not hurry forward a new order of things ;—it recommends no fine projects, or ticklish experiments ; but, by a few safe and easy steps, and a few simple applications of English law, opens the way for the gradual introduction of a better system.' 'To advance above three hundred debased field Negroes, who had never before moved without the whip, to a state nearly resembling that of contented, honest and industrious servants ; and, after paying them for their labour, to triple in a few years the annual net clearance of his estates—these were great achievements for an aged man, in an untried field of improvement, preoccupied by inveterate vulgar prejudices. He has indeed accomplished all that was really doubtful or difficult in the undertaking ; and perhaps all that is at present desirable, either to owner or slave : for he has ascertained as a fact,—what was before only known to the learned as a theory, and to practical men as a paradox,—that the paying of slaves for their labour, does actually produce a very great profit to their owners.'"

" CIRCULAR ADDRESS

To the Abolition and Manumission Societies in the United States of America.

" At the close of the session of 1831, the American Convention deem it proper to address you on the important subjects which have occupied our attention.

" In reviewing the labours of Abolition Societies in this country, we find much reason for congratulation. The cause of truth and humanity has regularly advanced in the minds of an enlightened community ; and nothing but perseverance, in presenting this subject to the public in its appropriate simplicity, is requisite to promote its triumphant march over the prejudice, hostility, and opposition of its enemies. To the perseverance of its advocates alone may be imputed the great change in the public opinion, in favour of the abolition of slavery, that has already been effected in the northern, middle, and some of the western States : and we confidently hope that this will ultimately produce a similar change in the south. We therefore trust, that you will never relax your efforts to promote the emancipation of slaves, till every human being in the United States shall equally enjoy all the blessings of our free constitution,

" The best mode of effecting the abolition of slavery, so as to promote the interests and the happiness of the slave, and to be satisfactory to the master, is a subject of difficult solution ; and one that has much engaged the attention of the Convention. However desirable a total emancipation might be to the philanthropist, we cannot expect the speedy accomplishment of that event.

" Although the subject of colonizing the free Blacks has been repeatedly considered and disapproved by former Conventions ; it has been revived, fully discussed, and, as we trust, definitively decided by this, that such a colony, either in Africa or in our own country, would be incompatible with the principles of our Government, and with the temporal and spiritual interests of the Blacks.

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"How far voluntary emigration to Hayti should be encouraged, is a question which we do not possess sufficient information to decide; but which may receive much additional light from the correspondence already directed to be instituted for that purpose. We think it worthy of consideration, how far any measure should be recommended that may tend to draw from our country the most industrious, moral, and respectable of its coloured population, and thus deprive others, less improved, of the benefit of their example and advice.

"Deeply injured as they have been by the Whites, the coloured people certainly claim from us some degree of retributive justice. And if our efforts succeed in improving their intellectual and moral condition, and in imparting to them a correct knowledge of the only true God, we shall do much towards compensating them for all the wrongs they have sustained. This object can be best attained by their permanent residence in a Christian country, and under suitable moral and religious instruction.

"Influenced by a conviction of this truth, our attention has been directed to a gradual melioration of their condition, and to the adoption of such measures as will conduce to their elevation to a higher rank in society. We conceive that these objects may be promoted, by giving the slaves an interest in the soil they cultivate, by placing them, in relation to their masters, in a situation somewhat similar to that in which the peasantry of Russia are placed in relation to their landlords.

"This plan has been successfully executed by an extensive planter in Barbadoes; and it was found to conduce essentially to the promotion of his interests, and the moral and industrious habits of his slaves. Should our southern planters be induced to adopt a similar course, there is no doubt that the result would be equally favourable.

"We think it particularly desirable, that the Legislatures of the slaveholding States should be induced to fix a period after which all who are born of slaves shall be free. This is an object which we ought never to lose sight of, until it is attained. Although this period should be remote, and therefore no benefit be afforded to the present generation, yet an inestimable benefit would thus be ensured to posterity."

ART. XXI.—*African Instruction.*

THE minutest fact, which contributes in the minutest degree to the promotion of this capital object, is calculated to call forth a very awakening interest, and cannot be too early or too extensively circulated. The instruction of the African world is an object, the magnitude of which—apparently so far beyond the reach of all ordinary and accessible expedients—strikes despair into the most executive bosom. Any thing like a new opening is an agreeable surprise, and an encouraging stimulus. Projectors are ever for accomplishing too much at once, and all by single measures, and on a grand scale, and thus by aiming at efforts beyond all attainable execution usually defeat their own purposes.

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But "here a little, and there a little," perseverance, watchfulness, seizure of small opportunities,—these are the slow but certain methods of effecting the most arduous undertakings. These are the homely but valuable qualities of earnestness; and such as are blessed with successes, where the flashes of occasional rigour and the parading of public profession terminate in less than nothing. It is a prime object with us, to give publicity to every effort in the cause of African improvement. We present our readers with the account of a small society established recently for this noble purpose among a few Quakers, whose silent labours are probably altogether unknown out of the narrow circle of their immediate connexion.

"The present publication* is offered to the notice of the Society of Friends, by a Committee, to whom was confided the management of a small fund, raised by members of that society, for the purpose of promoting *African Instruction*: an object which, superior as it is in *intrinsic* importance, even to the vindication of the personal rights of that oppressed people, may be admitted by us, who feel interested in their welfare, to have, at least, an equal claim upon our attention.

"It will be in the recollection of many friends, that about the close of the year 1819, this subject was brought forward in London by our friend Hannah Kilham of Sheffield, whose mind had been for some years under an impression of duty to employ her talents in this way for the benefit of these untutored members of the human family; and that a subscription was soon afterwards set on foot to defray the necessary expenses of educating, or teaching, some young Africans, under her superintendence. Her views extend not merely to the personal instruction of individuals, but to the forming of an Institution for cultivating some of the unwritten languages of Africa: for reducing them to grammatical principles: composing elementary books: translating portions of the Scriptures†, and diffusing them, by the instrumentality of the natives, and through the medium of school-teaching, among their countrymen.

"For these purposes, and with the concurrence of several friends, who agreed to act as a Committee, Hannah Kilham took under her care, in the Third Month, 1820, two African youths as pupils. The one, named *Sandancee*, is from Goree; the other *Mahmadee*, from the banks of the Gambia. Both of them speak the Jaloof (or Waloof) language; in which our friend herself has since become, by continued application, a considerable proficient,

* "Report of the Committee managing a Fund raised by some Friends for the Purpose of promoting African Instruction; with an Account of a Visit to the Gambia and Sierra Leone:—published by Harvey, Darton, and Co." We recommend the "Visit" as full of good sense, and bearing the visible impress of truth and sober observation.

† "The superintendant of the school at Free Town gave me a grammar and vocabulary of the Bullom language; and informed me, that he has translated into the same tongue, the four Gospels. The Gospel by Matthew is printed. George Caulker, a Native man of rank, is translating into another dialect of the Bullom, some parts of the Scripture."

and is now employing the knowledge she has acquired in the formation of elementary lessons, for the purposes of teaching and translation. These pupils have conducted themselves with propriety, applying diligently to their learning, and evincing qualities of mind, in respect both of talent and disposition, which may be deemed altogether encouraging at the commencement of a labour so arduous and uncertain as is that of imparting instruction to those, whose infancy and early youth have been passed in almost total ignorance. Their present proficiency will be reported in its place.

"The next step in the prosecution of these endeavours presented greater difficulty. The work of forming teachers, on this side the water, was necessarily connected with prospective measures, as to the best mode of employing them (when they should be deemed fit for employment) among their countrymen; and a direct intercourse with the natives, especially with some of their chiefs, began to appear desirable, both for this object and for the purpose of completing the necessary elementary books in the Jaloof language. Thus circumstanced, the Committee received an unexpected offer from William Singleton, of Loxley near Sheffield, (under whose care the two Africans had been for some time receiving their English instruction,) to proceed to Africa, on such service as the Committee might think fit to assign to him, in furtherance of the general object; which, it appears, had by this time deeply interested his mind. The Committee having made such inquiries as the case suggested, and deliberately considered his proposals, after a personal conference, accepted his aid for the present occasion. He was instructed to visit, and open a friendly intercourse with, the chiefs of the Jaloof nation; to engage, with their own consent, and that of their friends or parents, two more pupils of that nation; and to employ his leisure time in collecting information on the state of the country, the natives, and their language: he was left at liberty to return by way of Sierra Leone, in order to have a view of the improvements going on among the natives attached to that settlement. William Singleton sailed towards the end of 1820; and returned, in good health, after a visit to the Gambia and Sierra Leone, in the seventh month, 1821, his stay in Africa having been originally limited by the Committee, on prudential considerations, to the commencement of the rainy season in those latitudes. His voyage, and abode on the continent, though not productive of the whole result that was desired, has materially contributed, by a variety of information derived through his means, to clear the way for future proceedings, should the object in view receive the support of friends to the requisite extent. His Report to the Committee, and extracts from his Journal, contain a sufficient store of facts, it is hoped, to satisfy the subscribers to the fund, that this portion of it has not been improperly applied.

"Since the return of William Singleton, the Committee have had opportunities of conferring with respectable merchants, and others acquainted with the Gambia, (some of whom had rendered important services to W. S. there,) on the subject of the plan in contemplation. It is believed on their evidence, in concurrence with that of W. S., that the instruction of the natives in reading, writing, and useful arts, will be a measure acceptable to the European settlers, and will receive their countenance and support; that the Africans treat with respect those persons who at present travel among them, from the European settlements, on account of commerce; and that the slave-trade, which was the impediment the most apprehended, is not now so prevalent;
either

either on the Gambia, or in the parts near it in intercourse with the English, as to offer a reasonable ground for delay on that account. How readily the natives themselves are likely to fall in with sincere and disinterested tenders of service in this way, the journal itself will, in different parts, demonstrate. Indeed, the superiority of Europeans over them in useful knowledge, is sufficiently evident to themselves, and often confessed; and although the moral and religious improvement of these people be our immediate object, it is manifest that instruction, such as we propose to convey, must directly tend to elevate their conceptions to a just sense of their capacities and privileges, as members of the great human family, and consequently to promote their civil advancement, and the final extirpation of slavery from among them*.

"It remains only to add, previously to exhibiting the proofs of African capacity, obtained in the case of the two present pupils, that a person of colour, a native of Senegal, well skilled in the Jaloof and Foulah tongues, and otherwise qualified by a knowledge of Arabic, French, and English, to form a judgement of this undertaking, has given to the Committee an opinion decidedly in its favour, as regards both the practicability of reducing the African languages to writing, and the general solidity of the principles adopted by our friend Hannah Kilham in her labours. From this intelligent stranger, much valuable information has been likewise received on the subject of the Jaloof language."

* *

"Thus it is proposed to open, with that people whose cause we have long been engaged to plead with their oppressors, a direct and continued intercourse, with a view to impart to them some measure of the blessings and benefits conferred upon us (for this end, doubtless, among others,) by a wise and gracious Providence. Our sympathy was, many years since, awakened on their behalf by the knowledge we had acquired of the circumstances of the slave-trade; and in the great work of procuring the abolition of this gigantic evil, for Britain and her dependencies, we laboured as early and as earnestly as any of our countrymen. Our attention is even now directed to a search after the best means of perfecting this work of mercy. We avow the desire and the purpose, still to plead the cause of the sons of Africa, and to use our best endeavours, in concert with benevolent men of our own and other nations, to put an end to the vile traffic in the persons of men, wherever practised. Do not the circumstances into which we have been led by this engagement, bring home yet further claims on our benevolence towards this people? Can we be thus desirous to secure, to a whole nation, the quiet and permanent enjoyment of their freedom and natural privileges, but on a princi-

* "On the subject of instructing the Africans, Samuel Thorp, of Wilberforce Town, thus expressed himself: 'If a man would do good among the natives in the bush, he must be content to abide there in patience, set them a good example of industry, and begin to educate the children. With these he may succeed; but preaching to the adults is entering on subjects which they have neither inclination nor ability to comprehend. He ought so to conduct himself as to gain the confidence of the natives, and to give them an opportunity of distinguishing between his character and intentions, and those of such white men as have only their own interest in view.'"

ple of Christian love? And will not the same principle, followed out to its remoter effects, lead us also to desire, and endeavour, that they may become fellow-partakers with us, in the higher and enduring privileges of the gospel? We would wish, doubtless, that their liberties, once acquired, should be used to the glory of their and our Creator, and to the advancement of the kingdom of the Redeemer upon earth. But it is not by leaving them *free in a state of degrading ignorance and helpless barbarism*, that we can hope to contribute to this happy and beneficial result. We have it in our power to impart to them the kind and degree of instruction, requisite to prepare their minds for the reception of, at least, the historical truths of the Christian religion, and of those records so interesting to all men, of the origin of mankind, and of the Divine dispensations in successive ages of the world.

"Need we much persuasion to induce us to do, in this case, to others as we would, in like circumstances, they should do to us: nay, as others have already done in our behalf, through the medium of our predecessors, the ancient inhabitants of these islands;—a people more rude, if we may credit history, than the poor Africans we are now called to succour; a people who, until the light of the Christian religion broke in upon them, wandered in their native forests, naked and tattooed, feeding on acorns, and offering human sacrifices to false gods? With such an opportunity before us as now exists, shall we wait to see the rudiments of useful knowledge planted, at some distant day, in the wilds of Africa,—not by the peaceable hands of *neighbours*, (for he is my neighbour, however remote his dwelling, who takes pains to do me good,) but by some *warrior*, subduing and giving laws to the land for his own aggrandizement? Such was the lot of us Britons in a remote and perilous age: but the dispensations of Divine Wisdom are unsearchable; good was still educed from seeming evil. He whose mercy is in the heavens, and whose faithfulness reacheth unto the clouds, was still favourable to our land in the midst of its many distresses: the seeds of Christianity were sown; they grew and prospered; and we now see around us the rising harvest. Rejoicing, as we do, in blessings and benefits thus conferred upon us, is it not our incumbent duty, when the way opens, and the leadings of the Providential hand towards a particular nation are discernible in this respect, cheerfully to apply ourselves, as we may be enabled, to the task of imparting to them a measure of that instruction, which, of His unmerited bounty, we have received? The work (it may be said) is great, and our abilities and means comparatively very small. Be it so: but of this we may be assured, that it is now possible for us to *begin* to convey instruction to the natives of that large and interesting continent. The talent is already in our hands: let us occupy with it; and in due season, that which we, if we have faith and courage, shall now originate, may be carried forward by those who shall come after us, with still greater facilities, and with equal perseverance, to a successful issue: both we and they relying on *His* support, and trusting in *His* sufficiency, who hath declared, 'I will gather *all nations and tongues*; and they shall come, and see my glory.' Isa. lxvi. 18."

OBITUARY.

THE DUKE OF SAXE-GOTHA.

Died on the 17th May, aged fifty, the Duke Augustus of Saxe Gotha. He was a distinguished patron of learning. Of his own works, nothing has been printed, except "The Kyllenion, or I too was in Arcadia: Gotha 1805." He dedicated almost every morning to an extensive literary correspondence and to composition. The travels of the lamented Dr. Seetzen, undertaken under his patronage, the residence of numerous artists in Italy at his expense, and the liberal encouragement which he afforded to others, are striking proofs of his love of the Arts. He leaves a valuable cabinet; also a collection of stones found in animals. The Chinese cabinet, unequalled in Germany, perhaps in Europe, the collections made by Seetzen, and his valuable private library, are bequeathed by his will to the public.

THE ABBÉ SICARD.

May 11. At Paris, aged 80, the Abbé Sicard, the philanthropic and celebrated Director of the Institution of the Deaf and Dumb. He was born at Touseret, near Toulouse, on the 20th Sept. 1742, in which latter city he went through his studies with great distinction; and when of sufficient age, he became an Ecclesiastic, to the duties of which profession he at first entirely devoted his attention, and became vicar-general of Condour, canon of Bourdeaux, and member of the Academy of Sciences in that city: but these he afterwards relinquished, to make himself more useful in another sphere. M. de Cicé, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, having formed a design of establishing a school for the deaf and dumb in his diocese, determined to give the direction of it to the Abbé Sicard, and for this purpose sent him to Paris, to learn the system of the celebrated Abbé de l'Epée.

On his return to Bourdeaux the school was formed, and one of his first pupils was Massieu, then of age, whose astonishing progress afterwards contributed so much to increase the reputation of his master. On the death of the Abbé de l'Epée, in 1789, he was called to succeed him in the direction of the establishment at Paris.

In 1792, the Abbé Sicard was arrested in the midst of his pupils, while engaged in a task that would have excited the respect and admiration of any other persons than those who were implicated in the scenes which at that time disgraced the national character of France: he was conducted to the committee of his section at the arsenal, and afterwards to the mayoralty.

The deaf and dumb pupils petitioned the Assembly for the release of their humane and respected master; upon which the minister of the interior was ordered to make a report of the motives of his arrest, which, however, was never made.

In consequence of many efforts made in his favour, he was on the 4th Sept. conducted from the Abbey to the National Assembly, where he made a speech, which was published in the newspapers. He gave a detailed account

of

of the dangers he encountered on this occasion, in the first volume of his *Religious Annals*. A letter may also be seen on the subject in the same volume.

After the Abbé was liberated and restored to his pupils, he was as much at ease as could be expected under the circumstances which then agitated France. In the beginning of 1796, he joined the Abbé Jauffret in compiling the *Religious, Political, and Literary Annals*; but they published only the first eighteen numbers, and left the compilation of the remainder to the Abbé de Boulogne. The Abbé Sicard alone continued to interest himself in this undertaking, and signed the numbers sometimes with his own name, and at others with the anagram *Dracis*, by which designation he was comprised in the banishment of the *Gazetiers*, and condemned to transportation by the Directory. He did not, however, go to Guienne, having found means to conceal himself in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau; after a time, the Abbé Sicard was restored to his duties. On the return of the Abbé, M. Chaptal, the minister of the interior, gave the establishment of the deaf and dumb his protection, and even projected plans for it, well calculated to promote its prosperity. A press was established at the Institution, which offered the advantage of teaching the pupils an art which they might afterwards turn to advantage. This press was put in activity in December 1800, by which the deaf and dumb, in a short time, became acquainted with the art of printing. It was from this press that the Abbé published most of his works. The public exercises of the Abbé attracted much attention; he took great pleasure in them, as they contributed to increase the popularity of his system by the success of his pupils, and the astonishing proofs they gave of a sound understanding. He frequently exhibited Massieu, whose intelligence and sagacity were admired by all Paris; he was the Abbé's favourite pupil, and the one who first gave splendour and reputation to the system in which he was instructed.

It was upon the model of his school that almost all similar institutions were formed. His name was not less celebrated in foreign states than in France. The exercises of his pupils were objects of curiosity with all foreigners on their arrival at Paris. He took great pleasure in exhibiting them, and explaining his system and the improvements he made upon that of the Abbé de l'Épée.

Besides his situation of director and principal instructor of the school for deaf and dumb, he was a titular chaplain of *Nôtre Dame*: one of the managers of the *Hospital des Quinze Vingts*, and of the *Establishment des Travailleurs-Aveugles*: he was member of the second class of the Institute from its establishment; and one of the Commissioners named for abridging the *Dictionary of the French Language*; he enjoyed in this place a double entertainment. He was, besides, associated with several foreign academies, and decorated with orders by several monarchs.

The obsequies of the Abbé Sicard were celebrated at *Nôtre Dame*. The funeral was attended by the members of the Academy, the directors of the establishment of the deaf and dumb, and his young pupils. After divine service, the body was taken to the burying-ground du Père de la Chaise, where funeral orations were pronounced over his tomb. M. Bigot Prémereu spoke in the name of the Academy, and M. Lafond Ladebat in the name of the directors of the establishment.

SIR HENRY CHARLES ENGLEFIELD, BART.

Died lately in Tynney Street, May Fair, in the 70th year of his age, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart. Sir Henry was an excellent chemist, a profound antiquary, an able mathematician, a finished classic, and in fact there was hardly any department of literature or science in which he did not excell. It would be unjust to omit that the mental endowments, which furnished such varied sources of refined pleasure to himself, were rendered equally advantageous and interesting to others by the medium of a correct and easy style, the ornament of elegant manners, and, above all, by innumerable instances of his amiable and benevolent disposition. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1778, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in the following year. Of this latter society he proved himself a highly valuable member; as his numerous contributions to the *Archæologia* bear ample witness. He was many years one of the vice-presidents, and on the death of the late Marquis Townshend was elected president;—a well-deserved but short-lived honour (*his religious sentiments being the alleged barrier to his re-election*). The Earl of Aberdeen was chosen in his room. After this, he retired from all active concerns in the affairs of the Society. He was also a Fellow of the Linnean Society. Contributions from his pen may also be found in the Transactions of the Royal and Linnean Societies, in Nicholson's Journal, the Proceedings of the Royal Institution, and the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. The following memorial was addressed by Wm. Sotheby, Esq. to the Society of Dilettanti, on its first meeting after the decease of Sir Henry, who was its Secretary:—

“ Mr. President,

“ My apologies are due to you, sir, and to the Society, for this interruption; but I should feel it a dereliction of what weighs on my mind as a duty, if, when authorized by relationship to notify the decease of our late Secretary, I failed briefly to mention some of his distinguishing qualities,—qualities which cannot but painfully enhance the sense of the loss we have sustained. It is far from my intention to enumerate the various talents, each in itself far from common, far more uncommon from their union with each other, and all the more remarkable from that accuracy of judgement with which they were combined in the clear and comprehensive intellect of Sir Henry Englefield. The difficulty under which I now labour is, to disencumber myself from the multitude, and to select, where each justly claims due notice, those talents and attainments which may be most appropriately mentioned on the present occasion. For with what branch of knowledge, either useful or ornamental; with what art, what science, was not our accomplished Secretary, not merely slightly acquainted, but familiarly conversant? Of all an enlightened judge, of many no inconsiderable proficient. Shall I consider him in relation to this Society? It is scarcely necessary: you have all experienced, and gratefully acknowledged by an honorary gift, the advantages derived year after year from his zeal and ability. But can I consider him merely as the Secretary of this Society? No, sir: the functions exercised by him were virtually those of a perpetual President; not restricted solely to methodize the plans and regulate the proceedings of others, but eminently calculated to enlighten and lead, and (as we have frequently experienced) to originate measures which have made the elegant pursuits of a private society important

important to the State, by promoting the cultivation of arts eventually connected with the improvement of manufactures, and tending to the refinement and elevation of morals by multiplying the sources of intellectual pleasure, by supplying adequate objects for the excitement of talent, and rational gratification for the superfluity of wealth. But let me look beyond the limits of our Society, and notice some of the attainments of our accomplished associate; not casually acquired to indulge curiosity, or gratify an insatiable spirit, far less for ostentatious display, but the result of studies cautiously undertaken and closely pursued in subserviency to public benefit. Let us question the astronomer, enlightened by his observations; the chemist, enriched by his experiments; the geologist, whose labours have been facilitated by the perfection of his instruments; the painter, whose faint and fading colours have received lustre and permanency from his investigations: let us inquire of many an artist, now flourishing in the sunshine of prosperity, but who in his first struggle "seemed born to blush unseen," whose patronage encouraged, whose judgement directed, whose liberality sustained him?—from all these will be heard one answer, one consentient voice of eulogy mingled with sorrow. Let us, I will not say search, but open at random the printed transactions of Societies, the repositories of the inquiries, the disquisitions and the discoveries of the man of letters, the philosopher, and the antiquary; and in all these will be found abundant proofs of the spirit of research, and of the cultivation and meritorious employment of the natural gifts of Sir Henry Englefield. Of one subject I had almost forgotten the mention;—those delicate, nay hazardous, experiments in which he voluntarily engaged, in conjunction with the first comparative anatomist of our country, Sir Everard Home, assisted by the able mathematical optician Jesse Ramsden, more strictly to ascertain some of the powers and properties of vision; the powers of that sense of which he lived to feel the loss, and which was only restored to him to witness those whom he most loved tending his couch of death. But how can I, in utter disregard to my own feelings, fail to touch on the kindness of his heart, and on the warmth of his affections, which through life endeared him, and now hallows him in the recollection of his surviving friends? On this subject it is too painful to dwell. Let me not, however, omit some mention of those fascinating powers by which he contributed, more abundantly perhaps than any other individual, to the diffusion of social enjoyment. And here indeed one commendation might well suffice; the commendation of the highly gifted Charles Fox, who was wont to say that he never departed from his company uninstructed. Who indeed, that ever enjoyed his society, could fail of feeling a glow from the sunshine of his temper? Who of that extensive circle of talent and of cultivated intellect of which he was the attractive centre, but must have admired the variety, the extent, and the accuracy of his remarks; the spirit and vivacity of his converse; his easy and unassuming, yet persuasive and impressive, eloquence; that flow of fancy which enlivened by beautiful allusions, and that correctness of judgement which illustrated by striking analogies from all of art and nature almost every subject of intellect; and, lastly, that singular gift of memory, which I will not say gathered up and collected, but admitted and received, as into a well arranged treasury, the riches of the minds of others; nor there to rust unused, but to be re-coined, brilliant with new imagery, bearing the stamp and impression of his own creative genius?

genius? To the zeal of friendship doubly endeared by death, will, I trust, be ascribed and pardoned this attempt, however inadequate, to record departed excellence. Praise of the dead may perhaps be expressed not less forcibly than feelingly by the silent tear of love, esteem, and veneration: but praise of the dead is a debt due to the living; and there may be among the members of this distinguished society some younger bosoms, in which even the feeble words I have uttered may haply infuse a spirit to emulate the qualities which rendered your late associate the delight and ornament of society; the object of the warmest affections to his friends; and the judge, and guide, and patron of art and science. Such was Sir Henry Englefield, whose loss the members of this Society cannot but feel and lament in common; but to me, from the deprivation of the habitual enjoyments of a friendship endeared and strengthened by an intercourse of nearly half a century,—to me, a loss irreparable.

ANDREW JUKES, M.D.

Nov. 10, 1821. At Ispahan, in Persia, of a bilious fever, with which he was seized at Meyah, near the above city, whilst on his journey towards Teheran, Andrew Jukes, Esq. M.D. a surgeon on the Bombay establishment, holding the appointment of political agent at Kishm, and employed on a special mission to the court of Persia.

Dr. Jukes was born at Cound, in the county of Salop, December 17, 1774; and his public services in India commenced in 1798, from which time he was employed in the immediate line of his profession until 1802, when he was placed in charge of the medical duties of the Presidency of Bushire. Whilst in this situation, which he retained for many years, he applied himself to the study of the Persian and Arabic languages, with both of which he became familiarly acquainted; especially so with the former, which he spoke with elegance, and with a fluency to which few Europeans have attained. His residence at Bushire enabled him also to improve those qualifications for diplomatic employment, which afterwards led to his being selected for important political trusts. He accompanied Mr. Minesty to Jehran in 1804; attended the Persian ambassador, Mahomed Nubee Khan, to Calcutta, in 1805; and more recently served with the embassies of Sir Harford Jones and Sir John Malcolm to the court of Persia.

In 1811 he returned to his native country, where, during his stay, he cultivated an acquaintance with some of the most distinguished philosophers of the age, and sought instruction in the schools of science with the ardour and emulation of a youthful student.

At the latter end of December, 1814, he again departed for Bombay, where he resumed his professional duties, and had obtained the rank of superintending surgeon, when he was deputed in 1819 on a mission to the Iman of Muscat, preparatory to the expedition against the Joasmee pirates; and the satisfactory manner in which he fulfilled that trust probably led to the more important employment of Envoy from the Government of Bombay to the Court of Persia.

The event which it has been our painful duty to notice, has deprived Dr. Jukes of a part of that reputation which he must have acquired had he accomplished all the objects of his mission. The arrangements, however, which he effected with the Government of Shiraz (in which city he was
great

great part of the time that the *cholera morbus* raged therein with such terrific violence) terminated successfully; and had not his zeal prompted him to pursue his journey towards the capital for the confirmation of his negotiations, through difficulties and fatigues which his constitution was unequal to sustain, there can be little doubt that he would have brought them to a conclusion most honourable to himself and advantageous to the public interest.

The professional qualifications possessed by Dr. Jukes were of the highest order. Few men took to our Eastern dominions a more complete knowledge of the science in all its branches, and none have been more indefatigable in submitting that knowledge to the test of experience, or more assiduous in marking the improvements that have from time to time been effected by the exertions of others. But his manner whilst in attendance on the sick was quite characteristic, and could scarcely be excelled. He was scrupulously minute in his inquiries, unsparing of his personal exertions, bold and decisive in his practice; and with these qualities combined so much kindness and gentleness, and such tender solicitude to relieve the sufferings of his patients, and dispel all unnecessary alarm, that he at once secured the confidence and affection of all who experienced or witnessed his admirable arrangement. Nor was the exercise of his profession limited to those whom public duty had placed under his charge—it had, in fact, no limits but those which time and his own state of health imperiously prescribed. Prompted partly by benevolence, and partly by a desire to improve his knowledge by experience, he anxiously sought opportunities of exercising his talents, regardless of the difficulties that are inseparable from medical practice among a prejudiced and slothful people.

In scientific information he was distinguished even amongst the members of a profession by which it is so generally cultivated. The sciences of chemistry, mineralogy, geology and botany, all fell within the range of his acquirements; and if he did not attain eminence in all, he was so patient in his researches, so methodical in his habits, and so unreserved and faithful in his communications, that he was an invaluable correspondent of those philosophers who have had more leisure and fewer objects of research, and by whom his death cannot fail to be considered as a public misfortune.

He possessed also a refined taste in poetry, music, and the fine arts; and had applied himself with some success to each—in landscape drawing more particularly he displayed a considerable genius, and frequently devoted a part of his leisure hours to the exercise of that accomplishment.

As a member of society, he was characterized by a fine sense of honour, and a manly spirit of independence; by a heart full of charity, benevolence, and piety; by great sweetness and equanimity of temper; by cheerfulness and gentleness of manners; and by an ardent thirst after knowledge, joined to the freest disposition to impart it. It is perhaps superfluous to add that he was a delightful companion, and that in the more endearing relations of son, of husband, of father, and of friend, he possessed those excellencies which almost necessarily result from a combination of virtuous and agreeable qualities.

REV. PAYLER MATTHEW PROCTOR, A.M.

May 3. At Gloucester, aged 52, the Rev. Payler Matthew Proctor, A.M.
vicar

vicar of Newland, and incumbent of Christ Church in His Majesty's Forest of Dean, in the county of Gloucester.

Mr. Proctor was of Ben'et College, where he took the degrees of B.A. 1790; M.A. 1793. He was presented to the vicarage of Newland by the Bishop of Llandaff in 1808; and was, in the hand of Providence, the instrument of much good. The parish of Newland lies adjacent to the Forest of Dean, which contains 22,000 acres, and is inhabited by poor miners and colliers; who, as the Forest is extra-parochial, had no claim on the service of any clergyman, and in consequence were grossly ignorant. The church of Newland, of which Mr. Proctor was vicar, having been considered as the parish-church of the Forest for marriages, baptisms, and burials, he was frequently called upon to visit the sick. This led him to a knowledge of the state of their morals and religious views. Moved by compassion to their ignorance, Mr. P. began in 1804 his great work of moralising the part of the Forest* adjacent to him; and by the aid of public subscriptions was enabled in June 1812 to lay the foundation-stone of a building to be appropriated for six days in the week to the education of children, and for Divine Worship on the Sabbath-day. This chapel was consecrated July 17, 1816, by the Bishop of Gloucester, and the name of Christ Church was given to the Chapel.

The funeral took place at Newland on Monday the 13th May, at which the whole of the neighbourhood, including all ranks and classes, were present. All the families residing on that side the Forest of Dean, thronged the church and church-yard; the children of the Forest School, which this good man had founded, were ranged round the grave. Never did the death of a revered minister excite more unfeigned sorrow; all were in tears, and the loud sobs of the assembled multitude were heard on every side;—their numbers have been rated as high as 2000. The church was full, though very large and capacious, and the church-yard was also full of mourners. The scene was awfully impressive and affecting.—There is no heart so hard, no bosom so cold, that could have contemplated the solemn spectacle, where such natural affection between the flock and their shepherd was evinced (at a time, too, when flattery could no longer be suspected), without indulging and participating in the general sorrow. The silent but painful testimony of their tears and sighs bears record of his unwearied attention to their heavenly interests, and his compassionate sympathy in their worldly cares. He was wept and mourned as their father, brother, and spiritual guide.

The parishioners have proposed to erect a monument to his memory in Newland church, as a tribute of their esteem and respect. But Christ Church in the Forest of Dean will remain for ages a lasting monument of the pious worth and religious zeal of its benevolent and truly christian founder.

EDWARD JERNINGHAM, ESQ.

May 29. In Bolton-row, of a fever attended with erysipelas, Edward Jerningham, Esq. He was the youngest son of the late Sir William Jerningham, Baronet, nephew of the Poets of the same names, and brother of

* In this labour of love Mr. Proctor has since been joined by the Rev. Henry Berkin, curate of Michel Dean, who raised a subscription, by which a new church called the Holy Trinity, situated at Quarry Hill, has been built.
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the present Sir George Jerningham, who lays claim, through a maternal ancestor, to the Peerage of Stafford, by Frances daughter of Henry 12th Lord Dillon of Ireland. He married, in 1804, Emily, daughter of the late Nathaniel Middleton, Esq., by whom he had four children. The family from which he descended is of high antiquity, being probably one of the few now remaining among the English gentry, prior in date to the Norman Conquest; and it is also distinguished by a steady and conscientious adherence to the Roman Catholic Communion. Attached to the faith of his ancestors, Mr. Jerningham had for several years filled the office of Secretary to the British Catholic Board, and had discharged its delicate and important functions with a degree of zeal and ability to which it will be difficult to find a parallel. The General Board of British Catholics, "penetrated with sentiments of the deepest grief for the loss of Mr. Jerningham, seized the first opportunity, after his death, to record their opinion of the many and essential services rendered by him to his fellow-subjects the Catholics of Great Britain." Far, however, from cherishing, toward the Members of a different Communion, any sentiments but those of the purest benevolence, his conduct was a model of genuine liberality, of unaffected kindness, or, to use a juster expression, of true Christian charity to all mankind. The same suavity of manners, the same frankness of disposition, the same warmth of heart, was shown to Protestant and Catholic, Whig and Tory, rich and poor, foreigner and native.

In 1802, Mr. Jerningham was called to the Bar. From the studies preparatory to his profession, he came well to know, and highly to appreciate, the true excellencies of the British Constitution; nor did he value them the less, because mistaken notions of state policy had precluded from many of their benefits the religious community to which he belonged; but he looked forward with confidence to a time when the Legislature might be prevailed on to repeal statutes so illiberal and unjust.

In private life religion was the spring of all his actions; but he practised the greatest of all virtues—true, genuine, universal benevolence—from an impulse of nature, as well as from a sense of duty: he entered with generous concern into whatever affected the interests of a fellow-creature, and never appeared so happy as in the performance of some good. In his manners he was affable, in his temper cheerful, in his affections warm, in his attachments ardent and sincere. We believe he never made an enemy, and seldom made an acquaintance without gaining a friend. To the Catholic body his loss is great; to his friends most bitter; to his disconsolate family irreparable: yet must they dwell upon his memory with pleasure, and in time feel soothed by those very recollections of his worth which now plunge them into the depths of affliction.

MRS. QUILLINAN.

June 24. In her 28th year, at the Ivy Cottage, Rydal, Westmorland, Jemima-Anne-Deborah, wife of Edward Quillinan, Esq. and second daughter of Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart. Her death was occasioned by the melancholy accident of her clothes having caught fire, from the effects of which, though her sufferings were most severe, no fatal result was anticipated by her medical attendants. But her frame had already been so much weakened by long illness, that, after lingering for a fortnight, she sunk under pain and exhaustion,

tion, while her friends were anxiously but confidently looking for her recovery. It is a common delusion of regret to exaggerate the value of what is lost; but the merit of this lady cannot be overrated. She possessed the advantages of beauty without any alloy of vanity or affectation. The occupations and the pleasures of home were enough to satisfy her pure and gentle mind; and the duties of a wife and mother to draw out all the fine qualities of a heart most tenderly affectionate. Of the sweetness and delicacy of her disposition, unnumbered instances occur to all who knew her; and, though of a nature sensitive in the extreme, it may be truly said, that her voice was never heard but in meekness, and that her face was never seen in unkindness. She endured sickness and sorrow with the serenity of a martyr, or, if a syllable of complaint escaped her lips, it was not for her own sufferings, but for the anguish which she saw they caused in those who loved and pitied her. But for them, and for two infant children, too young to understand their loss, the idea of a death so untimely could not disturb her.

DR. GIRDLESTONE.

June 25. Suddenly, Thomas Girdlestone, M. D. Physician, of Yarmouth. He was born at Holt, Norfolk, in 1758. For the last 36 years, he had been resident physician at Yarmouth, where his unwearied assiduity and talents gained him the highest reputation. Dr. G. contributed largely under various signatures to the Medical Journals of his country, and evinced on many occasions a laudable zeal for the cause of literature.

FRANCISCO SASTRES, ESQ.

April 17. In Upper Seymour-street, Francisco Sastres, Esq. late Consul-General from the King of Naples. On his first arrival in this country, Mr. Sastres distinguished himself as an able translator of the Italian language; and in that capacity was honoured by the friendly patronage of Dr. Johnson, whom he frequently visited in Bolt Court, and by whom he was nominated a member of the Conversation Club, which was formed in Essex-street under the immediate superintendence of the great Moralist; Mr. Sastres was recollected by him in his last will by a legacy of 5*l*. "to be laid out in books of piety for his own use."

Mr. Sastres was for many years an active promoter of the Literary Fund; and his death is thus alluded to in the Report of the Registrars of that Society read at its late anniversary:

"Of the third literary foreigner, who within the period over which our retrospect is thrown, has been consigned by calamity to our relief, we find it more difficult to speak; for with him recollections are associated in our minds to awaken our personal sensibility, and to disturb the even tenor of our narration. During many years he participated in our honourable labours, and gave many a feeling and judicious vote for the tempering of that bitter cup, which he then little thought that he should himself be destined to drain even to its dregs. He long formed a part of the diplomacy of Italy; and long supported in the community of Britain the proprieties of his delegated rank. But, amid the revolutions and disasters of his devoted country, his income sunk suddenly beneath his feet; and our inquiry found him (for
he

he had retired from us, and his distress was proudly dumb) in destitution and the wretchedness of want. Need we say that we received him into our fostering care; and, if we could not fill his pillow with down, that we softened it under his dying head?"

MR. SAMUEL VARLEY.

April 18. At his residence in Newman-street, Mr. Samuel Varley, in his 78th year. He was a man of extraordinary talent, very extensive acquirements and sound judgement. Born in humble life, and brought up in an obscure village in Yorkshire, he there distinguished himself by scientific pursuits, and was actually driven thence by the vulgar under the opprobrious character of a conjuror. In London (*his retreat*) he became a lecturer in Natural and Experimental Philosophy, in which capacity the clearness and simplicity of his demonstrations gained him the attention of many who have since moved in the higher walks of science. For many years he was the scientific associate of the late Earl Stanhope, and has throughout life maintained the deserved character of a Christian Philosopher.

INTELLIGENCE.

POPULATION.—1822.

The General Enumerations in the Population and Parish Register Returns, printed by Authority, are preceded by a "Table of Comparative Enumeration at five Periods." The Table gives the Enumeration for each County; but we confine ourselves to the Sums Total for England, Wales, and Scotland. The Table and the "Remarks" follow.

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE ENUMERATION, AT FIVE PERIODS:

	1	2	3		4		5
	1700.	1750.	1801.	Increase per cent.	1811.	Increase per cent.	1821.
England	5,108,500	5,017,700	8,609,000	14 3-5	9,870,300	16 2-5	11,486,700
Wales	366,500	449,300	559,000	13	632,200	15 3-4	731,800
Scotland	5,475,000	3,467,000	9,168,000	14 1/2	10,502,500	16 1-3	13,218,500
			1,652,200	13	1,865,900	14 1/2	2,135,300
			10,820,400		12,378,400		14,353,800

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
	Area in square miles English.	Divisional Meetings, or Petty Sessions.	Acting County Magistrates.	Number of Parishes.	Number of Population Returns, 1821.	Number of Parish Register Returns, 1821.	Annual Proportions.		
							One Bapt. to	One Burial to	One Mar. to
England	50,535	511	3,968	9,860	14,532	10,487	35	57	133
Wales	7,425	84	462	833	1,241	855	41	69	156
Scotland	57,960	595	4,430	10,693	15,773	11,342	35	58	134
				948	1,046				
				11,641	16,819				

Remarks.

Col. 4. and 5.—The population of Great Britain in the year 1811, as here ascribed to the several counties, is less by 243,000 than in the table (p. viii.), not more than two thirds of the army, navy, &c. at that time being supposed to be natives of Great Britain; the other third part of the army and navy being attributed to Ireland and foreign countries, and a majority of the seamen who then navigated registered vessels. On these considerations, no more than a thirtieth part was added to the resident population of each county for its share of the army, navy, &c.; and the same proportion is continued backward in the preceding columns, 1, 2, and 3. But to the resident population of Great Britain in the year 1821, no more than a fiftieth part is added, the army and navy having decreased since 1811. This tends to lessen the per centage increase ascribed to the several counties between the years 1811 and 1821.

Col. 6.—The area of the several counties of England and Wales, in square statute miles, is here given as measured upon Arrowsmith's large map (date 1815-16), which, being founded on the trigonometrical survey, is little liable to future alteration; and the measurement of it having been accomplished by means of an actual division of the surface into square miles, scarcely admits of error as to the area of England and Wales; nor would the area of each county be less accurate, supposing its detached parts to be all known. Of such irregularities, fifty-three have been taken into account in these calculations, and those which remain undiscovered, are presumed to be of inconsiderable dimensions, though perhaps not few in number. Most of the detached parts are assessed in the county wherein they are locally situate. To convert the English square mile into a measure applicable to the maps of all civilized nations (for the purpose of comparison), it is only necessary to reckon it as three fourths of the area of the square geographical mile; in other words, that four English square miles are equal to three geographical. This proportion may be deemed exact; for, supposing a degree of latitude (between 51 and 52) to measure 60,864 fathoms (on the authority of General Mudge), the area of an English square mile to the geographical square mile is as 399 to 398.6.

The

The English square mile contains 640 statute acres.

Scotland (with its islands) is about equal to Ireland in area, and is half as large as England and Wales; but in computing the area of Scotland in English square miles, it is right to mention that the Scottish mile is 5,952 English feet, or (compared with the English mile) as 9 to 8. But it is rapidly falling into disuse.

Col. 8.—The number of *county magistrates* who have qualified themselves to act, is considerably less than the total of this column, many of them acting for more than one county or jurisdiction.—Those who act for the Isle of Ely are included in Cambridgeshire; and the Justices acting for the Ainstey of the city of York, are included in the East Riding. One hundred and eighty-three cities and towns have magistrates who lay claim to an *exclusive* jurisdiction; but most of them exercise only a *concurrent* jurisdiction with the county magistrates, and some of them no jurisdiction at all.

Col. 9.—Parishes not being always conterminous with the county in which the parish church is situate, it is necessary to remark, that 268 counties in England and Wales are known to extend into two counties, two parishes into three counties each (for particulars the Abstract may be consulted): but the parish is herein uniformly ascribed to the county in which the parish church is situate. The parish churches in England and Wales are not more than 10,458 in number, 139 parishes being annexed to others as far as concerns the offices of the church, and 96 parishes having no church whatever, or none fit for divine service.

Col. 10.—The number of places which separately and distinctly levy a rate to maintain their own poor is 14,640, according to the poor return abstract of 1815: the larger number of returns under the Population Act arise from extra-parochial places, and returns of *constabularies*, instead of townships, in some of the northern counties.

Col. 11.—This column includes the returns received from 889 chapelries.

Col. 12.—The *unentered* baptisms, burials, and marriages, mentioned in the parish register abstract at the end of the several counties, are included in these computations.

SCOTLAND.—To the resident population in Scotland for the years 1801 and 1811, one-thirtieth part is here added for the probable proportion of army and navy; to the resident population of 1821, one-fiftieth part is added.

There is a summary at the end of the enumerations for each county: the following is that of Middlesex.

MIDDLESEX.
SUMMARY OF HOUSES, FAMILIES, AND PERSONS, IN THIS COUNTY.

Population.

267

HUNDREDS, &c.	HOUSES.						OCCUPATIONS.				PERSONS.		
	Inhabited.	By how many Families occupied.	Building.	Un-inhabited.	Families chiefly employed in Agri- culture.	Families chiefly employed in Trade, Manufactures, or Handicraft.	All other Fam- ilies not comprised in the two prece- ding Classes.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.			
Hundred of	4,132	4,690	28	156	1,493	1,811	1,386	11,855	12,916	24,771			
Edmonton	3,110	3,568	49	80	1,321	1,441	806	8,967	8,376	17,343			
Elthorne	1,694	1,934	10	51	884	626	444	5,067	4,799	9,866			
Gore	2,084	2,611	16	63	692	1,109	810	5,735	6,550	12,285			
Ialeworth	16,427	28,172	447	739	593	19,148	8,431	56,316	63,486	119,802			
Ossulstone:	29,910	64,153	555	1,253	562	37,721	25,900	123,942	152,688	276,630			
Finsbury Division	10,312	14,940	222	396	2,048	6,944	5,948	31,192	39,016	70,208			
Holborn Division	47,179	69,337	1,036	3,072	527	45,302	23,508	130,956	154,694	291,650			
Kensington Ditto	2,449	2,794	20	120	908	927	959	6,514	6,903	13,417			
Tower Division ..	7,938	11,571	32	560	2	9,609	1,960	27,506	28,668	56,174			
Spethorne Hundred	9,292	16,407	73	455	55	11,592	4,850	34,441	34,819	69,260			
City of	18,502	41,554	391	382	308	25,196	16,120	85,082	97,003	182,086			
London within the Walls.....	152,969	261,871	2,879	7,327	9,393	161,356	91,122	533,573	610,958	1,144,531			
Ditto without the Wals													
Westminster													
Totals													

[*.* There were 239 Returns received from the county of Middlesex.]

The Metropolis being an object of peculiar interest, the above summary respecting Middlesex may be appropriately followed by the remarks on the assumed limits and extent of the Metropolis.

The Metropolis of the British Empire, being situated in the two counties of Middlesex and Surry, could not be distinctly noticed in any part of the parish register abstract. In an appendix to the enumeration abstract (p. 549) its population is exhibited in five divisions, and amounts to one million two hundred and twenty-five thousand seven hundred (1,225,700) persons; but, considering that the arrivals of coasting vessels in the port of London may be taken at 5,500 in the year 1700; at 6,400 in 1750; at 10,400 in 1801; at 13,500 in 1811; and at about 17,000 per annum since the year 1817—producing a constant though fluctuating accession to the population, to a larger amount than elsewhere—a 25th part, instead of a 50th part, is added, in forming a comparison with the parish register returns. With this addition, the Metropolis, in the year 1801, contained about nine hundred thousand (900,000) inhabitants; in 1811, one million and fifty thousand (1,050,000); in 1821, one million two hundred and seventy-four thousand eight hundred (1,274,800). The population of the years 1700 and 1750 is computed in the manner described in the Preliminary Observations (p. xxix).

THE METROPOLIS.	POPULATION.				
	1700	1750	1801	1811	1821
1. City of London within the Walls	139,300	87,000	78,000	57,700	58,400
2. City of London without the Walls	69,000	57,300	56,300	68,000	73,000
3. City and Liberties of Westminster.....	130,000	152,000	165,000	163,600	189,400
4. Out-Parishes, within the Bills of Mortality..	320,900	357,600	477,700	593,700	730,700
5. Parishes not within the Bills of Mortality	9,150	22,350	123,000	162,000	224,300
6. Total of the Metropolis	674,350	676,250	900,000	1,050,000	1,274,800

1. The walls of the ancient city of London included a space now in the ancient middle of the Metropolis, about one mile and a half in length from east to west, and rather more than half a mile in breadth. The population has diminished nearly three-fifths since the beginning of the last century; many streets having been widened, and public buildings and warehouses erected, whereby the number of inhabited houses has been lessened; independently of which, the inhabitants have decreased in a much larger proportion, from the less crowded manner of residence which has gradually taken place.

2. The city of London *without the walls* is an extension of the same city, and is under the same jurisdiction. In computing the increase or diminution of the population of this district, by means of the parish registers, two difficulties occur; first, because several of the parishes which form part of it, extend so far beyond its limits, as almost to double the amount of population, if these parishes are included entire. It has, therefore, been necessary to ascertain the increase or diminution upon the entire parishes, and afterwards to apportion it between the *city without the walls* and the *out-parishes*; the enumeration returns of the parts *within* the city and *without* being distinct. The other difficulty arises

arises from the disputed jurisdiction of the city of London as to the borough of Southwark—a claim which has not been fully substantiated; and the five Southwark parishes are accordingly here reckoned among the out-parishes.

3. The city of Westminster, once an Episcopal See, and now the seat of government, adjoins the city of London, extending westward.

4. The appellation of the out-parishes is taken from the London Bills of Mortality, which were first used in the year 1562; and, from 1603, have been kept in regular series. These bills were intended to afford timely notice of any alarming increase of the plague, from which London was then seldom free. But the crowded part of the city was purified by the memorable conflagration of 1666; in the preceding year 68,596 persons had died of the plague, which has since entirely disappeared. The Bills of Mortality purport to exhibit the number of christenings and burials, but are not to be relied upon for the full number of either. A comparison of the results of these bills, and of the collection of parish registers, under the act of 1821, is here subjoined:—

Baptisms and Burials within the London Bills of Mortality.

YEARS.	BAPTISMS.		YEARS.	BURIALS.	
	According to the Parish Registers.	According to the Bills of Mortality.		According to the Parish Registers.	According to the Bills of Mortality.
1811	22,732	20,645	1811	17,327	17,043
1812	22,526	20,404	1812	19,080	18,295
1813	23,014	20,528	1813	17,840	17,322
1814	22,852	20,170	1814	21,271	19,783
1815	25,271	23,414	1815	19,821	19,560
1816	24,292	23,581	1816	20,157	20,316
1817	25,352	24,129	1817	19,309	19,968
1818	25,669	24,233	1818	20,108	19,705
1819	25,603	24,800	1819	20,225	19,228
1820	25,659	23,158	1820	20,087	19,348

The number of burials within the Bills of Mortality (as distinguished from the Metropolis) has absolutely decreased since the year 1700, according to the Bills of Mortality, and according to the Parish Registers, cannot be said to have increased; while the population has increased as three to two—from 665,200 to 1,050,500.

5. A few parishes, now forming part of the Metropolis, have not been brought into the Bills of Mortality. The rapid increase of the population in the suburbs since the beginning of the last century, shows how rapidly the Metropolis increases in extent, although its population has not increased so fast as that of the kingdom in general. In 1700, the Metropolis contained almost an eighth part of the inhabitants of England and Wales; in 1750 and 1801, about a tenth part; in 1811 and at present, about a twelfth part.

6. Objections may undoubtedly be made to the propriety of the limits of the Metropolis herein assumed; it may be therefore right to add, that the total population of all the parishes whose churches are situate within eight miles rectilinear around St. Paul's cathedral (including the aforesaid addition of one twenty-fifth part), in 1801, amounted to 1,031,500; in 1811, to 1,220,200; and in 1821, to 1,481,500, the parish of Woolwich not included.

The population ascribed to the city of Paris is included in a district of this size.

The number of unregistered interments in the Metropolis has been a question much agitated, on occasion of forming computations for Life Annuities, and for other purposes. In the last six months of 1794, it was ascertained by the collector of the then tax on burials, that 3,148 persons were interred without being registered; and it is not likely that the whole number of interments, or even of burial grounds, were discoverable for the purpose of taxation. If it be assumed that, on account of the unregistered interments, a third part (about 8000 annually) may be added to the registered burials, the annual mortality of the Metropolis, in the middle of the last century, was as *one to twenty* of the inhabitants, at present as *one to forty*, showing a vast improvement in health and longevity; but it was to be expected, that the extension of population over a larger space than formerly, added to the causes which have prolonged human life in the kingdom at large, would produce this salutary effect, which has been most conspicuous as regarding the life of children within the London Bills of Mortality.

J. RICKMAN.

NEWSPAPER RETURNS.

1.—An Account of the Number of Stamps issued for Newspapers, for the year 1801; distinguishing the London from the Provincial Newspapers, and distinguishing the different London Newspapers, and the Amount of Duty received from each.

LONDON NEWSPAPERS.—1801.		Number.	Duty.		
DAILY.			£.	s.	d.
English Chronicle	- - - - -	136,650	1,992	16	3
General Evening Post	- - - - -	192,600	2,807	5	10
London Chronicle	- - - - -	227,500	3,517	14	2
Lloyd's Evening Post	- - - - -	99,611	1,452	15	2½
Morning Advertiser	- - - - -	622,500	9,078	2	6
Morning Chronicle	- - - - -	527,500	7,692	14	2
Morning Herald	- - - - -	762,500	11,119	15	10
Morning Post	- - - - -	512,500	4,587	5	10
Oracle	- - - - -	541,025	7,889	18	11½
Porcupine; with Heart of Oak	- - - - -	191,000	2,785	8	4
Public Ledger; with London Packet	- - - - -	534,250	7,791	2	11
St. James's Chronicle; with London Journal	- - - - -	245,500	3,551	0	10
The Times; with Evening Mail	- - - - -	1,085,750	15,835	17	1
Traveller; with Commercial Chronicle	- - - - -	523,500	4,717	14	2
True Briton; with Sun	- - - - -	804,000	11,735	0	0
Whitehall Evening Post	- - - - -	129,750	1,892	5	9
WEEKLY.					
Craftsman; with Selector	- - - - -	70,250	1,024	9	7
Johnson's Sunday Monitor	- - - - -	97,500	1,431	17	6
London Recorder; with Westminster Journal	- - - - -	71,000	1,035	8	4
Old British Spy	- - - - -	6,250	91	2	11
Sunday Review	- - - - -	55,450	516	19	7
Weekly Dispatch	- - - - -	17,000	247	18	4
York's Political Review	- - - - -	20,000	291	13	4
THREE WEEKS.					
Police Gazette	- - - - -	22,000	320	16	8
Total number of London Newspapers which can be distinguished	- - - - -	7,073,486	103,155	0	1
Provincial Newspapers and Stamps issued for the supply of London papers, not specified in the above account, which cannot be distinguished.	- - - - -	9,011,419	131,416	10	6½
Total number of Newspaper Stamps issued	- - - - -	16,084,905	234,571	10	7½

Comptroller's Office, Stamps, April 19, 1822.

A. R. BARKER, Pro Comp^r.

2.—AN

2.—An Account of the Number of Stamps issued for Newspapers, for the year 1821; distinguishing the London from the Provincial Newspapers, and distinguishing the different London Newspapers, and the Amount of Duty received from each.

LONDON NEWSPAPERS.—1821.		Number.	Duty.		
DAILY.			£.	s.	d.
British Press; with Globe		777,500	12,958	6	8
British Traveller		81,575	1,359	11	8
Courier		1,594,500	26,575	0	0
Morning Advertiser; with Sunday Advertiser		970,000	16,166	13	4
Morning Chronicle		990,000	16,500	0	0
Morning Herald		875,000	14,583	6	8
Morning Post		630,500	10,508	6	8
New Times		846,000	14,100	0	0
Public Ledger		430,500	7,175	0	0
Star		410,075	6,834	11	0
Statesman; with Constitution		239,150	3,985	16	8
Sun		170,000	2,833	6	8
The Times; with Evening Mail		2,684,800	44,746	13	4
Traveller; with Commercial & London Chronicle		386,500	6,441	13	4
True Briton		165,600	2,760	0	0
THREE TIMES A WEEK.					
English Chronicle		160,500	2,675	0	0
General Evening Post		150,000	2,500	0	0
St. James's Chronicle; with Baldwin's Journal		577,500	9,625	0	0
London Packet		102,000	1,700	0	0
TWICE A WEEK.					
Bell's Weekly Dispatch		132,250	2,204	3	4
Bell's Weekly Messenger		522,700	8,711	13	4
British Luminary		52,500	875	0	0
British Neptune; with British Freeholder, British Mercury, London Moderator, London and Provincial Gazette, National Register, and Norwich Courier		36,000	600	0	0
Brunswick		22,592	373	4	0
Catholic Advocate		18,545	309	1	8
Champion		30,070	501	3	4
Courier de Londres		22,500	375	0	0
Examiner		141,975	2,366	5	0
Guardian		88,150	1,469	3	4
John Bull		468,002	7,800	0	8
John Bull's British Journal		2,000	33	6	8
London Gazette		160,000	2,666	13	4
News		506,500	8,441	13	4
Nicholson's Price Current		7,400	123	6	8
Observer		714,000	11,900	0	0
Observer of the Times		55,150	919	3	4
Real John Bull		77,568	1,292	16	0
Wooler's British Gazette		66,500	1,108	6	8
WEEKLY.					
Aurora Borealis		24,600	410	0	0
Bell's Price Current		10,000	166	13	4
British Monitor		25,075	417	18	4
Christian Reporter		24,650	410	16	8
Cobbett's Register		825	13	15	0
County Chronicle; with County Herald		296,500	5,775	0	0
County Literary Chronicle		1,500	25	0	0
Englishman; with Mirror of the Times		137,750	2,295	16	8
Farmer's Journal		155,000	2,583	6	8
Independent Observer		36,866	614	8	8
Law Chronicle		11,100	185	0	0
Carried forward		16,019,766	296,996	2	0

LONDON NEWSPAPERS.—1821. Continued.		Number.	Duty.		
WEEKLY.			£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	- - - -	16,019,768	266,996	2	0
Literary Gazette	- - - -	60,197	1,003	5	8
Marwade's Price Current	- - - -	1,099	18	6	4
Military Register	- - - -	1,672	27	17	4
Mirror	- - - -	9,000	150	0	0
Philanthropic Gazette	- - - -	36,900	615	0	0
Sunday Monitor; with Westminster Journal, and	- - - -				
Imperial Gazette	- - - -	62,500	1,041	13	4
Town Talk	- - - -	5,000	50	0	0
ONCE A FORTNIGHT.					
Racing Calendar	- - - -	24,400	406	13	4
ONCE IN THREE WEEKS.					
Police Gazette	- - - -	30,000	500	0	0
ONCE A MONTH.					
Literary Advertiser	- - - -	6,000	100	0	0
Total number of London Newspapers	- - - -	16,254,534	270,908	18	0
Provincial Newspapers	- - - -	8,525,252	142,087	10	8
Total number of Newspaper Stamps issued	- - - -	24,779,786	412,996	8	8

Comptroller's Office, Stamps, April 19, 1822.

A. R. BAKER, Pro Comp'r.

THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE.

During a late debate in the house of commons, Lord John Russell made the following interesting statement relative to the extraordinary means which are now in action in this country for the diffusion of useful information throughout the various classes of society.

"From the year 1785 to 1792 the average amount of our exports of British manufactures was about 13,000,000*l.* per annum. From 1792 to 1799 it was 17,000,000*l.*; but the exports of the year 1821 are stated to amount to 40,000,000*l.* When to this is added the still larger consumption of our manufactures at home, and when it is considered that out of these 40,000,000*l.*, our export of cotton-goods amounted to 23,000,000*l.*, our woollens and linens to 7,000,000*l.*, it must be inferred that a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the country subsist by those manufactures. I will not now dwell upon this new phenomenon in the state of the country, but for the present confine myself to a statement of the fact. With this immense increase of manufactures and commerce, the dissemination of instruction and the improvement in knowledge have advanced even in more than equal proportion. Indeed, this is a circumstance which must strike the most careless observer, from the vast increase of books and the very high prices which are paid for the exercise of literary talent. From the immense distribution of works of every description throughout the country, one would infer, that as the opportunities of information are thus increased, the education of the lower classes must be enlarged in the same proportion. Being curious to gain some information on this important subject, I some time ago applied to an eminent booksellers' house in the city (that of Messrs. Longman and Co.), from which I learned a number of interesting facts. From the firm to which I applied, I learned that their own sale amounted to five millions of volumes in the year; that they employed sixty clerks, paid a sum of 5500*l.* in advertisements, and gave

gave constant employment to not fewer than 250 printers and bookbinders. Another great source of information to the country is the increase of circulating libraries. In the year 1770, there were only four circulating libraries in the metropolis: there are at present one hundred; and about nine hundred more scattered throughout the country. Besides these, there are from 1500 to 2000 book clubs, distributing throughout the kingdom large masses of information on history, voyages, and every species of science by which the sum of human knowledge can be increased, or the human mind improved. Here I may also observe on the increase of periodical works. Of these there are two (the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*), many articles in which are written with an ability equal to some of the best original writings of former times, and having a greater circulation than all the periodical works of thirty years ago put together.

"While so many and such fruitful sources of information are thus opened to the higher orders, the means of improving the minds of the poorer class have advanced at a pace not less rapid or less steady. First came the establishment, about five-and-twenty years ago, of the Lancasterian Schools, which have distributed so widely the blessings of early instruction; and after these followed the no less beneficial system of National Schools, which afford to the poor education suitable to their state and condition in life. In addition to those means of improvement, another has been opened not less advantageous to the poor. I allude to the great facilities which at present exist of getting the most valuable works at a rate so very cheap as to bring them within the compass of all. Some time ago an establishment was commenced by a number of individuals with a capital of not less than a million, for the purpose of printing standard works at a cheap rate. By that establishment, the history of Hume, the works of Buffon, the *Encyclopedia*, and other valuable productions, were sold in small numbers at sixpence each; and by this means sources of the highest and most useful instruction were placed within the poor man's reach. I regret much to add that this valuable establishment was very much checked in its operations by the effect of one of those acts for the suppression of knowledge which were passed in the year 1819. I regret this the more, as one of the rules of that establishment has been not to allow the venders of their works to sell any book on the political controversies of the day.

"In noticing the means which have contributed so much to the mental improvement of the great body of the people, I ought not to omit noticing the very good effects which have resulted from the exertions of the Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and other valuable associations of a similar character. Since the commencement of the Bible Society it has applied the immense sum of 900,000*l.* to the laudable purpose of disseminating the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. From the Religious Tract Society not fewer than five millions of tracts are distributed annually, and the Society for Christian Knowledge distributes one million. These facts will show the rapid strides which have been made by the public in the improvement of general knowledge.

"I will now come to the state of political knowledge in the country. This has been greatly augmented by the extraordinary increase in the circulation of newspapers. Some time ago I moved for a return of the number and circulation of the several newspapers printed in London and in the country. That

"When this our first object is accomplished, there remains still more to be done: Mr. Prevost, one of my sons-in-law, visited this monastery only 15 days ago accompanied by his son (whom the president admitted to this meeting), when Mr. Prevost was informed, and afterwards convinced himself by examining the building, that the southern front of the edifice requires very great repairs, without which it is in danger of falling into ruins. This increase of necessary expenses calls for an increase of efforts to meet it.

"I thought the most prompt and efficient mode of obtaining this result would be, to give to the deplorable situation of these very useful men the greatest notoriety, by making it known to the whole of the Helvetic Society in the present session, and by soliciting its members to mention it to their friends, and to all the friends of humanity. I am not even sure if some portion of the funds dormant in our chest ought not to be destined to this purpose. Naturalists are more frequently called on than other travellers to expose themselves on the summits near the monastery, and thus to put to the test the courage and adroitness of the monks in the hour of danger. In this point of view, the sum which we may vote will not be a mere charitable offering, but in some measure the payment of a debt."

SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ARTS, MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

The Anniversary Meeting of this excellent Society was held on May 26th, when the usual rewards adjudged to the various candidates for their meritorious productions were presented, before an assemblage of rank and beauty seldom equalled, at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, the place appropriated for the interesting ceremony.

The Theatre probably never had to boast of so numerous and fashionable an attendance. By 12 o'clock the boxes, pit, and lower gallery, were filled with ladies and gentlemen; and the upper gallery was appropriated for a military band in full uniform.

The stage also contained a numerous body of ladies and gentlemen; and at each side the respective candidates were seated, and so arranged as to facilitate their introduction to the Royal Chairman at the presentation of the medals, &c. The Theatre was lighted up with additional chandeliers.

About half-past twelve the Duke of Sussex arrived at the Theatre. And the company received H. R. H. standing, and with great applause, while the band played "God save the King."

On taking the chair, H. R. H. was surrounded by several of the English and foreign nobility and gentry; and Mr. Aikin, the Secretary, was called on to read the Report, which furnished a most flattering description of the Society, and in many instances proved the beneficial effects derived from the present mode of encouragement by rewards, &c. It was received with immense applause.

At its conclusion, the candidates, intended to be rewarded by the Society, were separately ushered to the presence of the Royal Chairman, after having their names, and the nature of their performances, announced by the Secretary, and each of their productions was placed for the inspection of the company: the paintings, &c. were hung on the front of the first and second tier of boxes and at the sides of the stage.

The

The rewards first distributed were in agricultural and rural economy. The large Gold Medal was presented to Messrs. Cowley and Haines, Winslow, for drawing turnips in the month of November 1821, and preserving the same in a sound state fit for feeding cattle to the end of April, 1822. The Gold Ceres Medal was also presented to the same gentlemen, for cultivating four acres of the White Poppy (*Papaver somniferum*), and extracting from it 60lbs. of solid opium, equal to the best Turkey opium.

The large Gold Medal was given to J. Peart, Esq., Settle, Yorkshire, for reclaiming 56 acres of Wasta Moor Land.

In the Polite Arts, several most interesting and original productions of young ladies and gentlemen were rewarded with gold and silver medals, and complimented with an appropriate address by His Royal Highness.

In Manufactures there were many peculiarly interesting inventions and improvements, which were amply rewarded; the most striking were those of Mrs. Wells, Connecticut, United States, who received the large Silver Medal, and 20 guineas, for a correct imitation of Leghorn; and Mr. Starkey of Huddersfield for fine broad cloth, made entirely of wool from New South Wales, the Gold Isis Medal.

In Chemistry and Mineralogy, two medals were bestowed for a communication respecting the nature and preparation of the stones used in Tuscany for grinding fine flour: and a discovery of glaze for vessels, of common red earthenware, not prejudicial to the health of those who use them.

In Mechanics, H. Gordon, Esq. Captain R. N. the Silver Vulcan Medal, for a Life Boat. The large Silver Medal to Lieut. Littlewort R. N. for an improved ship's compass.

Silver Medal to J. Watson (blind), for a system of musical notation for the use of the blind—and a silver medal to Mr. Bailey, for an improved method of opening and shutting the windows of churches and other public buildings.

At this stage of the proceedings the risible faculties of the auditory were put into motion by the announcement of a reward of five guineas to Mr. S. Bowles for a Rat Trap, on which the instrument of death was laid on the table before His Royal Highness.

In Colonies and Trade—The Gold large Medal to Mr. J. M'Arthur, for importing 18,130lbs. of fine wool from New South Wales, the produce of his own flock.

Several other medals were awarded to other gentlemen, and the whole gave infinite satisfaction.

LITERARY FUND.

The General Meeting of this Institution was held at the Freemasons' Tavern on the 22d of May,—H. R. H. the Duke of York in the Chair, supported by the French Ambassador, the Duke of Somerset, Lords Torrington and Bolton, Mr. Canning, Sir B. Hobhouse, Sir J. C. Hippisley, and several other persons of distinction. After the usual toasts, Mr. Canning, Sir B. Hobhouse, and Lord Torrington addressed the meeting in behalf of the Fund. Dr. Yates delivered a very interesting Report of the proceedings of the Committee; but, as he justly remarked, the delicacy necessary to be observed in the distribution of their funds was such as precluded the Committee from making

making a full and public report of the benefits achieved by their generosity. He however recited several cases which met with strong sympathy, and the whole was received with general approbation. He further stated that he had received a donation of 1000*l.* from And. Strahan, Esq. and two half-yearly donations of 100 guineas each from His Majesty. Mr. Fitzgerald recited his Annual Ode; and, after the Poets and Dramatists of Great Britain had been drank, and Mr. Knowles and Mr. Colman had returned thanks, the Royal Duke left the Chair, and the Meeting separated soon after. We are happy to see that a society which has in view the alleviation of distress which is not unfrequently felt by literary characters, is supported in so noble and liberal a manner.

The following glee, also written by Mr. Fitzgerald, and set to music by Mr. Shield, was sung on this occasion:

When warm with Hope, in Life's aspiring morn,
The tints of Fancy ev'ry scene adorn;
The glowing landscape charms the Poet's view,
And Youth believes the fairy prospect true!
But soon Experience proves his eye betrayed,
And all the picture darkens into shade.
The noble fervour of his early days,
His thirst of Fame, his love of honest praise:
All that could make his ardent mind aspire,
And kindle fair Ambition's sacred fire!
Like fleeting visions of the heated brain,
Dissolve in poverty, and end in pain.
But the warm beams your patronage bestows,
Shall dissipate at once the Muse's woes;
Raise the bright hopes, and stimulate the fame,
Of him who else had died without a name.

PROCEEDINGS OF SCHOOL SOCIETIES.

Anniversary Meeting of the Charity Children.—The Anniversary Meeting of the children of both sexes, educated in the charity schools of the cities of London and Westminster, borough of Southwark, and other parts of the metropolis, was celebrated at the cathedral church of Saint Paul.

Soon after ten o'clock, the streets leading to the church were lined with the children passing in procession, headed by their teachers and beadles, towards the cathedral, where on their arrival, they were conducted to the seats allotted for them under the dome of the sacred building, by the Gentlemen of the Committee; and before twelve o'clock upwards of 8,000 of the rising generation, clad in homely but decent and comfortable apparel, had assembled. The seats for the children were erected in a circular form, rising one above another to an immense height. In the middle of the circle, under the great dome, was a temporary pulpit, around which were pews and forms for the accommodation of the company; amongst whom were noticed, the Bishop of Llandaff, Dean of the cathedral; the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Bolton, Sir T. Ackland, M. P., Col. Bagwell, Sir C. S. Hunter, Alderman

man T. Smith, and Is. Spencer, Esq. Mayor of York; the Countess of Mansfield, Lady Augustus Stanhope, the four Ladies Murray, Lady Georgiana Bathurst, the Ladies of Sheriffs Garratt and Venables, and Alderman Hunter, &c. &c. The Rev. Drs. Blomberg, Price, Kenny, and others of the Clergy, were seated in the residentiary pew to the left of the pulpit.

At twelve o'clock H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, President of the Institution, arrived in his carriage, attended by Col. Higgins. The Royal President was met at the great western entrance by Messrs. Greenaway and Stable, the Treasurers, and the Gentlemen of the Committee, who conducted His Royal Highness to his chair on the right of the pulpit.—Immediately after, the performances commenced with the 100th Psalm, which was sung by the children, assisted by the gentlemen of the choir, and accompanied by Mr. Atwood on the organ; the first lesson ended with the choir chaunting the reading Psalms, the children joining in the Gloria Patri to each Psalm. The *Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, and grand Coronation Anthem, were performed by the choir, assisted by the children in grand chorus.

The sermon was preached by the Lord Bishop of Bristol, from Mark ix. 37. After sermon four verses of the 104th Psalm were chaunted by the children, and the performances concluded with the Hallelujah chorus.

The Prince and Princess of Denmark, and other Noble Personages, were prevented from attending on account of the Drawing-room. The collection made at the doors was very flattering. The patrons and supporters of the Institution repaired to the Old London Tavern, where at six o'clock about 200 sat down to a most sumptuous dinner, H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester in the chair, supported on the right by the Bishop of Bristol, and on the left by Sir C. S. Hunter.

National School Society.—June 5, the Annual Meeting of the Subscribers to the National Society for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church, on the system of Dr. Bell, was held at the Central School-House, Baldwin's Gardens, Gray's Inn Lane. There were present the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Chester, Worcester, Exeter and Llandaff, Lords Calthorp and Kenyon, Sir Js. Langham, Mr. Wilberforce, and many other distinguished philanthropists.

The Archbishop of Canterbury took the Chair.

The Rev. Dr. Walmsley, the Honorary Secretary of the Society, read the Report of the Committee for the last year, by which it appeared that 82 new schools had been formed on the National Plan in different parts of the Kingdom, in the last year, and 13 schools had been discontinued; and that the total number of schools was 1790; and also that an increase of upwards of 12,000 had taken place in the last year in the number of children educated in the different schools, the total number being upwards of 250,000. The Society had in the course of the year given assistance to 39 schools, by grants of money, amounting to 3425*l*. The total receipts of the Society for the year amounted to 3634*l*. and their funded property to 3600*l*.

The Report being read,

The Archbishop of Canterbury addressed the Meeting. The Report showed that the Committee had not been inattentive to their important duties.—The Society had been maintained eleven years by the contributions of a comparatively small number of persons, the most of whom were then present, and had extended the benefits of education over a considerable portion of the United

United Kingdom—much was done, but much remained to do; and when he considered the great public utility of the institution, he could not but entertain sanguine hopes that it would soon receive a more general support from the public. It must be painful to all to hear that thirteen schools had been discontinued—he hoped it was owing to the peculiar circumstances of the present times, and he was persuaded that all his brethren would recollect that it was a most important part of their duty to look well to the establishment and maintenance of schools for the poor.

Lord Kenyon moved a Vote of Thanks to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for his very great attention to the prosperity of the Society, and his kindness in taking the Chair.

Mr. Browne seconded the motion, which was passed with great applause.

Thanks were also voted to the Committee, the Treasurer, and other Officers of the Society, after which the Meeting dissolved.

The Annual Examination of the children of this Society, educated under the Madras System, took place on Wednesday the 16th May, at the Central School, Baldwin's Gardens, Gray's Inn-lane, when a numerous and highly respectable attendance took place, and seats were erected in the school-room, appropriate for the accommodation of the company.

The room presented a most interesting spectacle. At the head of the room the children connected with the Clergy Orphan School, and those of other public charities, attired in their school costume, were placed in order to witness the examination.

The company having taken their seats at about 1 o'clock, the Abp. of Canterbury, followed by a numerous train of the Nobility and Gentry, entered the room, and His Grace took the Chair, and was supported by the Abp. of York, Bishops of London, Llandaff, Lincoln, St. Asaph, Gloucester, and Worcester; Archdeacons Watson, Blomfield, and Prosser; Lords Radford, Kenyon, Gardiner; Sir Js. Langham and Sons; Sir R. Woodford, Sir E. Dolben; the Rev. Drs. Renny, Yates, and Shepperd; Mr. Wilberforce, M.P., &c.

On the Archbishop taking the chair, some partitions which separated an adjoining apartment were instantaneously removed, and the scholars, amounting to 486 boys and 206 girls, with their slates, &c. in their hands, were suddenly exhibited; and their innocent and interesting demeanour had the effect of exciting the most gratifying feelings. The teachers and monitors headed their separate classes, and in rotation, each class was formed into a kind of square opposite to the Chairman and the Bishops, and they were examined in their spelling, reading, and other branches of education. They also recited several passages in the Scriptures, which were expounded to them by a Rev. Gentleman as they went on; and they were examined in other branches of their education, and answered with such accuracy as did credit to their tutors. About half-past three o'clock the examination ended with the children singing a passage in the Psalms, which they performed with much spirit. The Archbishop of Canterbury expressed in the warmest terms his satisfaction at the conduct of the children—a sentiment re-echoed by the company at large.

British and Foreign School Society.—The 17th Anniversary of this Society was held on the 16th May, at Freemasons' Hall; H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex in the chair. H. R. Highness opened the business by a few words of congratulation.

congratulation on the aspect of the present Meeting, which was numerous beyond any former Anniversary; and a great part of the company consisted of Ladies, including those of the Ladies' Committee. We noticed among the company the presence of the Duke de Broglie, Professors Cairns and Hanna, of Belfast; Professor Blumhardt, of Basle; Lord Suffield, Mr. Harrington, and others, besides the gentlemen whose names appear in the proceedings.

Rev. G. Clayton (one of the Committee) then read the Report, which began with stating, that if their attention were confined to the pecuniary concerns of the Society, their task would be extremely painful; as the expenses of the Society far exceeded its income, and amounted to more than double the sum of its annual subscriptions; the Committee however turn with much pleasure to the progress of the Society in the work of education.

The Central School in the Borough Road contains 500 boys and 300 girls; and 21,396 children have been educated at this School since its commencement. During the last year 80 masters were prepared to propagate the system, and 8 Missionaries, who studied the plan in order to introduce it into their Schools among the heathen. The youths brought from Madagascar, who had been ten months under instruction, had made a progress beyond what could have been expected; fair specimens of their writing were handed round the room, and excited much admiration.

The Depository for Spelling and Scripture Lessons was now adverted to; and the Meeting were informed that, by a separate subscription, they were now prepared in French, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and Portuguese. Auxiliary Societies are spreading through different parts of the kingdom, and are widely extending the system; and Bristol, Plymouth, and Tavistock have aided the funds of the Society. In Ireland also, for which country the system is allowed to be particularly adapted, "The Society for the Education of the Poor" (established there in 1814) has now 513 schools, and about 40,000 scholars. The circulation of Tracts in that country is also an object of vast importance, and the friends of religion and morals in Ireland have pushed this matter with so much energy, that they have already excluded from the book-market much of the trash formerly circulated in that country.

The Report now turns to the foreign connexions and concerns of the Society. The Society for Elementary Instruction at Paris (formed in 1815), in the course of last year opened 157 new Schools, making about 1,400, equally open to Catholics and Protestants; adult schools have been formed, and in several departments Sunday Schools are also introduced, and 6,000 Testaments have been placed at the disposal of the Directors, by the Bible Society at Paris.

In Spain, Schools formed on the British system are continued under the sanction of the Cortes. Col. Kearney continues his exertions with great zeal, and has opened many new Schools. A Norman School has also been formed in Valencia.

In the Netherlands the Minister of public Instruction, M. de Falch, reports, that by the new system, in conjunction with schools on the Dutch system, education is greatly extended. In Brussels the School Society is making progress both in the education of boys and girls. In Ghent, Mons, Tournay, and Liege, there are schools, and in the province of Hainault education is provided for 60,000 scholars.

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In Sweden, M. Gerellius has, by the king's order, introduced the British System into Military Schools.

In Russia the cause continues to spread under the same high and illustrious patronage. It is carried into Poland; and at Homel, on the Russian frontier, a School is established on an estate of Count Romanzoff's, and under his immediate patronage; conducted by Mr. Heard, a young man trained at the Borough Road School.² Schools also are formed at Petersburg, Kioff, Magiloff in Siberia, and various other places.

In Italy political events have been most unpropitious to the cause of education; but there are 26 schools on this plan in Tuscany, and a Society is formed to extend the plan. In various parts of Germany popular instruction has become an object of public attention, and the King of Denmark has begun to introduce the new system into the schools of that kingdom.

Time has not allowed to report any progress in the plan of introducing female schools in India; Miss Cooke, however, arrived there in November, was cordially received, and entered immediately on her beloved work. Of the other sex, there are above 20,000 natives under instruction, and 10,000 in Ceylon. Dr. Milne is very active in promoting schools at Malacca, and all the Missionaries of the London Society study to promote the British system. It has found its way into North and South America, the Islands of the South Seas, and the West Indies. A gentleman of Barbadoes lately made a voyage to England at his own expense, in order fully to understand the system, and has returned to promote it with his utmost zeal.

In Africa also the system widely spreads. Dr. Thom, who was lately in England, has returned to the Cape to renew his exertions in its favour. Schools have been formed in Senegal under the patronage of the Society at Paris, and at Sierra Leone under that of the National Society in England. Thus has the system already made the tour of the globe, though certainly there is still much room for it to spread, both at home and abroad.

THOS. SPRING RICE, Esq. M.P., in moving that the Report be received and printed, called the attention of the Meeting to the great effects which sometimes arise from small beginnings, as was exemplified in the case of this Society, of which the leading characteristic was, that while it preserved all the great fundamental truths of religion, it had nothing sectarian about it. After reviewing the progress of the system in Ireland, Russia, &c. Mr. R. particularly adverted to the rising governments on the continent of South America, where freedom is the harbinger of universal education. It was a pleasing circumstance, that these people do not now call upon us for military stores; but for books and printing types, for the spread of Christian knowledge.

Rev. G. BURDER, Secretary to the London Missionary Society, seconded this motion, and expressed their obligations to this Society for the facilities afforded to their Missionaries, in acquiring the system previously to their going abroad. Mr. B. then adverted to the presence (behind the chair) of seven of the youths which came last year from Madagascar, who were sons of the principal chiefs, and towards whose maintenance our Government liberally allowed 50*l.* for each. Two or three of these lads might be trained for scholars, and the others to useful mechanic trades, as weavers, dyers, &c. Mr. B. then read the names of the new Committee, and a statement of the funds, by which it appears that they are indebted to their Treasurer no less than

than 1,383*l.*—and in the whole, including building expenses, &c. nearly 6,000*l.* The expenses last year exceeded the income full 460*l.* Mr. B. concluded with an eulogy on the liberality of the illustrious Emperor Alexander, who had enabled Mr. Knill (the Missionary of their Society at Petersburg) to establish a school in connexion with his own chapel.

W. ALLEN, Esq. (the Treasurer) wished to caution the Society against discouragement on account of its pecuniary concerns, for he remembered them in a situation ten times worse. It would, however, be very desirable to get out of debt, in order to which he proposed to raise 6000*l.* in shares of 100*l.* each; already he had five names (which were mentioned) with encouragement to expect more; for Englishmen were not backward to support any plan of public utility when properly understood; and he did not doubt that by the next anniversary the object would wholly be accomplished. Their object was to enable the poorest of the poor to read the Bible, and to unite Christians of all denominations under the standard of revealed religion.

Mr. WILBERFORCE, M.P. remarked that their Treasurer had begun with stating that the Society had been heretofore rescued from much greater difficulties than its present; but (with his usual modesty) he omitted to add; what was the fact, that it was then rescued chiefly by his own generosity. As to the subject of education, its importance was forced upon us by the destitute situation of human nature—there is no animal comes into the world under a situation so needy and destitute as man. People are apt, indeed, to talk of generosity on this subject; but it is as much our duty to administer to the mental as to the physical wants of our fellow-creatures. It is our duty to Him, from whom we receive all our property and talents, to put into the hands of every one that sacred volume, which alone can guide us through life and afford us support in death. Mr. W. then followed the tour of the system as sketched in the Report of the Committee; and after reviewing the state of education in the various countries of the world, he moved, "That this Meeting entertains the most grateful sense of the patronage and support afforded to this Institution on the part of His Most Gracious Majesty, thereby strongly evincing his paternal regard to the best interests of the community." His Majesty, who had sent his annual donation of 100*l.*, had an hereditary claim to the gratitude of the Society; for his venerated father, having had the christian sagacity to see its merits, lent it his early support, and it was delightful to see the son following the noble example of the father. This tribute of gratitude would, no doubt, be the more gratifying to His Majesty from having been proposed from the chair by his Royal Brother. It was by works of this kind, which alone were worthy of kings, that he would support the dignity of his rank, and establish his claims to the gratitude of his people.

Rev. ROWLAND HILL supposed it to be the policy of the Committee to place their best and worst speakers in alternate succession: he was therefore appointed to follow Mr. Wilberforce. He was, however, very happy in seconding the present motion, and could not help congratulating the friends of education on the very numerous and respectable Meeting which had that day assembled in its support, and particularly on their having met under the presidency of H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex, who had on all occasions proved himself the friend of education and of humanity. The "National" Schools were well protected and supported, and this was very proper; but it was well known that a large portion of British subjects did not belong to the

the national church. He was connected with Sunday Schools for 3,000 children in the Borough, where all classes and parties worked together in diffusing the benefits of a religious education. He was sorry to find that the funds of the Institution were very low ; but he trusted that the active exertions of the very numerous and respectable assembly which he saw around him would soon recruit them. He was aware that many persons thought they had occasion for all their money whilst living, but they could not when dead ; and therefore he hoped (without injuring their immediate relatives) they would remember the Society in making their wills. As a proof of the exertions making for the dissemination of education, he would mention the seven Madagascar boys present, whose instruction was proceeding rapidly. He had had them at his house, and he would say that better behaved boys he had never met : and while he was on this subject he could not omit to mention, to the great credit of Government, that they allowed 50*l.* for the support of each of these boys. This was a proof that they were not insensible to the blessings of education, but really anxious to promote it. The Rev. Gentleman concluded by expressing his warm approbation of the resolution, which was then put and carried amidst great applause.

The **BARON DE STAEL**, from France, next presented himself to the Meeting, and was very favourably received. He observed that it was indeed a sight which reflected honour on the character of this country, to see so numerous and respectable an assemblage of its inhabitants, of different creeds and politics, met for the common and benevolent object of communicating the blessings of education to the poorer classes of their fellow men. Such an association deserved to prosper, and its patrons merited the best thanks of their country. He was sorry to say that the schools established in France had not met with that success in the last year which they had reason to expect ; but he could assure them it was not from want of exertion on the part of their promoters : they had done all in their power, and he hoped that their exertions would yet be attended with success. It was to him highly gratifying to see, in this country, Princes of the Blood come forward at the head of benevolent institutions like this : whereas in other countries they generally confined themselves to the precincts of the court. The Noble Baron therefore felt great pleasure in moving, " That the most respectful thanks of the Society were due, and were humbly offered, to Their Royal Highnesses the Duke of Sussex and the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, for their continued patronage of this Institution, and for the support they thus afforded to the cause of universal education."

Rev. **MARK WILKS** was so accustomed to follow his noble and excellent friend in his own country (where he was Secretary to the Bible and Slave-trade Abolition Societies, &c.) that he felt himself involuntarily led to second this resolution ; and he assured the Royal chairman, that whenever His Royal Highness's name was mentioned abroad, it was always associated with the most liberal and honourable feelings.

The **DUKE OF SUSSEX** thanked the Meeting in the name of his Royal relative and his own, for the honour which they had conferred in so distinguished a manner. On the part of H. R. H. the Prince of Saxe Coburg, he could assure the Meeting that he felt sincerely the honour conferred. He had been obliged to be absent from the country for some time, in consequence of the ill health of a near relative, but would return in a few weeks, and would learn with gratitude the obligations which he owed to the Meeting, and they might

might rest assured that he would never forget the dear ties which knit him to the people of England. As to himself, his opinions with respect to their valuable institution were the same as ever; and it afforded him the most sincere gratification to preside at a Meeting which had been so much honoured by the eloquent and glowing address of his hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce). On the principle of the benefits of education and of toleration, he thought there could be but one opinion in all liberal minds. They were the principles which seated his family upon the throne of this kingdom, and he trusted that the time was not far distant when the qualified name "toleration" would be set aside. He regretted that the Society established in France had not been more successful in the last year; but he hoped that the good sense of those who opposed the dissemination of mental improvement would bring them to a better and more enlightened view of this subject. It was also to be regretted that so very little progress had been made in Italy; but he hoped that by the next Report it would be found, that they who were thus endeavouring to check the progress of the human mind, were working the destruction of their own fabric. His Royal Highness, after congratulating the Meeting on its numbers and respectability, and exhorting them to continue their exertions, concluded by expressing the great pleasure he felt at learning that Government had so liberally provided for the Madagascar boys. His Royal Highness sat down amidst loud cheers.

Mr. EVANS, M.P., in proposing the thanks of the Meeting to the Duchess of Kent, the Vice Patronesses, and Ladies' Committee, made several remarks on the progress of the Institution, and the obstacles which similar attempts had encountered abroad. Amongst other circumstances, he mentioned that from a school opened at Milan, for the instruction of youth, the pupils were recently expelled at the point of the bayonet, and the master and principal promoters arrested and thrown into prison.

Rev. Mr. COX (of Hackney), in seconding this motion, took the opportunity of reading some extracts from the Report of the Ladies' Committee, to show how well they merited the thanks of the Meeting.

J. RANDOLPH, Esq. (Member of the American Congress) moved the thanks of the Meeting to His Grace the Duke of Bedford, President, and the Vice-Presidents, and that the Right Hon. Lord Suffield, and J. H. Harington, Esq. be added to their number; also thanks to those "Reverend Gentlemen who had befriended the Institution by preaching on its behalf, or by granting the use of their churches or chapels." Mr. R., in recommending this motion, dwelt upon the virtues of the House of Russell and other great families, whose present representatives he found in the list of the Vice Presidents.

This motion was seconded by Mr. VAN OVEN, Vice-President of the Jewish School, who mentioned it as an instance of Christian liberality, that even persons of his religion were not excluded. He also expressed the gratitude of the supporters of the Jews' free schools, for the assistance rendered to them by the British and Foreign School Society.

The Royal Chairman here read a letter from His Grace the Duke of Bedford, apologizing for his absence, and inclosing his noble annual subscription of 100*l*.

Rt. Hon. Lord EBRINGTON, after complimenting the Royal Duke, and the noble foreigners present, particularly the descendant of the illustrious Madame de Stael, proposed the thanks of the Meeting to the different auxiliary branches of the Society, particularly at Bristol, Plymouth, and

Tavistock; adding, "That this Meeting hail^s with delight the rapid progress of the system in foreign countries; and, for his extraordinary services in introducing the system into Spain, elects Lieut. Col. Kearney an Honorary Member of the Institution."

Rev. Dr. SCHWABE, in seconding the resolution, defended his country (Germany) from a hint thrown out of being indifferent to the cause of education; and requested the other foreigners present to carry home with them the assurance of the warm interest felt in his country for the success of education abroad.

This, like all the former motions, being carried unanimously, the last resolution was, of course, a vote of thanks to the Royal Chairman, which was moved by the Rev. Dr. WAUGH, who began with this remark; "That when the great God meant to display his sovereign wisdom and power in the highest degree, he said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light: those words were echoed from this and every similar institution, and on every Sabbath day, from every pulpit in the land, from the cathedral to the conventicle." Addressing the Royal Chairman, Dr. W. then said—"This Meeting cannot adequately express their sense of Your Royal Highness's condescension on this and similar occasions—may 'your light so shine before men that they, seeing your good works, may glorify,' not you—far be that—may your name be absorbed in the splendour of your own actions—while the glory shall be to—'your FATHER who is in heaven.'"

The Rev. NICH. BULL (Rector of Saffron Walden) seconded this motion, as he felt it his duty to express his approval of the liberality apparent both in its plan and conduct; and he hoped the great cause of education and of knowledge would proceed till the earth should be filled with the glory of the Lord.

This motion being carried by acclamation, was acknowledged in few words by His Royal Highness, who hoped the benefits of this Meeting would be long felt by the Institution. His Royal Highness retired amidst the loudest plaudits, and a handsome collection was made at the doors of the Hall, several of the plates being held by ladies.

Royal British Institution for the Education of the Poor.—On the 3d of May, the Annual Meeting of the friends and supporters of this excellent Institution was held at the school-house, in North-street City-road, where a numerous and respectable attendance took place.

His R. H. the Duke of Sussex not being able to attend the Meeting, Mr. Alderman Wood, the founder of the Institution, was requested to take the chair, which he did, and expressed his regret at the absence of the Duke of Sussex, whose indisposition (he said) could be the only cause of his non-attendance at the Meeting.

Mr. WILKS, the Secretary, now read the Report, from which it appeared that the Institution was in a very flourishing state, and had met with the most liberal support of the public. Since the year 1813, the Society had received under its care 4,433 boys, and the number had been increased to 4,808—of these, 2,501 were taught to read and write, and 2,307 had been completed in the rules of arithmetic. Within the last three years, 580 girls had been admitted into the schools, and taught needle work and the rudiments of education, and 217 now remained in the school, the dimensions of which were so very extensive, that more could be received. It also stated that

3000/.

3000*l.* have been expended in the erection of two commodious schools, and there only remained a debt of 400*l.*, which it was anticipated would be liquidated by that day's subscriptions, and others in hand.

The school embraces the children of the poor of every denomination, without offering violence to their religious feelings, and is conducted upon the liberal plan of the British and Foreign School Society; conveying religious and moral instruction only through the medium of the Scriptures, to which some of the girls showed so great an attachment, that they saved all their little pittances of pocket-money, &c. to purchase Bibles for themselves.

After the Report was read, several of the children of the Institution were conducted into the room. They were neatly clad. Being placed in rotation, each of them produced some specimen of their forwardness in education in its various branches, and the needlework and writing exacted the highest eulogies from the company. Several read passages out of the Bible.

Sunday School Union.—The Annual Meeting of this Society was held on Tuesday morning, May 7, at the City of London Tavern, Joseph Butterworth, Esq. M.P. in the chair. The company assembled to breakfast between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning, and the chair was taken at half-past six. About 1000 persons were present.

The Report stated, that the total of Sunday scholars in London and its vicinity was 52,549 children, and 478 adults, taught by 4,870 gratuitous teachers, being an increase of 3,687 scholars in the past year. Several new Sunday School Unions had been formed during the last year. In three counties in Wales there was a total of Sunday scholars, including children and adults, amounting to one-fifth of the population. The Report exhibited a total of upwards of 600,000 Sunday scholars in Great Britain and Ireland, in addition to which there were many places from which no returns had been communicated. The Report then alluded to the spread of education generally throughout the world, and especially by means of Sunday schools; 9000 scholars were stated in the New York Sunday School Union, and 24,000 connected with that of Philadelphia.

The Report was highly interesting, and the Rev. Messrs. Winter, Scott, and several other gentlemen, addressed the Meeting in eloquent speeches.

Summary of Returns of Sunday Schools.—These returns have been received from the different Unions and Reporting Societies in correspondence with the Institution.

	Schools.	Teachers.	Scholars.
Four London Auxiliaries	362	4,908	53,398
Sixty Country Unions and Societies ..	2567	32,766	296,041
Unions in Wales	174	10,580	93,017
Sabbath-School Union for Scotland ..	978	2,121	57,831
Sunday-School Society for Ireland ...	1558		156,255
Grand total	5,637	50,375	656,542
Additions reported since last year	622	14,148	138,859

Of which 471 are new schools opened during the past year.

Receipts

<i>Receipts of the Year.</i>		<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Contributions		140	12	4
Publications		1621	12	1
Total		£1762	4	5

<i>Payments of the Year.</i>		<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Publications		1358	5	5
Grants to schools and societies		72	4	9
Sundries		101	11	7
Total		£1532	1	9

London Hibernian Society.—On the 4th of May, the Annual Meeting of the above Society was held at Freemasons' Hall, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in the Chair.

The Report, which was read by the Rev. Mr. RITCHINGS, the Secretary, stated, that the number of the Society's schools in Ireland had increased in the last year from 534 to 575, and the number of scholars was 53,233; 35 of the schools were under the superintendence of Catholic priests, from which it would be seen how entirely the Society was divested of sectarianism. The Society had received 1000 Bibles and 10,000 Testaments from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and had distributed upwards of 80,000 Bibles and Testaments. The progress of the Society had been slow but sure, and extends now to 23 counties out of 32, and they looked with confidence to complete success, as the cause was not that of a party, but truly catholic.

The Earl of GOSFORD congratulated the Society on the success of its labours hitherto, and argued for the necessity of its perseverance from the present melancholy state of Ireland, which he attributed to the want of education, and of a resident gentry among them. Lord G. concluded by moving the reception and printing of the Report.

The Rev. GEORGE CLARKE seconded the Resolution, and warmly recommended the objects of the Society, which were to benefit the people of Ireland, who were bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh—whose characteristics were bravery, generosity, and gratitude.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. STEVEN, one of the Vice-Presidents, who had visited Ireland during the last year, gave an interesting account of the Society's schools, many of which, he said, were held in Roman Catholic chapels, and greatly promoted by some excellent men among the Catholic priests. He was amazed at the quickness with which the Irish children acquired learning: the dulllest learned to read the Testament in a year; and he had known an instance of a child after having learned to read, committing the four gospels to memory in a quarter of a year. The people were of most amiable dispositions, and he was convinced that all their miseries and crimes lay at our door.

Lord CALTHORPE moved a resolution of thanks to the Royal Chairman, for condescending to become the patron of the Society, and presiding at the Meeting. His lordship eulogised the warm-hearted people of Ireland, who were never deficient in gratitude and affection for those who showed them kindness or justice.

The

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The Rev. Dr. RANDOLPH seconded the resolution.—He said, Never was any country plunged in greater misery than Ireland, but he hoped food and raiment would soon be sent to their relief. (The enthusiastic applause with which the expression of this hope was received, showed how deeply the Meeting sympathized with the sufferings of Ireland.)

The Resolution being put by Lord CALTHORPE, and carried by acclamation,

The Duke of GLOUCESTER declared, that he felt he owed thanks to those excellent patriots who had proposed to him to unite with a society, that had the happiness of much-injured Ireland for its object: England had incurred a long debt to Ireland, which could not be better repaid than by affording them the benefits of religious and moral education, on the advantages of which His Royal Highness dilated at some length. He would ever consider the people of that country as members of the same family with the people of England, and endeavour to extend to them a participation of every blessing their brothers enjoyed in England.

Rev. J. BROWN hoped that some elevated and benevolent characters in England would import themselves into Ireland, and carry with them the more regular and orderly habits of this country. If, indeed, they were afraid to go, they had only to send more Bibles and teachers to prepare their way, and secure their welcome reception.

A vote of thanks being passed to the Vice-Presidents,

Mr. WILBERFORCE, M.P. as one of them, addressed the Meeting in a speech of considerable length, in which he feelingly lamented the injuries and the insults that had for ages been offered to the high-minded gallant people of Ireland; but expressed his hope that the time was now come when justice would be done to their virtues and their sufferings. In adverting to a remark of their illustrious President, that England had been long indebted to Ireland, he remarked that the former would promote her own interests in speedily repaying those obligations. Ireland had been so enslaved and degraded, that it was difficult to persuade an Irish peasant to consider an Englishman in any other light than as an enemy. He considered this Society as calculated to do great good, and promised his utmost support to their exertions.

J. GRATTAN, Esq. M.P. could not but feel grateful for their attention to his native country. He assured the Meeting, that by any attempt at proselytism their object would be defeated. His own tenants were all Catholics, and more honest, faithful, and well disposed persons could no where be found. Mr. G. moved thanks to the Treasurer and Committee; which being seconded and carried, the Rev. G. Clayton returned thanks in their name.

J. SCOTT, Esq. the Treasurer, then gave a brief statement of the Society's accounts. The income of the last year was 5,562*l.*, and its expenditure 6,863*l.*, which left a deficiency of 800*l.*, which could only be made up by drawing on their capital.

Sunday School Society for Ireland.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Roden presided at the Annual Meeting of this Society, which was held on April 17th at the Lecture Room of the Dublin Institution.

James Digges Latouche, Esq. read the Report, from which it appears, that the number of schools which the Society has assisted amounts to 1558, containing 156,255 scholars, being an increase during the past year of 205 schools

schools and 40,655 scholars. The income of the Society during the past year has been 3193*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*—360*l.* was contributed by associations in England, and 298*l.* from Scotland. A bequest of 840*l.* was left to the Society by Sir Gilbert King, and another of 200*l.* by Mrs. O'Donnell. The Society has also received a liberal donation of 10,000 Testaments from the British and Foreign Bible Society. They have issued during the same period 1022 Bibles, 17,574 Testaments, 47,842 Spelling-books, a number of Alphabets, &c.—During the year the total expenditure has been 2,947*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*

Several Resolutions approbatory of the Report, and returning thanks to the patrons of the Society, the Ladies' Associations, and all who were employed in the great work of Sunday-school instruction, were moved, or seconded, by the Right Hon. St. George Daly, the Rev. Rt. Shaw, the Rev. Mr. Simeon of Cambridge, J. D. Latouche, Esq., Lord Viscount Powerscourt, the Rev. Mr. Marsh of Colchester, Js. Digges Latouche, Esq., Rev. Rt. Daly, Rev. Mr. Anderson of Edinburgh, Rev. Peter Roe, and the Hon. Js. Hewitt.

Many of the speakers addressed the Meeting at considerable length, and viewed the subject of Scriptural Education in a variety of bearings, as to its influence on the peace and prosperity of the country, on the happiness of the domestic circle, on the teacher as well as the pupil, in-fitting them for the proper discharge of the relative duties of this life, and preparing for a better. When the number of gratuitous teachers throughout Ireland (11,000) was mentioned, it excited a burst of astonishment and admiration.

At a Meeting of this description, the distracted state of Ireland presented itself with considerable force, and irrefragable proofs were adduced, that the want of a religious education in the disturbed districts was the grand source from whence it flowed. A contrast was drawn by the Rev. Mr. Shaw between the state of Sunday-school instruction in the provinces of Ulster and Munster, the population being nearly equal: in the former there are 1027 Sunday-schools, in the latter but 52. View the state of the provinces, and the inference is obvious. The Rev. Rt. Daly said, that in the small county (Wicklow) where he resided, there were 4000 pupils in Sunday-schools, and 395 gratuitous teachers; peace and good order reigned there; they had only 50 soldiers in the whole county; but he considered the Sunday-school teachers their best protectors. Mr. Daly read some extracts from Serjeant Lefroy's admirable address to the Grand Jury of the county of Limerick, and eulogized, in the most energetic manner, the enlightened view he had taken of the subject of education, as it affected the general peace and happiness of the country. Mr. J. D. Latouche dwelt principally on the happy influence of religious instruction in private life, and called upon all who wished to see their peasantry sober, industrious, and tender parents, and their children dutiful and affectionate, to support the Sunday-school Institution.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

On the 1st of May, the Anniversary Meeting of this excellent Institution was held at the Freemasons's Tavern. On three sides of the great room benches had been erected for the accommodation of the company, who began to assemble at an early hour; and long before eleven o'clock every place, including the high galleries at each end, was filled by persons of the first respectability, among whom

whom were H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester ; the Bishops of Salisbury, St. David's, and Norwich ; the Earls of Harrowby, Gosford, and Rocksavage ; Lords Calthorpe, Gambier, Suffield, and Sandon ; the Rt. Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rt. Hon. C. Grant, Sir T. D. Acland, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir C. S. Hunter, Sir Mont. Chomley, Barts. ; S. Wortley, W. Whitmore, and Wm. Wilberforce, Esqrs. M.P.

Shortly after eleven o'clock the chair was taken by Lord Teignmouth, who, after explaining the object of the Meeting, moved that the Report be read.—The Report was read accordingly, and the following is an abstract :

It contained a number of most cheering facts relative to the prosperity of the Institution, from which it appeared, that the Auxiliary Societies have increased both in numbers and in the amount of the subscriptions ; that the friends of similar institutions in various parts of the world have been prosecuting the same cause with increased energy and success ; and many instances were mentioned in which their exertions have produced very striking moral and religious benefit. The income of the Society during the past year exceeded that of any former year, and amounted to the astonishing sum of upwards of One hundred and three thousand pounds. The expenditure during the same period, in translating, printing, and circulating the Scriptures in a variety of European, Asiatic, and some African and American languages, as also in assisting the benevolent labours of kindred institutions, exceeded 90,000*l.* So great, however, are the demands, and such the confidence of the Committee on the continued generosity of the Christian public, that the engagements of the Society were calculated at no less a sum than 50,000*l.*—The reading of the Report occupied nearly an hour, and was received by the Meeting with the most cordial approbation.

The Earl of HARROWBY expressed the high satisfaction he felt at the Report which had been read, by which it appeared that the Gospel had extended to the most distant parts of the world ; to men of every colour and of every clime. His Lordship moved that the Report be printed under direction of the Committee.—Agreed to.

The Rt. Hon. the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER moved the thanks of the Society to their Noble President, Lord Teignmouth. The Society had now entered into its nineteenth year since its formation ; and although it had long been discountenanced by many, it had grown above all difficulties. His Noble Friend had called their attention to the Report which had been read ; but in order that the Report might be understood, it would be necessary to refer to the map of the world ; because otherwise it would be impossible to trace all its operations. By that Report, it appeared that in every quarter of the world, ignorance and idolatry were giving way before the light of Truth and of the Gospel.—Although this Institution formed but a small part in the efforts made to extend that light, it would form a memorable era in the history of the Christian Church ; and he hoped that all selfish feelings would be overlooked in supporting the great cause in which they were all engaged.

This motion being passed,

Lord TEIGNMOUTH then rose, and after expressing his acknowledgements, observed, that the happy effects of this Society had every day been extending from nation to nation, in consequence of the universal distribution of the Holy Scriptures. Efforts so extended as those could not have proceeded

ceeded from any cause purely human, but from God himself, who must have disposed the hearts of men to promote his glory and the happiness of his creatures. If history was a record of the crimes of mankind, it was reserved for modern times to form new institutions, founded on evangelical principles, for the prevention of crimes, and for promoting the good of mankind. He was happy to find that the Bible Societies comprehended, at this time, Christians of all denominations, and that universality was given to all their operations, which were directed, not to the subjugation of empires, but to the subversion of ignorance, idolatry, and vice. They aimed at the moral and religious improvement of mankind; the Bible alone was the instrument by which it was to be effected; and he hoped this Society would continue its operations until all the nations of the earth should be acquainted with that sacred work, which had already, by the vast extent of its circulation, greatly improved the moral condition of mankind, while it tended to conduct them to eternal salvation.

The Rev. Mr. MONOD, Secretary of the Paris Protestant Bible Society, was now introduced to the Meeting. This gentleman addressed them in very good English. He said he appeared before them as the representative of a Bible Society, which took the greatest interest in the proceedings of this Society, and which contemplated them with admiration and gratitude. The Members of the Society to which he belonged valued no other distinctions than those of the disciples of Jesus. He considered himself there among children of the same Father, and followers of the same Saviour. With sentiments of this kind he prayed the indulgence of the Meeting, and assured them that their brethren in France were animated by the same spirit as those whom he now addressed, although they had not the same means. Little more than three years had elapsed since the Society in Paris was established, and since then there were forty Branch Societies from it; and from having at first no more funds than 40,000 francs, they now had 300,000 francs. They had distributed vast numbers of Bibles; and a generous friend of their Institution had sent 2000 francs, to be given to the author of the best work in the French language upon the reading of the Holy Scriptures.

Mr. DEALTRY now passed some compliments on the respectable foreigner who just spoke, for the information he had given, and the intelligent manner in which he had delivered himself. It must excite the admiration of every man to hear of such a Society as that just described being established in Paris.

Lord CALTHORPE also expressed his admiration at what he had just heard from the Secretary of the Paris Bible Society. Nothing could more gratify the feelings of all persons in this country than the assurance that such an Institution could be held in support of the Society of England. So great was the extent of those Institutions, and so far had they exceeded the most sanguine hopes of their supporters, that nothing less than a Divine influence could have produced such wonderful effects. It had been, within the last year, objected that this Institution had deviated from its original purpose: the objections urged, however, had all been of a minor kind, and not directed to its great and essential objects. He was convinced that this Society had reflected higher glory on the country even than the progress of its arms and its arts; and its evangelical nature would ever make it pre-eminent over all other Institutions. It happily had the support and patronage of Royalty;
and

and feeling as he did the deepest interest in the Royal Family of this country, he thought the thanks of the Meeting ought to be offered to them, not as individuals, but in behalf of the whole people of the country. He concluded with moving the thanks of the Meeting to Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Cumberland, Sussex, and Gloucester, for their continued support in forwarding the objects of this Society.

Mr. STUART WORTLEY, M.P. rose to second this motion. It was the peculiar pride and boast of this country, that in all excellent Institutions persons of the highest rank were most forward in mixing with their fellow-subjects, in order to promote their success; he therefore most cordially supported the vote of thanks now moved to be given to the Illustrious Individuals in question.

His R. H. the Duke of GLOUCESTER considered this vote as a fresh proof of the generous feelings with which they were always ready to acknowledge any trifling services performed by him and his illustrious relatives. He wished to express his thanks to them rather for having laboured so much in the great cause in which they were engaged, than for the mark of favour they had now shown him. The respectable Secretary of the French Bible Society had truly observed that they had all associated as the disciples of Christ, and were the children of one common Father; and he fully participated in that feeling. After the struggles in which all Europe had been so long engaged, it was a satisfaction to him to see its inhabitants no longer contending for earthly territory, but endeavouring to make their fellow-creatures happy, by giving that book which was to prepare them for eternal life, as well as to make them virtuous in this present world. So long then as there remained a spot upon the globe to which a Bible had not yet reached, they ought to increase their efforts in this great cause. The difficulties which had at first been encountered were diminishing every day, and he hoped to see the labours of this Society extended all over the world. He trusted that increased exertions would be made every year towards extending the blessings which had grown out of this Society. In the name of his illustrious relatives he now thanked them all for their kind regards.

WM. WILBERFORCE, Esq. M.P. began by congratulating the company on the happy progress which the efforts of the Society had made; and he was delighted to see even in Paris the rapid progress of that blessed truth which would lead men to eternal salvation, and overturn the false philosophy which had too much prevailed in a capital that had so long been renowned for learning and the liberal arts. It was also delightful to see that in almost every part of the habitable globe the Bible was now diffusing its blessings; it was now making its happy progress among the miserable natives of Labrador. The people of the United States of America were also labouring in the same cause with us; and showing to the world that all men were children of the same parents. There was, in fact, a masterly energy of heavenly force at work to accomplish the great objects they all had in view. He was happy to inform the Meeting, that he very lately had a communication from the Secretary of General Bolivar, President of the Columbian Republic, which stated that Bibles had been brought into Venezuela; that they were eagerly bought up, and rapidly circulated; and there was every reason to hope that Bible Societies would soon be established among all the Catholic inhabitants of the extensive regions of South America.—In our own country the happiest effect must arise from these annual celebrations.

celebrations. He then moved the thanks of the Meeting to the Right Rev. and the Right Hon. Vice-Presidents of the Society, for their continued support of the Society.

Lord SANDON seconded the motion in a short speech.

The Rev. THEO. BLUMHARDT, a Professor of the University of Basle, next rose; he addressed the Meeting in tolerably good English. He began by stating the progress which his countrymen had made in circulating the Bible; and in this work he was happy to say that Catholics and persons of other religions cordially united.

The Earl of GOSFORD addressed the Meeting, but in so low a tone of voice as to be inaudible. He moved thanks to the Secretary and Committee.

The Rev. Mr. MORISON said the land that gave him birth (Scotland) had for years been a land of Bibles; there was not a cottage that had not one: and that might account for the excellent habits of the people. There was not a soldier or a sailor, or a shepherd in the Highlands, who had not this great oracle of truth in his possession, and who did not make it his guide; and he would not wish greater happiness to the remote parts of the world, than to see them just as Scotland now is. The existence of such a Society as this carried the Word of God in every direction, and even promoted the objects of literature; but above all, it tended to organize the discordant materials of the Christian world into one mass of brotherly affection.

This motion being passed,

J. THORNTON, Esq. the Treasurer, expressed his acknowledgements for the honour done him, and those with whom he acted. He assured the company he would use his utmost endeavours to promote the great object they had in view. He hoped every parent would instill the principles of the Society into the minds of their children, pursuant to the noble example set them that day by the President of His Majesty's Council, who presented his eldest son (Lord Sandon) before them. He said the Society was in a most prosperous state; but he hoped that prosperity would not cause any relaxation in the efforts of those who had contributed to it by their subscriptions; for, while there were above eight hundred millions of people among whom the Bible ought to be distributed, it was necessary that their efforts should be continually increasing.

The Rev. Mr. HUGHES (one of the Secretaries) next addressed the Meeting, and followed other gentlemen in panegyriizing the Society, and in inculcating the necessity of extending the Word of God through all parts of the world.

The Lord Bishop of NORWICH said it was probable that from his advanced age, he should never again have an opportunity of addressing the Society; and therefore he rose to congratulate the company on the happy progress they had made, and the moral improvement they had produced in various parts of the world.

The Rt. Hon. C. GRANT expressed the gratification he felt at the liberal sentiments which had just fallen from the Rt. Rev. Prelate, who he hoped would be long spared for the good of this Institution and of his country, of which he was so great an ornament. The Meeting should never forget those to whom it owed the origin of its institution; and every prejudice that had been raised against it should be done away.

F. WHITMORE, Esq. M.P. expressed great satisfaction at the Report which had been read that day; and nothing could more fully prove the excellent feeling with which the supporters of this Institution were actuated, than the flourishing

riching state of its funds, amidst the general distress that pervaded all parts of the country.

Sir T. D. ACLAND, Bart., M.P., offered his congratulations on the increased advantages which arose from these successive meetings. He said he was authorized by a foreigner from the shores of Norway to return his best thanks to the Society for the attention they had shown his country in propagating the Scriptures there. He moved the thanks of the Meeting to the Noble President for his conduct in the chair.

Lord GAMBIER wanted words to express his admiration of the happy and glorious success which the Society had experienced.—He seconded the motion. At the same time he proposed that the thanks should be accompanied by a general cheer, which was done accordingly.

Lord TEIGNMOUTH expressed his grateful acknowledgements to the company for this mark of their favour.

The assembly then dispersed.

MISSIONS.

Church Missionary Society; twenty-second Anniversary.—The Annual Sermon was preached, on Monday evening, the 29th of April, at St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, by the Rev. Marmaduke Thompson, M.A. Chaplain of the Hon. the East-India Company on the Madras Establishment. In applying the subject to the work of Missions, the Preacher drew the following picture of the State of India, of which he had himself been an eye-witness:—

Look around upon the fields which occupy the cares of the Church Missionary Society. Comprehending a population of many myriads of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, they exhibit to us, every where, through all the shores of the Mediterranean, from Africa to New Zealand, from West to East—the most affecting, the most appalling spectacles of sin and wretchedness—of dishonour to God, and of human degradation and perdition.

My Brethren, I speak strongly—I speak, let it be remembered, as an eye-witness. For thirteen years, and upward, my lot has lain among the Heathen—among even the most civilized portion of them, in India. What you have shuddered but to hear, I have often shuddered to behold—and the remembrance is indelible.

Not, however, to exhaust your time in adding to those tales of horror, of moral turpitude, of *abominable idolatries*, and devouring superstitions, which are familiar to you through many valuable publications, let me declare to you solemnly, from this sacred place, that scarcely could we frame a record respecting India too piteous—too degrading—too base!

There are those, I know, who would persuade you to think differently. Powerfully as these persons have oftentimes been refuted—disproved as their allegations are by many open and notorious facts, especially that of the almost total absence of moral culture in those Native Schools which are under exclusive Native management, by the known wickednesses of their religious fables and rites, and by the complaints and reproaches on these accounts of their own writers—let it suffice me, for the present, to add my own to the many strong and mournful testimonies to the enormities of the Gods, the Worship, the Priests, and the People of India—and, for you, Christians! let no contradictions

tions of false or misguided Brethren rob us of your sympathy and confidence, which are our comfort in many labours and tribulations.

On the encouragements offered by India, Mr. Thompson thus speaks:—

We will turn, however, from this view. Lift up, then, your eyes; and behold the fields as they appear, not in their own native shades, but in connection with Christian Missionaries. I must not attempt to lead you over the wide survey which we might take with delight: I must still contract your view to a part only—that interesting part—the vast and prolific fields of India. There the scene presented to us is distinctly that of a people now brought, from various causes, to a state of mental excitement unknown for ages; and everywhere welcoming instructors. I speak of a fact, evidenced and authenticated by the most sensible alterations in the tone and habits of men of all castes, from the Brahmin to the Parian—by the eager desire of multitudes for instruction—by combinations of the learned and affluent among them with ourselves, in School and School-book Societies—by the writings and numerous disciples of Native Reformers—and by the testimony of the Missionaries of every Society to the respect and attention of willing crowds to the preaching of the Gospel, and the readiness with which parents of every caste commit to them the education of their sons.

The Annual Meeting was held on the 30th of April, at 12 o'clock, in Freemasons' Hall, Lord Gambier, the President, in the Chair.—

The Report was read by the Secretary; and the Meeting was addressed by the Treasurer on the state of the Funds. The Receipts of the year had exceeded those of the year preceding by about 9000*l.*; and the Payments, as will be seen by the following abstract, had nearly equalled the Receipts.

Receipts of the Year.

Paid direct to the Society:—	£.	s.	d.
Congregational Collections	555	4	1
Benefactions	1,788	9	0
Annual Subscriptions	154	14	6
School Fund	150	10	0
Legacies	482	0	0
Contributions through medium of Associations	28,135	19	3
Deduct Expenses	1,019	1	0
	<hr/> 27,116 18 3		
Interest on Government Securities	1,327	13	9
Total	<hr/> 32,975 9 7		

Payments of the Year.

Missions:—	
West Africa	2,280 12 1
Mediterranean	904 8 7
North India	2,730 4 4
South India	6,814 16 1
Western India	368 9 5
Ceylon	3,009 13 6
Australasia	5,649 17 6
Carried forward	<hr/> 21,708 1 4
	Brought

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	21,708	1	4
West Indies	500	4	8
North-West America	80	0	0
Remittance, in Dollars, to the South India Mission, for 1822	1,000	0	0
Investment to meet a Grant to the Bishop's College at Calcutta, for 1822	1,000	0	0
Grant to the Episcopal Missionary Society of the United States	200	0	0
Missionaries and Students:—			
Maintenance, Education, &c.	1,546	6	2
Basle Institution	315	0	0
Disabled Missionaries, Widows, and Families	240	19	9
Purchase of Premises at Islington	529	14	0
Books	198	0	0
Publications:—			
Translating and printing the Scriptures and Tracts	282	5	3
Printing 9500 copies of the Twenty-first Annual Publication	1,435	7	10
Purchase of 81,000 Numbers of the Missionary Register, at cost price, chiefly for the use of Collectors	1,005	10	8
Printing Quarterly Papers, for the use of the Weekly and Monthly Contributors	531	11	2
Miscellaneous Printing	70	18	10
Sundries—including Advertisements, Postage, Carriage, Rent, Taxes, Salaries, Poundage, and Incidentals	2,252	18	4
Total	£32,896	18	2

The Resolutions were moved and seconded—by the Earl of Rocksavage; and the Rev. W. Dealtry, of Clapham—by Lord Calthorpe; and the Rev. Theophilus Blumhardt, Inspector of the Missionary Seminary at Basle—by W. Wilberforce, Esq. M.P.; and the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, of Harrow—by John Herbert Harington, Esq. of Calcutta; and T. Powell Buxton, Esq. M.P.—and by the Rev. John Langley, Secretary of the Shropshire Church Missionary Association; and the Rev. John Brown, late of Belfast.—A concluding Resolution of Thanks was moved by the Earl of Gosford, and seconded by the Rev. James Haldane Stewart.

Rev. WM. DEALTRY spoke to the following effect.—It would be lost labour to offer remarks on all the Stations occupied by the Society; but as I have the honour to second the Motion just made by the Noble Earl, I may allude to two or three circumstances in the Report, in order to show the great necessity for this Institution.

One of the most important parts of the world visited by this Society is the East Indies. I will not remark on the statement which we have heard, that spheres for labour are opening faster than Missionaries can be procured—nor on the impressive Letter of the Metropolitan of the Syrian Church to the Society—nor on that of the Rev. Joseph Fenn, so animating in its details and its prospects, in reference to the Syrian Church. But there is another letter, which we have heard, addressed by the Governor-General of India to your Lordship; and, adverting to the statements of that letter, I would ask, What must be the character of a population where no moral principles are inculcated

on the rising generation? What the children educated in such Native Schools must become, in advancing to maturity, every one can tell. Thousands of these children, who would grow up, but for our exertions, in entire ignorance of all that is really good, are instructed in sound principles, and are thus training for the Kingdom of Heaven.

I would allude to another circumstance mentioned in the Report—I mean the benevolent spirit of the Christian Negroes collected in the settlements in Sierra Leone. It struck me, while hearing the statements respecting these lately-liberated Slaves, that if it had occurred in the pages of ancient Ecclesiastical History, that some traveller had lighted upon a people so anxious for religious instruction, and so devoted to their worship, that they attended daily in great numbers at Morning and Evening Prayers—that they exhibited their Christian charity in a way so remarkable, that, when some outcasts landed on their coast, they ran to them, pouring as it were oil and wine into their wounds, carrying them on their backs to their town, and supplying them with every necessary—this would be a fact to which we should allude, as one of the most interesting which the page of history could produce. We should have said, “Happy are the people under the influence of a spirit like this! and happy are the spectators of scenes like these!” But, my lord, this is an event of our own day. There is now such a Goshen, where the inhabitants have light in their dwelling. There is an Oasis of this kind even in the deserts of Africa. It might, indeed, be thought that these people were naturally of very amiable character: but the Report states explicitly, that this was not the case; and that, previously to the introduction of Christianity among them, if some of their recaptured countrymen were landed on the coast, they would perhaps inquire if there were among them a brother, or a relative, or a friend, but were quite indifferent to the wants and sufferings of others: but we find, on the occasions stated in the Report, that they inquired not who is my brother or my friend, but they eagerly supplied the wants of all, and showed their love to God by their love to their fellow-creatures.

And I am the more forcibly impressed by this fact, from the contrast which it affords to the state of the slaves on board *Le Rodeur*, a French vessel, among whom, as she was crossing the Atlantic in 1819 with 160 slaves and a crew of 22 men, the ophthalmia appeared. From the slaves the disease reached the crew; all of whom, except one man, became wholly or partially blind. A question naturally arises, “Why did not the Negroes rise upon the crew?” as it is known, that such was their love of liberty, that when they could seize the opportunity they leaped into the sea. The real cause of their not rising was their mutual hatred. Consisting of different tribes, they looked upon one another with malice; and, though in chains, were ready to tear one another in pieces! Mark the contrast produced by the blessing of God on the residence of a few years at Sierra Leone.

And as a proof of the power of the Gospel, I would recall to your recollection the statement of the Report, that these Negroes had been under Christian instruction only for the short period of four years. Well might the Naval Officer who accompanied Sir Charles M’Carthy on a visit to Gloucester Town express his astonishment at this fact, as we have heard from the Report that he did; and well did Sir Charles reply, that this was the effect of Christianity, for no such effect could be produced by any other means.

I am very unwilling to trespass long upon your time; but I would say a word

word upon the newly-adopted American Mission of the Society—a Mission on which I cannot enlarge; but I would state, that in no part of the world is the want of Missionaries greater, than among the wandering tribes of the American Indians—in no part of the world is there greater anxiety for Missionaries—in no part of the world are there greater facilities for carrying on the work in which we are engaged. But I would leave the detail; and earnestly recommend, that we should with gratitude lift up our hearts to Almighty God for His blessing on this Institution, and that we should unite in fervent prayer for His constant assistance and support: and sure I am, that if these be our feelings, when we consider the prospect opening around us, and the facilities which we now possess—facilities unknown to our forefathers—we shall exert ourselves in the propagation of the Gospel, under the influence of Christian Charity, and in entire dependence on the Holy Spirit, looking for the influence of that Spirit where it is not yet seen, and for more abundant supplies of His grace where it is in a measure already bestowed.

Lord CALTHORPE.—My lord, I rise to move the adoption of a Resolution which I will read:—

“That this Meeting witnesses with pleasure and thankfulness the enlarged means and labours of the various Societies for extending the kingdom of Christ, both in the United Empire, and on the Continent of Europe, and in America; and anticipates the day when every Christian Church throughout the world will yield full obedience to the command of Christ to make known the Gospel to every creature.”

My lord—After the unequivocal evidence which the Report, that we have this day had the satisfaction of hearing, affords of the degree in which this Society has commenced and carried on, now for several years, exertions for the promotion of the very objects mentioned in this Resolution—when we have reason to conclude, from the experience of this Institution, and, much more than from the experience of this Institution, from the invaluable promises of God, that this great object shall be finally accomplished—I cannot entertain a doubt, that every succeeding year will afford us the unspeakable satisfaction of passing Resolutions like this, with an increasing degree of encouragement, cordiality, and assurance.

I confess, my lord, that, for myself, I do contemplate the labours of this Institution with peculiar satisfaction, and I may say with delight. There is something in it so congenial to the spirit of that Church to which it is my high privilege to belong, and to that principle of love which breathes throughout her Services, that I am perfectly persuaded that every instance of success which attends its labours must be hailed by the sincere Members of that Church, not merely as affording them fresh proofs how closely it is founded in the spirit of Him who is the great Author of our faith, but as adding a fresh link and bond to our affection.

My lord—I cannot help hailing, with great satisfaction, the labours of this Institution, not merely on account of the immediate and direct effects which it produces, but on account of that reflect influence which the success of these labours has upon ourselves. Our Missions accomplish no insignificant purpose, if, by the evidence which we have from facts of the constant faith, hope, and love of those who are converted by their labours, a sort of reflux tide is poured back on ourselves, and we are awakened to gratitude, consolation, and assurance, and are even enlightened and instructed.

Rev. THEOPHILUS BLUMHARDT.—I might justly fear, my lord, to intrude upon the precious moments of this Assembly, if it had not been made to me a sacred duty, by the Protestant Missionary Society on the continent, publicly to express to you the feelings of respectful gratitude which animate the hearts of its members toward your Institution, with which we have the honour to be intimately connected.

Six years have elapsed, my lord, since our smaller Institution began. Admiration of the glorious success with which the Lord had been pleased to crown the operations of British Christians, and the spirit of Christian zeal to take a share in this great and wonderful work of our times, kindled a desire among a small number of Christian friends at Bâle; and, under the Divine influence, they felt themselves inclined to begin an Institution for training Missionaries. In the year 1816, memorable for its distressing drought, this Institution was commenced with two pious young men, who are now engaged under your direction in India. Soon after, eight others joined us; and the goodness of God provided for them in the days of famine.

It was your Society, my lord, which first came forward in support of our small Institution. The number of our continental friends began to increase; and we beheld, in a short time, united by the bonds of Christian charity, an increasing number of cheerful supporters of a cause for which their hearts were concerned. Thus we were enabled to double the number of our students.

But our Institution was not to stop here. What we had scarcely deemed practicable, considering the geographical situation of the Protestant Churches on the continent, being encouraged by the striking appearance of a mysterious Providence and cherished by an impulse from your Society, our friends on the continent resolved to attempt. They determined to unite themselves into a Missionary Society, and so to take a part in this great and glorious work of the Lord. In Switzerland, in the southern and northern parts of Germany, in Prussia, and among the Protestants in France, Auxiliary Missionary Societies arose in multitudes; and what we had scarcely ventured to indulge in imagination, we beheld realized before our astonished eyes, with the deepest emotions of gratitude to the Lord, whose name is wonderful. We beheld servant-maids, and widows, and orphans, offering with the greatest cheerfulness their little savings, young ladies their trinkets, and careful matrons their long-cherished bridal ornaments, to support our Christian Society; and so we have been enabled, by the hand of our God and Saviour, to send out seven Missionaries into the countries bordering on the Black and Caspian Seas.

The publications of your Society, my lord, have furnished the principal materials by which this holy flame has been kindled among thousands and tens of thousands of our brethren on the continent. May the Almighty Head of the Church abundantly bless your Society! and crown the work of your hands with large success, through the unsearchable riches of His grace! May it be lasting as the rocks of Albion; and long continue to cheer and animate Christians on the continent, as those rocks do the approaching mariner, when, after a dark and tempestuous night, his enraptured eye beholds them rising from the deep, irradiated by all the glories of a morning sun!

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq. M.P.—My lord, I obey your Lordship's call the more willingly, because it comes from one with whom my heart is used to vibrate in unison, whenever he touches the string.

He was thought to be a wise observer of human nature, who described it as
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the character of man, in his advancing years, to be fond of dwelling on the events of his youth, and of extolling the scenes of former days. But, my lord, I have lived, in my pretty long life, to a period in which I cannot but look on our present circumstances with delight, and with expectations still more delightful.

It is most instructive and encouraging, my lord, to see how the purposes of the Almighty are carried into execution; and in what way it pleases Him to bless benevolent designs, so as to make them produce their beneficent effects—effects which were not in our contemplation. We sent, for example, some wretched outcasts to a distant country, as criminals not fit to live any longer in our own—we constituted a community of convicts! But, blessed be God! there was that degree of attention to religion in our nation, that we did not send them without sending chaplains to instruct them; that, when no longer in the career of vice, but humbled and brought low, they might listen to the truths of the Gospel. And what has been the issue? The chaplains have not only been a blessing in the scene which they were appointed to occupy; but how has the present principal chaplain of New South Wales been honoured, as a chief instrument of establishing the Gospel in some of the Islands of the Southern Seas, and in obtaining a firm footing for our own missions in the vast islands of New Zealand!

But it is time that I should call the attention of the Meeting to a Resolution which I mean to propose. It is this:—

“That this Meeting, on a review of the progress of the Gospel in the liberated-Negro towns in the colony of Sierra Leone,—to whose rapid improvement decisive testimony has been received from persons to whose statements their character and official situation give peculiar weight—cannot but record its gratitude to Almighty God, for the way in which it has pleased Him thus to prosper the labours of the Society, in a Mission which has been attended with peculiar discouragements and trials.”

My lord, when the history of this Society shall come hereafter to be read, and the history of these times to be reviewed, and it shall be considered what was our former intercourse and what is our present connection with that country to which this Resolution refers, I know not any thing which will tend, in so signal a degree, to establish the truth of Christianity, and to call from our descendants the most grateful acknowledgements for our being the instruments of effecting that blessed change which we witness. Not many years have passed since the claims of the wretched natives of Africa to the character of men was denied: they were declared to be of an inferior species, like the ouran-outang of their forests: but now, under the blessed influence of Christianity, they can establish the highest claim of man; and can lisp, even in our tongue, however imperfectly, their grateful praises, which, united with those in higher ranks of life—for the heart speaks but one language to the Author of its being—are received by angels, and carried to heaven itself, where they join with accordant voices.

It was, indeed, delightful to hear a friend of mine, I forget who it was, quoting that striking passage of Scripture, in which the Divine Being, claiming his own prerogative of sovereign power and unsearchable wis-

dom, declares that the wrath of man should praise Him ; that is, that even those purposes which may be deemed to be the most in opposition to Him,—purposes formed in fraud and cruelty,—should be rendered subservient to His glory.

How strikingly is this the case, in the instance of those poor creatures who were the victims of the slave-trade ! How little did *they* think, who planned the expedition to carry these oppressed people from their native villages into distant bondage, that they should be made the instruments of bringing these people to Sierra Leone, in order that they might be raised to the high character of Christians, and made partakers of our greatest blessings ! Truly may it be said, in this instance, the wrath of man shall praise God !

X And we find that even those, whose attention has not formerly been called to objects of this nature, are lost in wonder. It has pleased God to give us, in that country, a governor of benevolence unexampled ; who seems, from morning to night, to forget the nature of the climate and his own period of life, and to be as active as the youngest man in the most healthy country has ever been found : Sir Charles MacCarthy has been overcome, as it were, by the triumphs of religion ; and he thinks, as indeed he well may, that no power on earth could produce such effects. We have the same testimony, too, from Sir George Collier—not in conversation merely, but in an Official Report, in which he states that he had been present at religious assemblies in many countries in different parts of the world, but that he never saw religious worship performed with greater seriousness and solemnity than among these Christian Negroes.

When we consider these blessed triumphs, how can we but rejoice that it has pleased God to give us any share in this good work—how can we but go forward, with still greater efforts, to produce more widely these beneficent effects !

It is most encouraging to hear that our funds, instead of diminishing in the present time of difficulty, are still augmenting—indicating, we may hope, that our countrymen have been rendered, by the sufferings which they have experienced, more sensible that this world is not our home, and that it is our duty to render to others the means of salvation. Thus will the very evils which we experience here, increase our sum of happiness, and prove a blessing to the world.

And it is a still more delightful circumstance, that the augmentation of our funds is not produced by the diminution of the funds of kindred Societies ; but, on the contrary, they also increase. I rejoice in this fact, which our Report states with pleasure : but I know not if I do not rejoice still more in the expression of satisfaction with which it was stated. It is delightful to hear ourselves thus called on, in the true spirit of Missions and the true spirit of Christianity, to rejoice together, and all to form one concert of praise to the Giver of all Mercies. It is an honour, I think, bestowed on the times in which we live, that Christians have been more filled with divine wisdom and heavenly love. Nay, even in political and commercial relations, there has appeared a system of wisdom : nations have learned that each is not to look for its own success or advancement in depreciating others, but to seek its own prosperity in the prosperity of its neighbours, and, like a world of brothers, in the common welfare of man !

man ! If Political Economy has grown generous, well may Christians become so ! And well may we then expect greater triumphs still : and my worthy friend and relative, the Treasurer, will tell us of still more increasing funds, and my worthy friends the Secretaries, of increasing benefits. These are subjects on which we may look forward, without a single circumstance to excite regret and pain.

It has been said, that there is, in every dark prospect, some luminous spot, on which the eye loves to stay, as that which gives it more delight than the rest of the picture ; and I confess, that that to which my eye is always drawn, as the excellency and glory of our times, are those Missionary attempts which, in Africa, and in India, and in other places, are made for the benefit of man : and if I look, on the other hand, at the commencement of these efforts, I scarcely know on which I dwell with the greatest delight. It was, indeed, a small seed that we planted at first ; and it seemed to be visited somewhat rudely by the cold : but it has swelled and increased : its branches have extended to the East and the West, to the North and the South : its foliage is ample and abundant : and its fruit is pleasant to the eye and sweet to the taste, and its leaves are for the healing of the nations.

In the operations of man, he works with care, and labour, and pain : he works on one part of a design, and endeavours to make it complete : he then proceeds to another part ; and so from part to part, till he has accomplished the whole. But in the works of the Divine Architect, we see, as in the progress of vegetation, that the whole proceeds together—the work is not partial, but universal—and the world is filled with its effects.

In this work, moreover, we know that we have, above all others, that aid which alone can render human efforts successful—we have the grace of God assisting us, and enabling us to prosecute our labours with effect.

Nor shall we ever find a subject more worthy of our admiration, and calling for greater gratitude and thankfulness : for if the angels in heaven rejoice over one sinner brought to God, we are made the instruments of collecting thousands of our fellow-creatures who were bound in affliction and iron ; and of bringing them to a knowledge of those truths, the reception of which by one sinner gives this joy to the holy angels.

But a day is coming when this spectacle itself will be outdone ! May we all there witness with joy the numberless converts from all parts of the world assembling together, and in one temple of the Almighty uniting in ascribing to Him all glory for evermore ! I can conceive of our Johnsons then coming from one part, and our Morrisons from another, and our Marsdens from a third ; and their various converts assembling as the joy and crown of him who had been their friend, their teacher, and their guide below, and entering into the everlasting happiness which awaits the blessed. Oh ! it does us good, my lord, to look forward to that day.

But we have known only the joyous part of our solemnity : there are those, who, in this work, have been called to labour hard and to suffer much ; but they are conscious of that great truth, that *the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal*. They can say, with the great Apostle, who, for thirty years, was himself an evidence of what he declared—I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed.

JOHN

JOHN HERBERT HABINGTON, Esq.—My lord, an observation was once made to me, by a gentleman exercising part of the Government of India, that the British authority there would be unsafe, were the labours of Missionaries to be further extended. On the contrary, we have good evidence to prove that Christianity, instead of weakening the bonds of civil government, will strengthen them; and I know nothing to lead us to believe that the natives of India will become less obedient to the Government than they are now. In the station which I am destined to fill in India,—though, from wise motives of policy, it is a fundamental principle of the Government of India not to interfere publicly in any institution of this kind, yet I pledge myself to operate, as far as I can, in the cause of this Institution, which is also the cause of God and man. I am particularly gratified with having to submit a Resolution to the Meeting, which I will now read:

“That this Meeting, while it views with thankfulness the extended labours of various Societies to evangelize India, particularly rejoices in the co-operation of the different Missionary Institutions in the Established Church to this great end, and in the sanction and support which these labours receive from the highest authorities; and, feeling that the statements respecting the scene of the Society’s exertions in the East, brought before the members in the sermon preached on occasion of the present Anniversary, furnish the most cogent motives for renewed and increasing labours, returns its cordial thanks to the Rev. Marmaduke Thompson for the same, and requests him to allow it to be printed with the Report.”

In calling for your thankfulness to Almighty God for the extended labours in India of this and other Societies, I may be permitted to say, that, while I cherish a decided preference for that church in which I have been educated, I have felt a sincere desire to render assistance to all who are faithfully engaged in this cause.

The Resolution in my hand further calls on us to rejoice in the co-operation of the several Missionary Institutions of the Established Church for the benefit of India. This direction of the efforts of the Church I consider to be of great importance. It is now become a matter connected with the national religion, to afford facilities and means for enlightening the natives of India. The aid which will be rendered to translations by the Bishop’s College, and the instruction to be there afforded to the natives, will be productive, I have no doubt, of most important results. And with respect to our own Society, the good-will which the Bishop of Calcutta has already manifested towards it, conciliated, doubtless, by its gift, in the first instance, of five thousand pounds, towards its erection, will be confirmed by the grant of one thousand pounds per annum since made. We look, indeed, to Almighty God for every blessing; but, under His blessing, the favour and aid of the bishop is of great importance to our agents and representatives.

I most cordially rejoice in the success of this cause, not in Bengal only, but in Madras also: and I should say more on the subject, in relation to the South of India, were not the friend present who has had so large a share in the proceedings in that quarter, and to whom your thanks, I am sure, will be heartily rendered, for the sermon which he preached
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last evening before the Society, and by which he proved, that, notwithstanding his yet weak though I trust convalescent state of health, his heart is still devoted to this cause.

It is noticed also in this Resolution, that Christian labours in India receive sanction and support from the highest authorities. Being myself about to return to Bengal, it is peculiarly pleasing to me to state that this is the fact. The allusion is more particularly to the Marquis of Hastings, who, in every thing that has for its object the progress of Christianity and education, takes the deepest interest. The Report which we have heard affords the most convincing proofs of the favour of the Government to the proceedings of the Society. That exertions of this nature are, indeed, loudly called for, I can, from local experience of nearly thirty-seven years, bear witness. Lord Hastings, in the letter which has been read to-day, adverts to this subject. His lordship's testimony to the depraved state of that immense population, can require no confirmation: the position which he occupies gives him a view of the whole of India; but I may add, that the representations on this subject made last night in the Annual Sermon, and those published in our various Reports and communications, do not exceed the true state of the case.

A gentleman with whom I have conversed, not fully convinced, I conceive, of the revelation of the Bible being the only revelation from God, seemed to have adopted the Hindoo opinion, that God is pleased with a variety of worship; and inquired what reason there could be to promote the religious or moral improvement of India, when in England, and other parts of Europe, men are not less immoral than the Hindoos themselves?

My reply to such a question is this:—Admitting that it can be proved, that Christians, so called, are not more moral than the natives of India, there is still one wide and important distinction to be made. If professing Christians are immoral, it is because they do not practise what they profess: no Christian can pretend that he has the sanction of the Scriptures for an immoral life: while every Hindoo may be immoral, in various ways, and yet act up to the principles of his religion.

A Christian widow, if such a thing could be supposed, immolating herself on the funeral pile of her husband, and thus abandoning her infant children, could not plead that she had the sanction of the Gospel; but a Hindoo widow may urge the sanction of the Hindoo laws; and it appears that this dreadful custom is become so general, that many of the three thousand widows who suffered in the last four years, had not exceeded the age of eight years! Suppose, for a moment, that this practice could prevail in England, and the eldest son of the family were to set fire to the pile as is the custom in India, no such youth could say that he had the sanction of the Gospel for his barbarous deed: but the son of a widow in India might plead, or the Brahmins will plead for him, that he has the sanction of Hindoo authorities, or, at all events, that public opinion is in favour of the practice.

So, in courts of justice, if a professed Christian perjure himself in order to save the life of an individual, he could not plead the sanction of the Scriptures; but a Hindoo may urge that he has a right to save the life of a Brahmin by false evidence.

I might show, in various other ways, that Hindooism sanctions acts
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of the greatest turpitude—as the exposure of parents and other relatives on the banks of the Ganges; and this is considered as a pious act. I will state, however, but one fact. When one of the Rajahs was ill, they were about to carry him down to the Ganges: but an English physician said to him, “You are not so ill but you may recover, if you are not carried to the Ganges.” The Rajah took the advice, and is still alive.

In a multitude of cases, therefore, where the Hindoos are immoral, they are religiously immoral: but if Christians are, under any circumstances, immoral, they are irreligiously immoral. Let us spare, therefore, no pains to communicate to them that Gospel which will banish from among them the immoralities of their false religion.

I will only repeat my assurance, in proposing to the Meeting the Resolution which I have read, that every assistance in my power in India shall be rendered to the Society.

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq. M.P.—My lord: Considering the lateness of the hour, the facts detailed in the Report, and the discussions which have ensued, it would be presumptuous in me to encroach, at any length, upon the time of the Meeting: still, I shall scarcely be content to do what I should otherwise have done—merely second the Motion—without stating those facts and principles, and those views and feelings, which have forced themselves on my mind.

Much has been said of what has been done for the conversion of the heathen; and, while I call you away for a time from those brilliant scenes which have been brought before our eyes, as by the wand of the enchanter, I shall not be suspected, I am sure, of not rejoicing in the great work that has been done, or of looking with sublime indifference on the progress that has been made: and still less shall I be suspected of undervaluing the services of those good, and great, and brave men, who have engaged in this labour; and who have gone forth, leaving every thing dear to them behind, and seeing nothing before them but privation and toil. The man who goes forth under these feelings and on these principles, must possess as much of real and true heroism, unknown as he may be to fame, as the man who in the field draws down the applauses of mankind.

But, though much has, indeed, been done, I cannot help thinking that our minds should wander, as mine has been tempted to wander, to a much wider field, to what still remains to be done. I cannot but look, from countries visited and blessed by Christian Missionaries, to those extensive regions which have never been visited and blessed by such men. I look from that enlarged but yet too narrow empire, which Christianity has already obtained, to that still larger empire, on which, as yet, no Christian traveller has set his foot.

A feeling of deep regret continually forces itself on my mind, when we are discoursing on these things, that eight hundred millions, perhaps, of our fellow-creatures—a number too large to be embraced by the finite comprehension of man—that eight hundred millions of our fellow-creatures should be living, at this day, in ignorance, and darkness, and superstition, and crime! I cannot but ask, “How is this?”—and that thirty millions, probably, of these people, bone of our bone and flesh of our
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our flesh, as susceptible of happiness or of misery as we are, all of them candidates for immortality, and for whom Christ made a full and sufficient atonement as well as for ourselves ; and not a year elapses, but thirty millions of them descend to the grave never having heard a word of that revelation of mercy, which if they had known, might have been the greatest of their blessings.

In India, millions of our fellow-creatures still bow the knee to stocks and stones ; and have clothed their own imaginary gods with passions and attributes, which would disgrace the worst of criminals. I advert, too, to one fact, which is established on official authority: it does appear, that, under a government of our own in India, eight hundred females perished, last year, on the funeral pile ! May I not pause, therefore, in the midst of our mutual congratulations, and ask " Why is this ? "

Of Africa, I cannot say that there has been no Christian visit to that devoted country. That quarter of the globe has, indeed, been visited and plundered by men called Christians. In them, there was no want of zeal and vigilance : Christian capital has there been invested in human flesh and human blood ; and could we but now rouse up for our noble objects as much spirit and enterprise and vigour as directed those disastrous and wicked proceedings, a ray of light and hope would beam upon our efforts. There have been, indeed, Christian triumphs gained in this very quarter ; but still greater triumphs would be gained, were there not an obstacle more hostile to the success of our efforts than any that we meet among the heathen—I mean the indifference which prevails among ourselves toward their conversion.

I will put the case to myself : " You are a professor of Christianity—you avow your belief of its truth, and admire its doctrines—you enumerate the blessings which He gives, who gives all things ; and you count among them that greatest of all, His ' inestimable love in the redemption of the world '—you know that Christian charity is the inseparable fruit of true faith—and you know that this charity seeks, above all things, the salvation of the souls of men. What do you do ? You subscribe your two or three guineas a-year ! The conversion of eight hundred millions of souls—there is the object to be accomplished !—and there is the sacrifice which you are prepared to make for it ! " Were I to say, in the ordinary business of life, " Such an object is my grand concern : to that I direct all my powers : on that my very soul is centered : and I give for this great object my two-and-forty shillings a year "—such professions would be counted but an idle mockery, when compared with such feebleness and inadequacy of exertion.

Every quarter of the globe is crying to us for assistance ; or if any cry not, it is because the people know not their own need : but they are crying to us in multitudes. The reproach of neglect has rested too long on all Churches, on our own as well as others. We have not felt as we should feel for the conversion of the heathen : and if we would, one and all—not those who are without, but those who are within the sound of my voice—if we would all give to this cause—the cause of man and of God, for it is the cause of God as well as of man—our best affections and our influence—the day is not far distant, when we should see a general revolution in the face of the moral world.

The following Resolution was then passed, on the Motion of the Rev. John

John Langley, of Shrewsbury, seconded by the Rev. John Brown, late of Belfast :—

“ That the labours of the Society in promoting the revival of the ancient Christian Churches round the Mediterranean and in Travancore, the religious instruction of the children in the West Indies, the civilization and conversion of the wild but noble natives of New Zealand, in the furthest extreme of the Eastern hemisphere, and of the widely-scattered Indians in the lately-adopted North-West America Mission, to the furthest northern limits of the Western hemisphere, have the cordial approbation of this Meeting ; and it desires to commend these extensive spheres of operation to the persevering prayers of all the Members.”

From the address of the mover of this Resolution, we shall extract some passages, which had more particular reference to the promotion of the cause of Missions at home.

REV. JOHN LANGLEY.—In order to the establishment of an Association in any particular place, an attempt must be made to excite religious principle in the neighbourhood. Let a man have but true religious principle, and he is your friend for ever : for whoever is unfeignedly devoted to his Saviour, and is deriving from him the supply of grace which he needs, that man must be a Missionary in spirit. When we know that we have “ freely received,” we shall most “ freely give.” The most certain stimulus to Missionary feeling at home, is to know that we are ourselves called out of darkness into the marvellous light of the Gospel, that we have been renewed in the spirit of our minds.

And this spirit diffuses itself. The establishment of a Missionary Society for propagating the Gospel abroad, is one of the most efficacious means for propagating the Gospel at home. I have found it tend, in a most especial manner, to the union and edification of my flock, and to their cordial attachment to the church to which we belong. The people are roused, and learn the value of their own souls and of their own privileges, when we show them the wants of the heathen.

The most certain way to accomplish great designs, is for each to do the little that may be allotted to him. This is the grand secret of all Missionary exertions ; and when men, in their little sphere, are cultivating that sphere with diligent hands and in the spirit of prayer, their efforts will be assuredly prospered.

London Missionary Society.—The Anniversary of this Society commenced as usual, on the 2d Wednesday in May, with a series of devotional services.

The Annual Meeting for business was held at Surry Chapel, on Thursday morning May 9th, when that spacious chapel was crowded at an early hour. At ten o'clock, Wm. ALERS HANKEY, Esq. the Treasurer, took the Chair, when an abstract of the Report was read by the Secretary, of which the following is an outline.

This Report extends over great part of the globe, and includes the following stations. (1.) *The South Sea Islands*, the inhabitants of which have renounced their idols and embraced Christianity : 6,000, at least, have learned to read the Scriptures, and Auxiliary Missionary Societies have been formed, whose contributions, in cocoa-nut oil, after all deductions of expense, have amounted to more than 900*l.* (2.) *Ultra Ganges.*

Ganges. At Canton, Drs. Morrison and Milne, having completed the translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese, are actively employed in circulating them. At Malacca, the Society has 4 Missionaries, 8 Schools, and a large printing establishment for tracts in the Malay and Chinese languages. At Pulo Penang, 3 Missionaries and 8 Schools. At Batavia, 1 Missionary, a Chapel, and 2 Chinese Schools. At Amboyna, the Gospel is preached in Dutch and Malay to large congregations; a press is established, and Native teachers are trained in the Mission House. (3.) *East Indies.* At Calcutta the Society has 4 Missionaries and 2 assistants, a large chapel, a printing establishment, an Auxiliary Society, and a monthly Magazine. At Madras there are 2 Chapels, 17 Schools, 4 Missionaries; 1 Native School, and 11 Native Teachers. The Society has also Schools and Teachers at Chinsurah, Benares, Vizagapatam, Bellary, Belgaum, and Bangalore. (4.) *South Travancore.* At Nagercoil the Society has 32 Native Schools, and a printing press. Between 3 and 4,000 of the natives have renounced idolatry and put themselves under instruction. A new Mission has been commenced at Quilon. A printing press is established at Surat, and the New Testament with part of the Old is translated into the Guzerat language. (5) *Russia.* At St. Petersburg, a flourishing English congregation, a Missionary, and a Charity School. In Siberia, 3 Missionaries, and 2 Gospels translated into the Mangolian language. At Serepta, a Mission to the Calmuks. At Zante and Malta, a Mission to the Greeks, intended to awaken religious inquiries. (6.) *South Africa.* Here the Society has 15 stations from Cape Town to New Lattakoo, where have been built a Chapel, Mission and Store-house. At Cape Town resides Dr. Philip, as agent of the Society. At the Paarl, about 2000 are under instruction. At Bethelsdorp, there are about 200 church members, and half as many at Theopolis; but there are 6 or 700 hearers, and 240 in the schools. At Griqua Town, out of a population of 5,000, about 300 attend the preaching, and there is a School on the British system. (7.) In the *African Islands* of Mauritius, Madagascar, and Joanna, the Society has stations; at Madagascar 3 Missionaries and 4 artisans. (8.) In the *West Indies*, at Demerara, Le Resouvenir and Berbice, are both Missionaries and schools, in which are taught nearly 2,000 children.

The Treasurer then gave a statement of accounts; by which it appeared that, notwithstanding their increase of income, the expenditure has increased still faster; that of the year past amounting to 40,000*l.* and exceeding the income 10,500*l.* This had obliged the Society to sell out of the Funds 11,000*l.* stock within the last three years. To remedy this evil, Mr. Hankey knew but two ways—to increase the number of their subscribers, and for those who could afford it to increase also the amount of their subscriptions.

Rev. Dr. BOGUS proposed the first Resolution, including a reception of the Report, and "most devout and grateful acknowledgements to the Supreme Head of the Church, for enabling the Society to extend its efforts during the past year, especially to the large and interesting Island of Madagascar." The Rev. Speaker arose, with mingled sentiments of delight and awe, to hail the progress of the Society; rejoicing also that they were surrounded with other Missionary Societies, not under

under the same colours indeed, but all engaged in promoting the same great cause. Some might think it would be better if they were all united in one great Society; but he was not sure of that. So some might think it desirable that the nation should be all of one denomination; but in that case there would be but little religion. In Spain there is but one denomination: in England and America a multitude of denominations. Dr. B. then adverted to the importance of Divine Influences to the cause of Missions, and urged importunate prayer on that subject.

The Right Hon. Admiral Lord GAMBIE then proposed a Motion of thanks to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, for the donation of 7000 rubles to this Society; and for the facility afforded to the Society's Missions in Siberia. His Lordship recollected the formation of this Society, and the zeal and enthusiasm with which they entered on their work, which had been accompanied with an abundant blessing, especially in the South Sea Islands.

Mr. WILBERFORCE, in seconding this Motion, said, if his eloquence were equal to the Noble Lord's zeal, he should be the greatest orator in the world. The Hon. Gentleman spoke with much pleasure and satisfaction of the rise and progress of this Society; and then adverting to the countenance afforded it by the august Emperor of the Russias, considered that he had exhibited the true dignity of royalty in aiming to do good, and earnestly wished that all the benefits he had rendered this Society and the Missionary cause, might be returned into his own bosom, by promoting in himself that work which Missionaries are engaged in spreading through the world.

The Rev. TIM. EAST, of Birmingham, moved the thanks of the Meeting to their Auxiliary Societies and Associations, and to Ministers and Congregations who had assisted the cause by their labours and contributions either at home or abroad; and particularly to the Taheitan Auxiliary Society, to King Pomare and the other Chiefs of the South Sea Islands, all whose contributions in produce amounted to no less than 1,877*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* Mr. E. warmly urged an augmentation of the funds of the Society, especially by means of Auxiliary Institutions, and related several interesting anecdotes to enforce his arguments.

This Motion was seconded by a most energetic address, in the French language, from the Rev. Mr. MALAN of Geneva, the substance of which was afterwards given in English, partly by himself and partly by the Rev. Mark Wilks, from Paris, who subjoined an ample testimony to the exemplary character and zealous exertions of that gentleman.

Rev. Dr. COLLYER, in an eloquent speech, moved the 5th Resolution, expressing the thanks of the Meeting to the Directors of the Society, the Treasurer and Secretaries, for their exertions during the past year, requesting the latter to continue their services, and naming a list of Directors for the year ensuing. This was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Coombs, of Salford.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th Resolutions contained a pledge of increased exertions for the enlargement of the Society's funds, and an expression of cordial wishes for the success of "every kindred Institution." These Resolutions were severally moved by the Rev. Mr. Robertson from India, the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Kingland, and C. J. Metcalf, Esq. of Beds, and

and seconded by the Rev. Jabez Bunting, Lieut. Jacobs (of the Bombay Artillery), and the Rev. Dr. Waugh.

The concluding Resolutions conveyed the thanks of the Meeting to the Chairman, to the Ministers who had preached the sermons at this Anniversary, and to those who had lent the use of their respective places of worship. It is scarcely needful to add, that all the Motions passed unanimously.

Baptist Mission.—The Annual Meeting, which was very numerously attended, was held at Queen-street Chapel, on June 19th, B. SHAW, Esq. Treasurer to the Society, in the Chair. The Chairman, after prayer offered by the Rev. T. BLUNDELL, opened the business of the day.

The Secretary then read the Report. It contained an interesting account of the present state of the Missions on the Continent of India, in Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, the West Indies, &c. together with a statement of the measures which had been adopted at home for promoting the interests of the Society; and though nearly an hour was occupied in the delivery, it was heard throughout with profound attention.

From the statement of accounts then made by Mr. Shaw, it appeared that the receipts of the Society, in the year just closed, had been greater than in any preceding year, except the last, in which extraordinary donations and collections had been made to the amount of 2000*l*. The amount now received was about 11,600*l*., exceeding the expenditure by 1000*l*.; but as the Treasurer had immediately to make a large remittance to India, and was under acceptance for bills drawn from thence, the amount of debt at present due from the Society might still be stated at 4000*l*.

Rev. Jos. KINGHORN, in moving the adoption of the Report, remarked that it called for "unbounded gratitude" to God, for that blessing which had attended the labours of the Society; at the same time he remarked that what had been done was comparatively nothing to what remains to do.

ED. PHILLIPS, Esq. of Melksham, in seconding this Motion, reminded the Society of their humble origin. Above 30 years ago, Mr. Thomas, returning from India, where he had painfully witnessed the idolatry and superstition of the country, attended a Meeting of the Baptist denomination in the neighbourhood of Chipstone, where he providentially met with the venerable Dr. Carey, whose mind, for a long time, had been much interested about the heathen. Mr. Thomas had just returned from India; and he engaged to accompany him back.

The second Resolution, acknowledging the kind assistance of Ministers, Auxiliary Societies, &c. was proposed by W. WILBERFORCE, Esq. M.P., who said, he could assure the chairman, and the assembly, that although he had not before had the honour of taking a share in their interesting meetings, yet he had long been deeply interested in their cause. From the very first of its commencement, he could truly declare, that his eye was fixed upon it; and he continued, from year to year, to watch its progress, and to anticipate its triumphs. He showed his zeal by attending that Meeting, when it was manifest he was little able to express the feelings of his heart. It was natural, he said, for the chairman, who had so forcibly addressed the Meeting, to observe the striking difference between
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the origin and present state of the Society. They saw how a little seed, like a grain of mustard, alluding to the Scriptural parable, had already grown into a mighty tree, expanding its foliage, and presenting its fertility as an object of unrivalled beauty and grandeur.—In the beginning of their efforts, he recollected how slowly they proceeded; and he well remembered reading, at the time when they made their first subscription in behalf of the Hindoos, that the whole sum amounted to little more than thirteen pounds. But he had lived to see the day, when three only of their chief Missionaries themselves had contributed, from their joint labours, a sum of 50,000*l.*! He mentioned this, not as reflecting on the first subscribers; for the same men who raised thirteen pounds, two shillings and sixpence, had the spirit to give the larger sums, had they possessed them. After speaking in the highest terms of Dr. Carey, whose low origin he considered to be his highest honour, Mr. W. feelingly adverted to the female sex in India, and to the schools recently formed on their behalf, and congratulated the Society on being engaged in such a glorious cause.

Rev. Mr. Cox, of Hackney, seconded this address with further encouraging the Society to zeal and perseverance.

Wesleyan Missions.—The General Annual Meeting was held on Monday (eleven o'clock) at the City Road Chapel, JOSEPH BUTTERWORTH, Esq. M.P. in the chair. After the Chairman had briefly addressed the Meeting, the Report was read, which (as usual) took a rapid view of the Missions supported by this Institution in France, Gibraltar, Ceylon, and Continental India, New South Wales, New Zealand, West and South Africa, the West Indies, British North America, &c. making 105 stations, in which are employed, including some Native preachers, 149 Missionaries (of whom 11 were sent out last year), besides Catechists and Schoolmasters; and the number of members at the last return was 28,699, since which time there has been a very considerable increase.

The expenditure of the last year amounted to 30,925*l.*, and when the accounts were last made up, the Society was indebted to the Treasurers to the amount of 7,568*l.*; but this debt was somewhat reduced previous to the present anniversary.—The Report being finished,

Admiral Lord GAMBIER rose to move that it be adopted and printed. His lordship had been much impressed by reading some of the accounts received from the Society's Missionaries in different parts, particularly at Ceylon; and referred particularly to an aged Malabar since employed as a Schoolmaster at Trincomalee. The conversion of such a man, and at such an age, afforded them great encouragement to persevere. "Go on (said the venerable Peer), and may the Lord still abundantly bless your labours!"

JAMES STEPHEN, Esq. jun. (Barrister at Law), in seconding the Motion, referred particularly to the success of the Wesleyan Missionaries in the cabins of the Irish, and the huts of the West India Negroes; and he saw in their exertions the best and surest confirmation of those efforts which good men are making toward the universal abolition of that "abomination of desolation"—the Slave Trade. To think of multitudes of these poor slaves on the other side of the Atlantic, uniting together in social

social prayer and praise to the God we worship, is enough to animate our devotion, and give energy to all our efforts.

The second Resolution, pledging the Society to renewed exertions in the Missionary cause, was moved by E.D. PHILLIPS, Esq. High Sheriff of Wilts.

Rev. G. COLLISON, of Hackney, though of another denomination, cheerfully seconded the Motion, because he considered the various Missionary Societies as forming one of the strongest bonds of union presented in the present day, in which all denominations might meet and act in harmony, without any compromise of sentiment. Mr. C. mentioned a friend having received a few pounds as a residuary legatee, arising from the sale of some slaves in the Bay of Honduras; and understanding that their Society had determined on a Mission to that spot, his friend had empowered him to present them with 17*l.*, and he wished it were as many hundreds.

The third Resolution was moved by Dr. A. CLARKE, and contained a vote of thanks to the Governors of Ceylon, New South Wales, Dominica, the Cape of Good Hope, and Sierra Leone, for the encouragement afforded to their Missions in their respective Governments. Dr. Clarke directed his observations to the necessary co-operation of Bible and Missionary Societies and Schools, as all combining in the great work of the conversion of the world.

J. H. HARRINGTON, Esq. of Calcutta, in seconding Dr. Clarke's Motion, adverted to the numerous *sultees* and other scenes of cruelty which he had witnessed in India, and which, if they were not absolutely enjoined, were certainly sanctioned by the Hindoo religion.

Rev. Dr. STEINKOPFF moved a Resolution, and then adverted to the progress of the Missionary cause upon the continent, particularly at Basle, where but six or seven years ago they had only two missionary students, but have now twenty-six "men of the right stamp," prepared to propagate the Gospel through the world.

Rev. THEO. BLUMHARDT, Inspector of the just-mentioned Institution, followed to second this Motion, which he did with pious ardour.

Thanks to the Auxiliary and Branch Societies, to the Ladies and Juvenile Societies, and to the Subscribers in general, were moved by the Rev. S. LOWELL, of Bristol.

Lieutenant GORDON, R. N., in seconding this Resolution, considered the ascendancy which Britain had obtained among the nations as calculated greatly to promote the Missionary cause, especially in the facilities afforded by her commerce in communicating with all parts of the world.

Rev. G. MARSDEN moved, and Rev. H. MOORE seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Butterworth.

United Brethren: Annual Sermon.—No public Meeting is held by the Brethren in behalf of their Missions; but an annual sermon is now preached, in aid of the association formed in London for the support of these Missions. The sermon on the present occasion was preached, on Thursday evening, the 2d of May, at the church of St. Clement Danes, by the Rev. Legh Richmond, M.A. Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire.

In reference to the Brethren, Mr. Richmond pointed out the eminent manner in which their church had displayed, in its Missions, the *work of faith and labour of love and patience of hope*. In the very midst of their persecutions,

persecutions, they had published several editions of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. It was in their flight from their native Moravia, during a persecution which harassed them from the commencement of the last century, that they settled in Germany; and, though a small and exiled body, they began, within a few years, to send out Missionaries to the most inhospitable regions, and to the most savage and degraded tribes of the known world. They had maintained the original character of their Church through all their vicissitudes, and amidst the severe hardships which had accompanied their labours among the heathen. Their success might chiefly be ascribed, under the blessing of God, to the simplicity and constancy with which they exhibited the cross of Christ, as *the power of God and the wisdom of God*. The extent of this success had been great: they now employed, including the females of the Missions, nearly 170 labourers; and numbered in their congregations 32,000 converts. The increasing calls upon them for further supplies of Missionaries and of funds, their own poverty as a people, their retired and withdrawing character, and the difficulties under which they labour, give them a claim on the enlarged support of their fellow Christians.

The Synodal Committee, at Herrnhut, who direct the concerns of the Brethren's Missions, have published the following statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year 1820:—

<i>Receipts of the Year 1820.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Collections from Congregations and Friends		1,969	12	4½
Benefactions, chiefly from Great Britain		4,338	9	2½
Legacies		878	12	0
By course of Exchange		6	4	10½
Total		7,192	18	5½
<i>Payments of the Year 1820.</i>				
Missions:—				
Greenland		414	11	11
South America		157	17	8
Barbadoes		346	11	10
St. Kitt's		2,104	0	10
Antigua		1,318	15	1
Jamaica		863	13	10
Labrador		91	9	0
North-American Indians		323	14	5
South Africa		975	14	10
Calmucs		81	0	4
Pensions:—		6,677	9	9
To 18 married Brethren and Sisters, and 9 unmarried Brethren		726	11	1
To 31 Widows of Missionaries		325	2	11
To 70 Children of Missionaries, in sundry Schools and at Trades		947	1	11
Sundry Expenses		755	12	3
Total		£9,431	17	11
<i>Remarks</i>				

Remarks of the Synodal Committee on the State of the Funds.

These remarks are addressed to the Brethren's Congregations in this country.

"The inclosed account of receipts and disbursements of the Synodal Committee for the management of the concerns of the Brethren's Missions among the heathen, in the year 1820, will inform you that the expense of this branch of our service has been no less than 9,432*l.* within the said period. This great increase of expenditure, compared with former years, has been chiefly owing to the building of the new church and premises at Bethesda, in St. Kitt's; and the rebuilding of the settlement at Enon, in South Africa. To this must be added the extraordinary long journeys and voyages rendered necessary in the year past, and the maintenance of 76 superannuated Missionaries, and 70 children of Missionaries either educated at schools or learning different trades. Our receipts in 1820 amounted to the large sum of 7,192*l.*, which, however, falls short of the expenditure by 2,238*l.* and leaves of the years 1819 and 1820 a deficiency of 2,725*l.* (Six-dollars at 6 for 1*l.*)

"This state of the finances of our Missions might well create an apprehension within us, amounting to a doubt, whether we should in future be able to afford the means of supporting that extensive and every year increasing work, which the Lord has committed to the church of the Brethren. But we will not yield to doubts and unbelief; but, with confidence and faith, look for help to the Lord, who, from the very beginning to this day, has caused the Missions of the Brethren among the heathen to be a work done in faith. We will encourage each other anew, to persevere in prayer and supplication to the Saviour of mankind, in behalf of this precious cause; and likewise assist with all the means which we can afford in our several situations: and that with the more earnestness, as the spirit of extending the knowledge of the Lord throughout the earth by Missionary labours in so many denominations, calls upon us not to grow weary and remain behind our Protestant brethren in this blessed work.

"One of the most powerful aids which we have received in the year past, has been afforded to us by the zeal of the 'London Association in aid of the Brethren's Missions,' instituted in the year 1817, by persons not in church communion with the Brethren, but friends and well-wishers to their exertions in the cause of God; as also by the kind assistance of the ladies' association connected with them, and of associations formed in Glasgow and Edinburgh for the same benevolent purpose. Most fervently do we pray the Lord to bless and reward those worthy benefactors, whose hearts He has thus disposed in love and charity towards us; and filled with zeal and courage to persevere in taking such a kind share in our endeavours to make known His saving Name among heathen nations. May He also richly bless those ladies' associations, which have been formed in our own connexions, and their friends, in London, Bath, Bristol, and Bedford. We thank them cordially for their exertions, and considerable contributions received from time to time."

State and Prospects of the Missions.

The Synodal Committee adds on this subject:—

"The weekly accounts in manuscript sent to our congregations by the Elders' Conference of the Unity, the periodical accounts in England, and

the printed accounts in Germany, have given our brethren and friends, from time to time, a distinct view of the internal state of the Missions in all parts of the world; by which it is evident, that also in the year 1820 the congregations collected from among the heathen have grown both in number and in grace. We have particularly noticed, with great gratitude, the awakening and divine life which has been manifested through the preaching of the cross of Christ. In South Africa, Paramaribo, and the island of Antigua where we have been called upon to form two new establishments, and also in Jamaica and St. Kitt's, the Lord has been pleased to cause His work to flourish. If it still please Him to give success to the testimony of our dear Missionaries, when they preach Jesus and Him crucified among the heathen; if he grant to them to labour together in brotherly love and harmony of spirit, and humbly and in dependence on Him to do their work; and if He continue to prepare Brethren at home, who gladly and willingly accept of the call to step into the places of those whose labours are finished, and are called home to Him, or retire to rest at home—then we may rest assured, that the joy and gratitude of our hearts will supersede all fears and doubts, which otherwise might assail us.

"In all heathen lands new doors are opening, inviting the messengers of peace to enter in; and many invitations are sent to us to come and proclaim deliverance to the captives of sin and Satan, that they may be translated into the glorious liberty of the children of God, being brought from darkness into the light of the glorious Gospel of God. The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few. Our slender means render it impossible for us to accept of the invitations given. Let us, dear Brethren, and most earnestly, see to it, that the spirit of the Lord may have free course among us in the Brethren's church; that the members thereof may be well grounded upon the merits of our blessed Redeemer; and that we may continue to be a people bearing witness, by walk and conversation as well as by doctrine, that in the sacrifice of Christ alone are to be found grace and the remission of sin for all mankind.

"We request you to pray most fervently and diligently for us, that we may be strengthened in our official situation; in which we meet, in many respects, with difficulties of various kinds."

Contributions of the London Association.

This Association, which was formed Dec. 12, 1817, has paid the following sums to the Brethren, in aid of their Missions:—

	£.	s.	d.
In 1818	640	9	4
1819	1156	12	2
1820	1095	8	3
1821	1896	12	3

MISCELLANEOUS.

Improvement of Prison Discipline.—On the 4th of June the Meeting of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, was held at Freemasons' Hall. The hall

hall was crowded at an early hour, and several ladies of distinguished rank attended.

At a quarter past 12 o'clock, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester entered the room; attended by the Earl of Blessington, Lords Suffield, Nugent, Ebrington, and Calthorpe, Mr. Wilberforce, M.P., Mr. Coke of Norfolk, M.P., Mr. Holford, M.P., Dr. Lushington, M.P., the Hon. H. G. Bennet, M.P., Mr. Bootle Wilbraham, M.P., Mr. Wm. Williams, M.P., and several other public characters who take an active interest in the promotion of this Society. Mr. Randolph, of America, and Mr. Zea, of Columbia, were also present.

As soon as His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester took the chair, Mr. HOARE proceeded to read the Report, which developed the objects and progress of the Society.

After congratulating the friends of the Society upon its progress within the last year, the Report proceeds thus, with reference to some objections which the Society had to encounter:—

"It has indeed been contended by some who yet profess themselves friendly to the Society, that the sole end of punishment is to deter, and that the reformatory measures which the Committee recommend, if even morally efficacious on the criminal, would be injurious to the community at large, by weakening the terrors of imprisonment, and rendering gaols desirable habitations.

"The Committee may, however, be allowed to state, that they have been much misunderstood, when it has been supposed that they desire to introduce comfort into gaols. They are well aware, and have always contended, that corrective discipline ought to be the leading feature in prison management. The punishment of the offender must be the first step, as well for his own interests as for an example to others. He must be made to feel, that personal suffering, as far as is consistent with humanity and the character of his offence, attends the infringement of the laws and the violation of the peace and property of society: but while the Committee are strenuous advocates for rigorously enforcing the penalties of guilt, they are firmly convinced that the prevention of crime can never be effected by the influence of fear alone. In proof of this, they confidently appeal to the page of history. In no Christian or civilized country has unmixed severity of punishment attained this object. Other motives and impressions, besides those produced by the infliction of suffering, must be called into action. You must regard the offender as a moral agent, and an accountable being: you must operate upon his understanding and his heart; and you must convince him how deeply his reformation is connected with his best interests here, and his happiness hereafter.

"In this system of prison management, classification is provided to such an extent as to prevent that corrupt association to which the vicious are peculiarly prone. Hard labour and useful employment; religious instruction; spare diet; occasional solitary confinement, and habitual restraint, are steadily enforced."

The Report then details the particulars of the bill now pending in Parliament for consolidating and amending the various laws at present in force relating to prisons, and also adverts to the alterations now con-

ducting in the construction of several of the country gaols. It also praises in the highest degree the efforts of Mrs. Fry and the Ladies' Committee. With reference to the magistracy, it speaks of their co-operation in the following terms :—

“The cordial disposition of the magistracy throughout the country to second the humane designs of the ladies has been highly praiseworthy; and with their concurrence visiting female committees have been formed in the prisons at Bedford, Bristol, Carlisle, Chester, Cokchester, Derby, Dumfries, Durham, Exeter, Glasgow, Lancaster, Liverpool, Nottingham, Plymouth, and York, and also at Dublin.

“A kindred spirit of benevolence has been excited in various parts of the Continent; and at Paris, Geneva, Bern, Turin, St. Petersburg, and several towns in Russia, Ladies' Associations have been formed under the patronage of distinguished individuals.”

It then details the great improvements lately made in prison discipline in various parts of Ireland; and, with reference to the necessity and advantages of a juvenile asylum, it proceeds as follows :

“Your Committee have continued to extend relief to distressed boys and others, who, on their discharge from the prisons of the metropolis, are desirous of abandoning their vicious habits. During the past year, a considerable number have been received into the Temporary Refuge, who, on their liberation, were without money, character, or friends, and who possessed no means of procuring employment. Without the assistance thus extended by the Society, it is scarcely possible but that these guilty yet unfortunate objects must have again resorted to crime for support. As the experience of the Committee becomes enlarged, the stronger is their conviction of the beneficial effects of the Temporary Refuge. Into this useful asylum the friendless outcast is admitted without interest or recommendation, with no other qualification than that which his own sorrows and penitence supply. He is placed at an useful employment, and occasionally taught a trade.”

The Report concludes with a gratifying account of the success of the system of prison discipline in foreign countries : in Russia, under the personal superintendence of the Emperor, who extended its benefits throughout the whole of his vast empire; in Prussia, under similar Royal encouragement; in France, under the patronage of the King; and in Switzerland. They add the following information respecting other countries :—

“Satisfactory as has been the progress of improvements in the prisons of those countries to which the Committee have already referred, it is with no ordinary sensations of satisfaction they announce to the Meeting that the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal may now be ranked among the foremost of those European states whose earnest desire to ameliorate the public prisons promises so much to the interests of humanity.

“It appears, that immediately after the re-establishment of the constitutional Government of Spain, the Cortes then elected occupied themselves in applying remedies to some of the most obvious evils of the prison system. They decreed that no prisoner should be confined in any unwholesome or subterranean apartment, or in any place not visited by the

the natural light of day. They also ordered that no chains or fetters should on any occasion be employed."

In Portugal the same success attended the introduction of prison discipline.

We regret to add, that the Report earnestly entreats additional pecuniary support, to enable the Society to proceed with the good work which its members have so long undertaken, with so much honour to themselves, and advantage to the community.

Mr. B. WILBRAHAM proposed the first Resolution, which was for the adoption of the Report, and confined himself to a declaration of his own participation in the objects of the Society, an expression of his satisfaction at seeing so crowded and distinguished a Meeting, and particularly at the attendance of so many ladies, whom he complimented for the efficient and superior support which they had given to this Society.

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON almost regretted that the honourable gentleman who preceded him had not enlarged on the great advantages which this Society was calculated to confer. He (Mr. Buxton) felt a great difficulty in attempting to embark in the wide discussion which this Report had opened; it comprehended so many and such important objects, that it was difficult to know where to begin with the subject. Perhaps the best course for him to take would be to advert to what was the condition of the gaols of this kingdom ten years ago, and then to look at what was their present state. On the former occasion, the gaols were on a plan inevitably calculated to make good men bad, and bad men worse, by the shortest possible process. The whole system was to convert useless members of society into very dangerous ones, and to render them by confinement more skilfully and determinately desperate. If the growth of crime in society, when encouraged instead of being counteracted, were necessarily slow, and it was politic to increase and multiply criminals, then indeed no plan more sagacious could be devised than what was necessarily connected with the old gaol system. But as philosophy and experience showed that crime from its own nature advanced rapidly enough without the special encouragement of public institutions, it required little sagacity to be convinced that all these measures of hardened severity were bad and utterly injurious in the way of reformation or prevention. The whole system of the old prisons was at variance with common sense, as well as with humanity and justice. What was (or ought to be at least) the object of committing a young offender to imprisonment? The merciful object was doubtless to rid society of an evil, and endeavour to reclaim the individual. How could that be done without ascertaining the cause of his guilt, and tracing to its source the progress of his demoralization? Suppose evil company were the cause, what ought to be the remedy? Was it (as in the old gaols) to place him alone and unwatched in the centre of the worst and most profligate of his species?—to leave him there in idleness for 6, 12, or 18 months, and then sent forth again into society a well-tutored adept in every fraud? No where was the spirit of proselytism more actively conducted than within the walls of a gaol; and no where was the leisure of a criminal more zealously exercised to extend the circle of bad company. The man, therefore, who was exposed to such a state, came forth a more desperate

desperate enemy to the community than he could have been before imprisonment. The evils of the old system were, however, at length felt, and a different and wiser policy suggested a contrary mode of proceeding, which at length, spreading from England to other parts of the world, had practically shown the necessity of treating criminals in a widely different manner from that formerly pursued with so much injury to society. Of the 100,000 who passed annually through the gaols of this kingdom, various were the degrees of guilt, and widely different were the classes who incurred punishment. This Society had eagerly embraced the opportunity presented by these distinctions to reform the unhappy beings who were capable of being reformed, and made useful members of society. It gave him the utmost gratification to find that the example of England in the improvement of her prison discipline had been followed by the nations of the Continent. It had been felt in the frozen regions of Siberia, as well as in the dark and gloomy cells of the former Inquisition of Spain.

Lord SUFFIELD, in proposing the second Resolution, entered into a refutation of the opinions expressed by a public writer (we believe in the last *Edinburgh Review*) on a late occasion, on the subject of this Society, its object and its means. The great mistake in the article to which he alluded, was in supposing that the Society had overlooked discipline in their plan of reformation. Now the reverse was the fact. It was true that they rejected every species of discipline which necessarily inflicted cruelty, while they retained every necessary severity that could accomplish a salutary purpose. One jot beyond that was either cruelty or injustice. True it was, they excluded every thing from the walls of a prison which could prejudice any man's health; for they could not be brought to believe that the infliction of the rheumatism or typhus fever was a necessary ingredient in the reformation of a criminal; neither could they be led to believe that keeping a man confined in gaol in total idleness, exposed to debauchery and drunkenness, under the excitement, and open to the gratification, of many of his worst passions, was the mode best adapted for securing him from relapsing to the same habits when he was liberated, which had been the cause of his committal. All these comforts, indeed (for they had been charged with introducing comforts), they had excluded from their system of prison discipline: they proceeded upon a plan which reversed the previous habits of the offender. What were the habits of a criminal?—idleness, profligacy, and bad society. What were the remedies?—work, regulated diet, and restricted intercourse. What better could be devised? The writer who had attacked them proceeded upon a fallacy—he admitted the great powers of that writer, whoever he was. Why did he make that admission; first, because it was just, and secondly because he wished to complain of the tendency of such an article upon a system which the writer ought to have better understood before he made it the subject of animadversion. It was true, indeed, that the writer admitted the virtuous purpose which the Society had at heart: he was ready to

“Damin with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And, without sneering, others teach to sneer.”

Like Mrs. Candour, in the “*School for Scandal*,” the writer was one

one of that class who could not withhold a meed of praise which was universally admitted to be due, but would grant it generally in the gross, and then detract from it little by little in the detail. The writer at the outset flatly denied that the success of the Society could be established, upon the criterion of the recommitment of prisoners; but then, shifting his ground, he argued that it was not alone sufficient to show that the individual had proved better, but that it must appear he was stopped in his future career of crime by the terror of imprisonment. Now the writer had not dealt fairly by pressing such a criterion, when it was considered how short a time the system of prison discipline, urged by the Society, had had fair play; but so far as it had gone, it practically refuted the opinions of the writer; for instance, in the House of Correction at Brixton, 190 were committed a year ago; but of these, 40 were for uttering forged notes, and as that offence had necessarily diminished with the re-appearance of a metallic currency, he excluded these 40 from his calculation, and would take the former year's number at Brixton at 150 only. Now the next year the committals were about 80—the same result he had no doubt would attend a calculation upon the same principles in other places. It was said that their object was a good one, but that they did not pursue it in a right way—they treated prisoners as rational animals: it appeared, however, that they ought not. Were they to confound all classes of criminals, and shut their eyes to the various chances of ameliorating the condition of some, and preventing the mass of evil from progressively accumulating in society? They did not mean to introduce comforts and happiness into prisons, but to reduce the sum of human misery, and render those who had been bad members of society the better after they had received their assigned punishment. Take, by way of an illustration of their plan of treatment, the case of a person who had a limb which must be amputated—ought they to perform the operation with a sharp knife, or with a blunt and crooked sword? Were they to aggravate the suffering of the individual before they could hope to accomplish his cure? The writer also praised Mrs. Fry; but there, again, her plan was improper—hers was not the way to prevent crime. But did it not produce the object which was admitted to be a good one?—and why then cavil at the means? As well might complaints be made against the altered mode of treatment introduced of late years for insane persons, where much of coercion was abolished, and means taken to develop the latent ray of reason which occasionally beamed in most of such cases, and restore the sufferer.—The noble lord then alluded to his own experience of the beneficial advantages of the improved system in the gaol of Aylsham in Norfolk, where previously a murder had been planned and afterwards executed by prisoners then in confinement, which was afterwards discovered, and the parties executed, through the information of a prisoner who had been won by kind treatment.

Mr. H. GREY BENNET felt the greatest pleasure in seconding this Motion, and bearing testimony to the improved state of the gaols since the introduction of the system of this Society. If this Society were, as it had been said, doing evil rather than good, it was quite time it should be exposed and abandoned. If prisoners became worse under its control,

trol, then the sooner this Society ceased to exist, the better for the community. But what were the facts? If it were insinuated that the prisons as previously managed were better for preventing crime, and that those on what he would call the improved principle furnished no terrors for the guilty, then let the facts of each be stated, and the question settled by the issue. He remembered, for example, the case of the old gaol of Bristol, which continued so long the disgrace of that city, and indeed of the country which permitted its existence under such misery. It had cells which were below the bed of the river, and it had others which opened through a trap-door downwards, one into the other three deep; and the gaoler had told him, that when he opened that trap-door, he was obliged for some minutes to withdraw from it; the stench which arose was so intolerable as to prevent his descending at the moment. Was there not torture enough in such a prison to effect all that torture could do in the way of prevention?—and yet what was the result? Why, the recommittals in that gaol were 40 per cent. under the old system, and under the new not more than 3, 4, and seldom 6. The fact was, the species of torture applied in this manner was little regarded by hardened criminals—they cared not for dirt, and filth, and stench; these evils only affected those who ought upon every principle of reason and policy to be saved from such an infliction. The cause of the increase of crime had not arisen from any laxity of prison discipline; it had sprung not only in this but in other counties, where the same cause prevailed, from the lamentable condition in which a great portion of the people was placed by the want of proper attention on the part of their superiors, by the dissolute habits which had grown up in the country, and which had taken, first in manufactures, and then in agriculture, the means of labour from the poor, and for years disorganized the whole frame of society. In France, Germany, Holland, Spain, and Portugal, this evil was felt as well as in England, and he feared also it operated in that most beautiful country which their forefathers had planted—America. He had carefully examined the state of different prisons, and in no single instance had he ever been able to trace any connexion between a well-regulated gaol, and the inducement to commit a crime; but quite the reverse: the old criminal hated labour and personal restraint; he was rendered more hardened by harsh usage, and turned back into society more desperate by the system of which he was in fact the victim. He concluded by repeating his cordial support of this Society.

Mr. COKE, of Norfolk, in moving the third Resolution, took shame to himself for having so little attended to the objects of this Society. So circumstanced, he should not detain them with uselessly recommending a Society with the merits of which they were better acquainted than he was. It certainly should have his cordial support.

Lord NUGENT, in seconding this Resolution, declared the reluctance with which he ventured to trespass upon the Meeting, after the able speeches which they had heard in the course of the day. The cause of this Society required no appeal to their passions, but carried with it the best and most valuable recommendation in the practical demonstration of its important benefits to the community at large. The public, besides, had not hastily adopted it: it had to contend with evil report and good report,

report, and to make its way through numerous jealousies, and under the disheartening disadvantage of having little chance even of gaining the gratitude of those whom it was destined to serve. With all these difficulties, it had made its way, not only in England, but in foreign countries, where the seeds which the Society had sown were now bearing ripe and wholesome fruits. In America it had grown under the auspices of that meek and mild society of Christians (Friends), who were always the forerunners in every good work of charity—a society constituted of enthusiasts for good, but their enthusiasm was divested of all vanity and passion.—The noble lord then reviewed the advantages developed by the adoption of the plan among the nations of the Continent, and observed that the glory which had been acquired by the potentates, who had patronized it, was greater than that which the purple of royalty conferred, and would survive the duration of the brow which was decked with the imperial diadem. The recollection of it would confer honour upon their memories, after all their more glaring honours had passed into oblivion. It seemed as if it was once thought that a prison was a sepulchre, in which the wretched victim ought to be entombed, until society had lost all recollection of his existence, and until he was rendered utterly unfit to be restored to its circle with advantage. Howard had first in England called the public attention to their prisons; but even he had not touched upon that most essential part of this Society's plan—the reformation of juvenile offenders—the protection of them under that orphanage which was more dreadful than a natural orphanage, and which cast them as contagious outcasts from society. He strongly recommended to the Meeting the support of the plan for the reform of juvenile offenders, which could not be extended without the supply of more adequate funds. The noble lord concluded by bearing testimony to the advantage of the plan of the Society from his own observation in the gaol near his residence (Aylesbury).

Mr. WILBERFORCE strongly enforced the necessity of supporting the plan for the reformation of juvenile offenders; and as a proof of its necessity, he had heard from his hon. friend (Mr. Bennet), who had taken so honourable and active an interest in this cause, that at the late sessions gaol delivery, no less than 160 boys were thrown loose on the public, without any means of support, and who must almost of necessity return to bad society, and consequently to habits of depredation. This dreadful evil might be obviated by securing some temporary asylum for the reception of such persons until means of subsistence could be procured for them. He then related a striking instance of the forlorn situation of a youth of the description he had mentioned, who sought, with the most piteous earnestness, an asylum to enable him to earn some subsistence; but without adequate funds such poor beings must be left to their fate. He combated the opinion, that their plan of discipline was improper, because it was not harsh. Were there not degrees in criminality? and ought there not to be classification in treatment? Suppose a man had an illness which required the healing aid of one of those numerous asylums which, to the honour of this country, abound in the metropolis—would any one dream of sending him for relief to a pest-house? And to what else was it they were in the habit, under the old system, of sending their

their offenders? The old prisons were, in fact, colleges for crime; and the success which had attended the reformatory system, and particularly under the exertions of Mrs. Fry, were, he would contend, above all praise.

The Earl of BLESSINGTON, in seconding the fourth Resolution, bore his testimony to the great advantages which had resulted from the system of prison discipline, and was particularly grateful for its introduction into Ireland, where its benefits had become remarkably apparent, as the want of poor establishments and pauper workhouses, as well as distinct places for criminal lunatics, had previously been severely felt in the common gaols.

Lord CALTHORPE, in proposing the fifth Resolution, strongly enforced the necessity of extending the subscription for providing an adequate asylum for juvenile offenders, and took occasion to praise the magistracy of the country, who had the best auxiliaries in the discharge of their arduous functions in the efforts of this Society, the objects of which were to withdraw the criminal from the temptation of vice and ignorance, and to subject him, while in confinement, to that species of moral correction which was best calculated to restore him as a fit member of society.

Mr. HOARE, in seconding this Resolution, remarked, that in the year 1815 the attention of a society of a few individuals was called to juvenile offenders, and now their spirit had been transferred to the regions of Siberia, and the provinces of Mexico, where it had diffused the widest benefits. It was not to be expected that arguments would not be started against the plan of such an institution as this. Some had said that its principle was an interference with the business of the magistracy; but experience had refuted such an opinion, and shown that in practice they had been the best auxiliaries of the magistrates, by becoming as it were a centre of communication, in collecting for them a variety of interesting information, which generally led to the moral improvement of many of the most helpless classes of society. He then enlarged upon the advantage of the Temporary Refuge, and asked what the juvenile offender could do unless by the aid of such an establishment. The wretched objects were of that class of society who had forfeited all, when they had lost their character by the commission of crime: they were then outcasts; all means of employment were withheld from them; and unless some resource was open to them, society must continue to experience the scourge of their hostility. He then defended the mode of discipline adopted by the Society, and said that it possessed enough of wholesome terror to deter the criminal, while it was divested of all those wanton and unnecessary inflictions which rather hardened the offender than reformed his vicious habits. In conclusion, he lamented the inadequacy of the funds to make the asylum for the reformation of juvenile offenders properly serviceable.

Dr. LUSHINGTON, in proposing the sixth Resolution, expatiated on the advantages of this Society, and asserted its indispensable necessity for the community at large. The clearest proof of the inefficacy of the old system of prison discipline was to be found in the augmentation of the number of criminals, in proportion with the accumulation of vice and profligacy which had been supposed to prevail in those abodes of misery. But
though

though the discipline had been reformed generally, much yet remained to be done by this Society ;—look, for instance, at the recent disclosure respecting Ilchester gaol. There was, indeed, the infliction of torture, and that torture perpetrated for two or three years without being discovered by the visiting magistrates. Who ever before heard of a gaoler and surgeon combining to inflict the torture of a blister upon a wretched prisoner whom they deemed refractory ? He fully concurred in the value of such a Society as this to the magistracy of the country. To understand these gaols, required as it were an apprenticeship to the trade ; and the magistrates could not be expected to have acquired in a moment the best means of ascertaining the management of a prison. It was by some people asserted, that in gaols so much terror should be used, as, by the force of that terror alone, would prevent the re-appearance of the same criminal. There was a great error in such an opinion, and its adoption would lead to the most revolting consequences. Were they, because the present amount of punishments did not operate to deter criminals, to increase the horrors of their infliction ? Did they imagine that the people of this country would tolerate the infliction of a more horrible punishment than hanging, because that mode of death was found inoperative in preventing the commission of the crimes to which it attached ? Their system proceeded upon a more rational plan, and was consequently attended with suitable success ; it united salutary punishment with the reformation of the offender. Society had, in fact, no right to act otherwise : every step beyond that principle was wrong and unjust. The honourable and learned gentleman declared his gratification at the success which attended the labours of this Society at home and abroad.

Mr. RANDOLPH (of the American Congress) came forward to second this Resolution, and was received with great applause. He said that he rose more as a matter of form, to take a part in their proceedings ; but certainly with feelings warmly alive to the value of their Society ; and most anxious to see its benefits widely diffused throughout the world. Allusion had been made to the interest which America had taken in the adoption of their system. He trusted that the people of the mother and the new country would go on in a career of emulating each other's virtues, and that their only rivalry should be, as it lately was, in suppressing the abominable slave-trade, and ameliorating the condition of their gaols, and consequently of their people. The reform of felons, and the diffusion of education, was a noble rivalry to pursue ; and if the emulation was continued, as he trusted it would be, all combinations merely for punishment would soon become supererogatory. He cordially thanked the Meeting for the attention which they paid him.

On the motion of Lord SUFFIELD, seconded by Mr. RANDOLPH, thanks were then voted to the Royal Chairman, who, in acknowledging them, declared the deep interest he felt in the objects of the Society, pointed at the facts which attested the progress of their labours, and refuted the arguments of their opponents ; and earnestly hoped that a more adequate subscription would enable them to proceed with the great and necessary work of the reformation of juvenile offenders.

At the close of the Meeting, several subscriptions were entered into by the company for the promotion of the objects of the Meeting.

African

African Institution.—On the 10th of May the 15th Annual Meeting of the African Institution was held at Freemasons'-hall: the attendance was numerous: several ladies (particularly of the Society of Friends) were present. On the platform were, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester (who took the chair), the Marquis of Lansdown, Lords Calthorpe, Suffield, Nugent, Belgrave, Gambier; Sir Thomas D. Acland, Sir George Warrander, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. H. G. Bennet, Mr. Bootle Wilbraham, Mr. Spring Rice, and several other Members of Parliament. The Rev. Mr. Cunningham of Harrow, and many other clergymen, were also present.

At half-past one o'clock His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester took the chair, and opened the business of the Meeting by calling upon Mr. Harrison, the Hon. Secretary, to read the 15th Annual Report, which that gentleman did; and the following are the principal extracts:—After alluding to the afflicting continuance of the slave-trade by the subjects of several European Powers, and descanting upon the unparalleled enormities which attended it, and adverting to the Motions last year by the Marquis of Lansdown in the House of Lords, and Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons, to induce remonstrances with foreign Governments to fulfil their treaties upon this subject, the Report proceeded to allude to the increase of the slave-trade within the last year. It appeared that during the last year the whole line of Western Africa, from the river Senegal to Benguela, has, during that period, swarmed with slave-vessels; and an active slave-trade has also been carried on upon the eastern shores of that continent; and particularly from the Island of Zanguebar. The chief seat of this traffic on the west coast, however, is the rivers Bonny and Calabar; and it has been ascertained on good authority, that in fifteen months, from July 1820 to October 1821, 190 ships, under different flags, had entered the former river, and that 162 had entered the latter, for the purpose of purchasing slaves—a fact which may afford some idea of what must be the dreadful aggregate of misery inflicted during the last year on this unhappy portion of the globe. In this work of iniquity Portugal still takes a pre-eminent part. Portugal, it will be recollected, is the only European Power that has refused entirely to prohibit her subjects from trading in slaves; she retains the guilty distinction of still legalizing a traffic which she acknowledges at the same time to be a crime of the worst description. She engaged, it is true, at the Congress of Vienna, to limit her slave-trade to her own possessions south of the equator. The stipulation, however, has been attended with little benefit to Northern Africa, for it has continued to be most grossly violated by her subjects; and even some of her public functionaries, governors of African colonies, have not scrupled, by their own practice, openly to sanction the violation. An active slave-trade has been carried on between the adjoining continent and the islands of Bissao and Cape de Verde, with the view of the slaves being afterwards shipped to the Havannah or to the French West India Islands. But the rivers which run into the Bight of Benin, and into that of Biafra, are chiefly frequented by the Portuguese slave ships. Many such vessels have, in the course of the last year, been found there by our men-of-war, completely furnished with all the imple-

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ments of their cruel traffic, and in a state of readiness to embark their human cargo. The Report then goes on to notice, in terms of the warmest approbation, the fact, that throughout the whole range of Spanish America, now become independent, not only has the slave-trade been effectually prohibited, but the very incentive to the crime been removed, by the gradual abolition of slavery itself, and the declaration that colour is to constitute no bar to the attainment of rank and honours. In allusion to the proceedings of the King of the Netherlands, the Report complains of the large introduction of slaves into Surinam, to the number of several thousands, ever since the sitting of the mixed commission there. In allusion to France, the Report is as follows :—" The directors will now advert to the slave-trade carried on under the flag of France, which has maintained during the last, as in some former years, its guilty pre-eminence. It will appear from the documents inserted in the Appendix, that almost every part of the African coast, whether on its western or eastern shores, is crowded with French contrabandists. Although a squadron has been stationed at Senegal and Goree, for the express purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, the inhabitants of those settlements are still deeply engaged in it. In other parts of the coast, the British cruisers, wherever they touch, find the French flag spreading its protection over an immense number of slave-ships. The coast appears literally to swarm with them ; as in one instance, in October 1821, Lieutenant Wright of the *Snapper*, during a cruize of only ten days in the neighbourhood of Cape Mount, fell in with nine slave-ships : one was a Dutch vessel, full of slaves, which escaped ; the other eight were French, several of them full of slaves. But it is unnecessary to occupy the time of the Meeting with these minute details ; the enormous extent to which the French slave-trade is carried will be found fully attested by the recent communications of Sir Charles M^cCarthy, of different naval officers, and, above all, of Sir George Collier, the late Commodore on the African station, whose reports on the subject will be read with a deep and painful interest. But the ravages of the French slave-traders are not confined to the western shores of that devoted continent. The eastern coast, and especially the island of Zanguebar, has recently attracted the cupidity of these lawless adventurers ; and an extensive traffic has been carrying on thence for the supply, not only of the Isles of Bourbon, but even of the Island of Cuba. A vessel with 344 slaves on board, named *Le Succes*, was detained in April, 1821, by his Majesty's ship *Menai*, Captain Moresby, and carried into the Isle of France, where, no claim of possession or property being preferred, she was condemned, and the slaves liberated. The correspondence and other documents found on board this ship throw a flood of light on the enormities of this traffic, as it is now carried on by the subjects of France. It will be sufficient to mention, that it appears from these papers, that this very vessel, *Le Succes*, had already made a successful slave voyage from Zanguebar to the Isle of Bourbon, where she had safely landed 248 slaves ; that the governor, M. Mylius, having been informed of the transaction, had instituted judicial proceedings against her ; but that the judges, whose office it was to try the cause, having themselves participated in the crime by purchasing some of her slaves, concurred in acquitting her ; and that, encouraged

encouraged by this impunity, she was immediately dispatched for another cargo of Africans, and was returning with them to the Isle of Bourbon, when she was detained by the Menai. A variety of other proofs will be found in the Appendix, of the pertinacity with which the slave-trade is prosecuted under the French flag, as well as of the impunity with which its prosecution is commonly attended. The directors would more particularly refer to the letter of a merchant of Nantes, in which he openly proposes to his correspondents a participation in a slaving adventure, and to the fact mentioned by the captain of *Le Succes*, that at one time twenty-four ships were fitting out at that place for the prosecution of this odious commerce. Even if the penalty of confiscation, (the only one which attaches to the violation of those laws,) were more frequently enforced than it is, it would do little to arrest the progress of this trade, while the risk of capture and condemnation is so small as to be easily insurable. At present, the rate of insurance does not exceed 15 or 20 per cent., while the gains of the trade are proved to amount to from 200 to 400 per cent.—The Report then details the unsuccessful effort of the Duke de Broglie in the French Chamber of Peers, last March, to render the laws of France more efficacious against this trade; but the greatest success was anticipated from the diffusion of information upon the subject on the Continent. Most flattering allusions were also made to the conduct of the United States of America, which had made this traffic piracy; and a reference is made to a very elaborate opinion pronounced by Judge Van Ness in one of these cases, which deserves to be recorded. He intimated, that even if this ship and cargo, taken under the Spanish flag, had not been proved to be American property, he would have held that the demand of restitution by the Spanish claimant ought to be rejected, on the ground that the trade, being pronounced illegal, and even criminal, by the municipal laws of Spain, and the property being liable to confiscation in the courts of his own country, no Spanish subject could have a right to claim restitution in the courts of the United States. He even went so far as to suggest whether a much broader principle might not now be fairly applied to cases of this description—whether, that is to say, this species of commerce ought not to be regarded as having altogether ceased to be *juris gentium*, and to be treated therefore as wholly out of the safeguard of the law of nations. Another very important document has reached the directors from the United States. It is the Report of a Committee of the House of Representatives in their last session, relative to the mutual exercise of the right of search, by Great Britain and America, with a view to the suppression of the slave-trade. This Committee gave a very clear opinion in favour of the exercise of this right. The Report also states the conclusion of a treaty between Governor Farquhar and the King of Madagascar, for the abolition of the slave-trade on that island; and states that Governor Farquhar has been indefatigable in his efforts to suppress the slave-trade in the adjacent seas; and he appears to have succeeded in preventing any importation within the limits of his own government. At the very time that the Board was engaged in a correspondence with the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to induce them to employ their influence with the Imaum of Muscat to put an end to the slave-trade, so extensively
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carried on at Zanguebar, and had the satisfaction of obtaining the prompt and cordial concurrence of that distinguished body, Governor Farquhar, by a singular and gratifying coincidence, was occupied in addressing the Governor-General of India and the Imaum of Muscat to the same effect.

The Report concludes thus :—

“ Under these circumstances, they shall exceedingly regret the opening of a free intercourse between the West India colonies and foreign states, unless it be made a substantive part of the measure, that a register act—not merely a nominal and delusive, but an efficient register act—shall exist in every colony to which the proposed boon shall be extended. While the sugars of the West Indies are protected in their monopoly of the home market by a high duty, not merely on foreign sugars, but on the sugars grown in our own East Indian possessions, thus giving a decided and exclusive preference to the produce of cultivation by slave labour over that produced by free labour,—the least that can be wished, if not demanded, is, that no means should be omitted which afford a likelihood of effectually preventing the clandestine introduction of slaves into our colonies, or their clandestine removal to the more productive colonies of foreign nations.”

LORD CALTHORPE rose to propose the motion of thanks to the Directors of the African Institution. He lamented the inadequate manner in which the efforts of the abolitionists were supported by foreign powers ; but he anticipated a more favourable result from the constitutional Governments of the Continent.

LORD NUGENT, in seconding the Motion, animadverted in severe terms upon the odious traffic of the slave-trade, and expressed a hope that the time was not far distant, when, by the common co-operation of all civilized Governments, a termination would be put to the depredations of that monster of all mankind—the trader in human flesh.

The Marquis of LANSDOWN proposed the second Resolution, which was declaratory of the abhorrence of the Society at the manner in which the slave-trade subsisted. He lamented the indisposition which was manifested by foreign powers to take the only step that could render the abolition effective, namely, by making the traffic piracy. He congratulated the Meeting upon the great example set in this respect by the United States of America, whose Government took the proper attitude that it became freemen to assume in the cause of freedom. The Noble Marquis then referred to the efforts of the Duke de Broglie (whom he was proud to call his friend), in France, and to the recent establishment of a Society in that country, having the same object in view as the African Institution. He fully concurred in the necessity of exciting public opinion to a detestation of this traffic on the Continent, by publications demonstrating its impolicy and inhumanity. When public opinion was enlightened, much might then be done. The only reason he had ever heard urged in France against the enactment of severer measures to enforce the abolition was, that the country was not yet ripe for such severity, and that neither judges nor juries would be found to execute such enactments. There would soon, he trusted, be an end to that argument. But, at present, it was lamentable that the science of the application of capital, which, by insurance, guarded the enterprising trader, and averted from him

him ruin and loss, was in France perverted to the iniquitous purpose of securing the inhuman slave-trader from the penalties of a daring infraction of the laws of his country. The Noble Marquis condemned, in the warmest manner, the continuance of this detestable traffic.

Mr. WILBERFORCE, in seconding the declaratory Resolution, deeply regretted the necessity which existed of enlightening the public mind of France respecting the odious nature of the slave-trade. Fifteen years ago, when their illustrious Chairman had joined in the formation of this Society, they vainly thought the question of abolition was set at rest, and that nothing remained but to secure the co-operation of the other powers to execute the prohibitory laws enacted against the crime. Though their anticipation had not been fulfilled, they had yet done much, and had earned that reward which all good men were sure to meet without reference to the success of their benevolent efforts. Independently of the moral necessity for the continuance of their labours, they should never forget that they owed Africa a weighty reparation for the deep injuries which they had inflicted on her unhappy children, and could never stop until they had repaired the evils they had committed. The honourable gentleman then took a retrospective glance at the progress of their labours; at the advances they had made since the time when the unhappy Africans were declared, even by some historians, to be an inferior class of human beings, not to be classed in the same scale with others. He particularly eulogized the Society of Friends for their uniform efforts in the cause of the abolition—efforts which, he said, had compelled them to violate the modesty of their own feelings, to act in opposition to the principles by which they regulated their conduct, and come forward to assist in the holy work, in open day, in conjunction with their brethren of different religions. He also said that, to the honour of Ireland, her ports had never been defiled by the vessels of this odious traffic—a fact which gave that generous and gallant nation an additional claim in this hour of her calamity to the relief of this country. It was a humiliating fact, that England had, in the slave-trade, been pre-eminent in guilt; but it was consolatory to know that she was also foremost in repentance. So completely had England formerly identified this traffic with her trade, that even when she abandoned it, other nations fancied that it was for the purpose of carrying into effect some new commercial speculation. He then congratulated the Society upon the accession of the Duke de Broglie and his friends, who were among the most intelligent and distinguished characters in France, and whose efforts would, no doubt, produce the best results. He adverted, in flattering terms, to the success which had, after a lapse of years, attended the colonization of Sierra Leone: at first the prospect had been discouraging,—so it always was in the history of such improvements. The colony of Virginia, one not undertaken by needy speculators, but at the suggestion of the wisest of men—of Lord Bacon, and partly formed under the eye of Sir Walter Raleigh; three times was the colony of Virginia attempted, and as often abandoned, until at length a final trial was made, and complete success attended it. The Honourable Member eulogized in the highest terms the services of Sir George Collier, and the naval force under his command on the coast of Africa, and remarked that the first intimation

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of making the slave-trade piracy had a very singular origin. It arose from a treaty made by the son of a very old friend of his, Lieutenant Thomson, R. N., with a people in the Arabian Gulf, who consented to denounce the slave-trade as piratical, although he (Mr. Wilberforce) was afraid they were themselves little better than pirates.

Mr. BROUGHAM proposed a Resolution expressive of the gratification of the Society at finding the slave-trade made piracy by the United States of America. In doing so, he was grieved to say, that instead of being assembled, as they had hoped, this day to witness the consummation of their fifteen years' labours in enforcing the act of abolition, they had now the mortification to find a new series of troubles rising to their view, from a singular combination of unhappy circumstances. As long as their own laws had to be watched over to be enforced—as long as their own colonies declined to give their own slaves the equal benefit of the law, and withheld from them every thing which was not extorted from the masters, by the necessity of fostering the slaves now risen in price, if that degraded epithet must still attach to human beings—as long as other nations refused to redeem their own plighted promises—so long the African Institution must obviously and necessarily have much to accomplish. It would seem, from the interesting Report which had been read, that the history of the chief countries of Europe, since the peace, exhibited nothing but a series of pledges given to be forfeited—opportunities of benefiting mankind only afforded to be scandalously thrown away—chances held forth to the nations of the world, but cast aside, of recovering themselves, and of gaining imperishable renown. He looked with indignation at the contrast presented to these nations by the United States of America, and the still greater contrast presented by the republican subjects of a free country, in the performance where they had not promised so much, to those regal Governments which had promised so much and performed so little. Too much could not be said of the labours of the Society of Friends, who had been forcibly compelled, by the greatness of their own doings, to encroach upon that meekness of habit which uniformly induced them to

“do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame,”

and forced them to receive that public approbation from their fellow-subjects which they were the first to earn, but the last to claim. There were, however, some of the foreign Governments who resembled the Society of Friends; but it was only in this one habit—that they made no claim for the approbation of mankind. If they were slow in claiming, they took especial care to be also slow in deserving—their modest and retired habits were never broken in upon by the applause of suffering humanity; they kept the left-hand in entire ignorance of what was doing by the right; and, to obviate the possibility of a charitable exposure, they took particular care to keep both hands idle. These Governments stood wholly without excuse; and he would press upon their Governments, if they could hear him—he would press upon their people, through whom those Governments must, sooner or later, hear it—that vain will be their plea of England's example of indifference to this traffic for a series of years, even if that plea were stronger than it can be pretended

to be. True it is, that this is the fortieth year since the wrongs of Africa first caught the attention of the English ear. At that time a small Society, (principally from among the Society of Friends,) six in number, of whom alone George Harrison was the survivor, met in conclave upon this traffic. True, their conclave was as secret in its deliberations as were other congresses that had since assembled, though composed of very different members, influenced by very different feelings, and having very different objects to promote. This Society sought information respecting the traffic; they were followed by Thomas Clarkson, and, treading on his heels in the great work, came his Hon. Friend (Mr. Wilberforce), who had rendered his name illustrious by his services in this holy cause. And yet, notwithstanding the great exertions of such men, twenty-five years elapsed from the beginning to the conclusion of their efforts, so far as the passing of the abolition act. Why did he refer to these facts? First, that they had to take to themselves the deep shame of allowing so many years to elapse in the progress of such a question; and next, to discourage despair, under any present circumstances, by showing, that in whatever cause a free and enlightened people resolve to embark, success must ultimately attend their struggle. It was not one year before their final triumph, that after the question of abolition was carried in the Commons, it was flung out in the Lords. He referred to these facts to discourage despair, not to vindicate foreign powers, or allow their plea of the example of England. When the subject was first taken up in England, it was new; its details and atrocities were unknown; the effect of measures was untried: but would it be contended that the powers of the Continent could plead that ignorance? Had they not had the benefit of the progressive experience of England? They might, indeed, have come into the discussion at the eleventh hour; but they did so with all the advantage of hearing the ten hours' previous debate, and acquiring all the experience of the past to regulate their decision. They must start, therefore, with us at the present time; and not flatter themselves with the delusive hope, that either among the wise or the good men of future times, they would stand justified in a delay, which in the case of England was without defence, but which in their case would be utterly without palliation.—The Honourable and Learned Gentleman then pronounced a warm panegyric upon the example set by the United States of America, in making the slave-trade piracy, and upon Mr. Randolph's great efforts in promoting that act.

The Rev. JOHN CUNNINGHAM seconded the Motion in an eloquent speech, which we regret our limits will not enable us to give. He strongly recommended that for the purpose of replenishing the funds of the Society, its basis should be extended, so as to make the question a religious as well as a political one.

Mr. RANDOLPH (the distinguished American) then rose to return thanks for this mark of respect towards the United States of America. He said that, after the eloquence which had already been displayed upon this great subject, it would be an act of presumption scarcely excusable in any stranger, but unpardonable in him, to intrude his unpremeditated expressions upon them, after the able speeches which they had not only heard but felt. He was, however, impelled by a double motive, which he

he could not resist, to offer himself for a few moments to their attention. First, to discharge an act of duty in behalf of his native land, in the absence of its official representative—an absence as unexpected by him as it was unforeseen, and which had cast upon him a duty he felt inadequate to perform—that of thanking this Meeting for the grateful sense they had expressed towards America, and also to assure them that all that was exalted in station, in talent, and in moral character, among his countrymen, was (as was also to be found in England) firmly united for the suppression of this infamous traffic. It was delightful to him to know that Virginia, the land of his sires, the place of his nativity, had for half a century affixed a public brand, an indelible stigma, upon this traffic, and had put in the claim of the wretched objects of it to the common rights and attributes of humanity.—He repeated his thanks to the Meeting for the flattering reception they had given him.

[The plainness of Mr. Randolph's appearance, his republican simplicity of manner, and easy and unaffected address, attracted much attention : he sat down amidst a burst of applause.]

Mr. JOHN WARRE, M.P., proposed a Resolution of thanks to Spain, for the recent vote of the Cortes, which made the slave-trade penal, by confiscation and ten years' hard labour at the public works. The Honourable Member drew a forcible contrast between the present favourable disposition of the Spanish Government, and that last year communicated in the dispatches of Sir H. Wellesley to the Marquis of Londonderry.

Mr. BOWRING bore testimony to the altered opinion of the Spanish authorities. He said, that the debates of the Cortes upon this subject were last year carried on with closed doors, and an adverse measure carried by the foulest misrepresentation of facts.

A man of venerable appearance here evinced a desire to address the Meeting from one of the side galleries : he wore a gold chain and medal around his neck ; but the call of the Meeting being for

Mr. STEPHEN, that gentleman rose to propose a Resolution of thanks to the new Governments of South America, for the ready manner in which they (Columbia in particular) had come forward to abolish the slave-trade. He then read a letter from a correspondent, detailing the particulars of the Columbian abolition act ; and that, on the Motion that the children of all slaves born since the revolution should be free at 18 years of age, an amendment was moved to substitute the age of 25, as a recompense for the expense of rearing and educating, which amendment was lost by votes of the Council in the proportion of ten to one. The principal South American landholders were also arranging a sort of property-tax, to establish a fund for the progressive emancipation of all the slaves who had not obtained privileges by other means, such as military service, &c. He contrasted the liberal and high-minded spirit of the South American Governments with that of our own colonies, where the wretched infant was still doomed to a life of servitude, and could be torn from his family, and sold in another island, at the will of the owner.

Mr. W. SMITH seconded this Resolution, and enforced the necessity of more effective steps to secure the abolition of this odious traffic.

Mr. FOWELL BUXTON, Mr. BOOTLE WILBRAHAM, Sir T. D. ACLAND, and one or two other gentlemen, addressed the Meeting, and enforced

similar topics, in language which we regret we have not space to convey; and His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, in acknowledging the thanks of the Meeting, took occasion to introduce the name of an illustrious relative of his, who had also steadily pursued the abolition of the slave-trade—he meant the King of Denmark. His Royal Highness also stated, that he had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with General Bolivar, who had promised him, when in England in the year 1808, that the moment the South Americans had acquired their liberty, the slave-trade should be abolished. General Bolivar had at least redeemed the promise he had made.—His Royal Highness then communicated an apology from Sir George Collier, who was prevented, by a severe illness in his family, from attending the present Meeting.

When His Royal Highness quitted the chair, it was taken by Mr. Wilberforce, and thanks were then voted to Mr. Harrison, the Hon. Secretary.

Philanthropic Institution, St. George's Fields.—On the 2d of May, a numerous and highly respectable Meeting of the friends and supporters of this valuable Institution took place at the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, to celebrate their Anniversary Festival, Lord Viscount Bulkeley in the chair, in the absence of His R. H. the Duke of York, President of the Society. The Secretary's Report presented a gratifying account of the success of the Institution in the reformation of the children of convicted felons and criminal boys. In the course of last year 28 boys and girls were admitted, some of whose fathers were sentenced to death or transportation, and nine were criminal boys of the most depraved dispositions. In the last year 191, of both sexes, were under the protection of the Institution, in its several establishments, including those who completed their apprenticeship and were placed in service: the numbers now remaining are 55 apprentices, 66 boys, and 42 girls, making a total of 163. Of those who left the Institution in the last eight years, 53 young women were placed in service, and 65 young men completed their apprenticeship; 30 of the young men, prior to entering the Establishment, were criminal offenders, and 35 the children of convicts. Of the above 65 young men, 43 quitted the Institution with considerable sums saved by means of extra work, and are now become industrious and respectable members of Society.

Magdalen Hospital.—At the celebration of the 64th Anniversary of the Magdalen Hospital, an appropriate sermon was delivered by the Lord Bishop of Llandaff: after which the Governors and other friends to this most useful but unobtrusive charity partook of an excellent dinner, given by the stewards, at the London Tavern; the Hon. Mr. Percy in the chair, supported by Mr. Justice Park and Mr. Justice Richardson. Among the company present were Sir J. E. Dolben, Bart., Sir F. Osmamney, Bart., M.P., M. A. Taylor, Esq., M.P., and several other gentlemen distinguished by their liberal support of most of the public charities in the metropolis. Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, the chapel and the dinner were well attended.

London

London Female Penitentiary.—The Annual Meeting of this most benevolent Society was held, on the 6th of May, in the great room of the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, and was very numerously attended.

At half-past twelve o'clock, W. WILBERFORCE, Esq. M.P. took the chair, supported by several eminent characters.

The Report of the last year's proceedings was immediately read by the Secretary, from which it appears that 149 applications have been made to the Society. Fourteen young women had been placed in situations, 39 restored to their friends, 21 discharged or left on their own account, one had been passed to her parish, and one died. Several affecting anecdotes were related of some of the applicants. Letters had been received from those who were placed in service, expressing their gratitude, and requesting permission to become subscribers. There are now 100 inmates in the Asylum.

The Report next detailed the operations of the Society established at Brighton, on the 15th of April, under the auspices of His Majesty, which had effected great good in that town. The subscriptions raised during the last year amounted to 4075*l.* 19*s.* and the expenditure to 125*l.* less; but there still remained a balance against the Society of 500*l.* The Report concluded by calling for additional pecuniary assistance to enable the Committee to support the many cases which come before them.

The Rev. Dr. Winter and Mr. Wilberforce, with other gentlemen, addressed the Meeting in powerful speeches in support of the Institution.

The Report was ordered to be printed and circulated; and thanks were voted to the several officers for their meritorious exertions. The acknowledgement of the Meeting was also voted by acclamation to the Chairman; after which the Meeting adjourned.

City of London General Pension Society: for the permanent Relief of decayed Artizans, Mechanics, and their Widows.—The Fourth Anniversary Dinner of this Society was held at the Albion House, Aldersgate-street, H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex in the chair.

The company assembled were numerous beyond any former Anniversary, and strongly marked the growing estimation in which this charitable Institution is held by the public.

The Royal Chairman, on the dinner being concluded, gave the usual loyal toasts, and the Patrons of the Institution. His Royal Highness, in proposing the next toast, said, he felt it was incumbent on him to offer some statement respecting the Institution which they were assembled to support. It was founded on the benevolent and patriotic principles of providing a comfortable support for persons whose honest industry had contributed to the greatness of their country, and whose honest pride made them most reluctant to solicit parish relief; and it was one of the best effects of the Institution, that it held out to persons in the situation in life to which it was calculated to afford relief, the encouraging hope that by propriety of conduct they would, in the event of being visited by misfortune—which might be the lot of all—be saved from the painful necessity of being obliged to resort to indiscriminate charity. Of all
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the benevolent Institutions which were the pride of the Metropolis, he considered it one of the most useful, and it was most grateful to his feelings to witness its rapid progress.

London Orphan Asylum.—The Anniversary Festival of this Institution was held at the City of London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, when upwards of 300 of its friends and supporters sat down to a sumptuous dinner, H. R. H. the Duke of York in the chair, supported by the Bishop of Chester, the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Cranborne, Alderman Heygate, Sheriff Venables, Mr. Byng, M.P., Ch. Phillips, Esq. and several other persons of distinction. In the course of the evening 130 boys and girls educated by the Society paraded the room, and they exhibited a very healthy and clean appearance.

The Report stated, that since the preceding Anniversary 12 children had left the Asylum, their education being complete; and 35 had been received under their protection; leaving the number now in the establishment 132. It also appeared, that the moneys received on account of the building fund (it being intended by the Society to have a more commodious establishment) amount to nearly 8000*l.*; but they do not intend commencing the building until the fund increases to 10,000*l.* At the last election 91 persons were on the list, but only 14 could be admitted; therefore it is the intention of the Board to erect a building for 300 children.

The subscriptions of the evening were very handsome, and we trust will soon enable the Committee to realise all their benevolent intentions.

Associated Catholic Charities for educating the Children of poor Catholics, and providing for destitute Orphans.—The Anniversary of this Society was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, when upwards of 100 gentlemen sat down to dinner. The Right Hon. Lord Stourton presided on the occasion, supported by the Duke of Norfolk, and Earl of Surry.—After the usual toasts had been given, the healths of the Right Rev. Dr. Poynter, V. A. L. the Duke of Norfolk, the Hon. E. Petre, and the Earl of Surry, were given, and thanks were returned in appropriate speeches. The boys and girls were then ushered into the room; and one of the former recited an address in a very interesting manner, appealing to the feelings of those present, and enumerating the many blessings derived from their charitable donations. More than 500*l.* was collected.

Royal Metropolitan Infirmary for Sick Children.—May 30th, the first Anniversary of this Institution, which is patronised by His Majesty, and consecrated to the memory of the Princess Charlotte, was celebrated at Freemasons' Tavern.—Dr. M'Leod in the Chair.

Before the cloth was removed, the Chairman apologized for the absence of the Duke of York, who was to have presided on this occasion, but was prevented by indispensable business. The usual toasts being given, the Chairman stated the object of the charity, of which the title is a full description. The great advantage of this Institution was, that no recommendation was necessary for the introduction of the patient. He concluded by recommending the charity to the support of the Assembly.

Rev. Dr. Hamilton (one of the Treasurers) read the Report of the
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Royal Metropolitan Infirmary; from which it appeared, that since the commencement of the Institution, the total number of patients admitted at various stations amounted to 8473. Of these only 3446 appeared to have been vaccinated, 1884 having had the small-pox, and consequently 3145 remained totally unprotected, a proportion of children which could not be contemplated without much anxiety, and which would render the fatality of that disease very great, should it unfortunately become epidemic. The medical officers had endeavoured to remedy this evil, but they regretted to say that few parents availed themselves of the offers to vaccinate their children. Of those who had been afflicted with small-pox, 1360 had it in their natural form, and 524 had been wilfully subjected to it by inoculation; giving evidence that there are still members of the medical profession who employed themselves in creating those maladies which the exertions of their brethren and the legislature were directed to suppress.

The Treasurer's Report was then read; from which it appeared that the funds were not flourishing in proportion to the excellence of the Institution; but a firm conviction is entertained that the public will come forward with the most spirited support, when the effects are more generally known.

Several gentlemen, amongst whom were Mr. M. Hutchinson, Mr. Harris, and Dr. Webster, spoke highly in favour of the Institution; and Mr. Harris read a list of donations which had been made since the Report was drawn up.

Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands.—A General Public Meeting of the subscribers and friends of this laudable Institution took place at Freemasons' Hall, when a numerous and most respectable body of persons assembled, chiefly consisting of ladies elegantly dressed. In the absence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, the Rev. Dr. Manuel was called to the Chair, and was supported by several eminent individuals. It appeared from the Report, that the Society was instituted in the year 1701, for the improvement of public morals, and in the year 1709 it received a Charter of Incorporation from Her Majesty Queen Anne, and hence it gradually received royal patronage. Upwards of 350 schools are now supported by the Society, and about 20,000 children are receiving the benefits of instruction, and habits of industry are instilled into them. The Scriptures have been translated into Gaelic, and in that and the English language have been widely distributed; and tracts, with a variety of books for elementary tuition, have been circulated in the Highlands and Islands. The population of the Highlands and Islands is estimated at about 400,000 persons. The yearly revenue of the Society generally amounts to 5000*l*. A corresponding branch of the Society has been established in London for the last century, whose sole object is to assist the funds of the parent Society.—Several speeches were delivered, and the company made a handsome subscription before they separated.

East Lothian Itinerating Libraries.—By the Second Annual Report of this Institution we learn that the object of its establishment is to furnish the

the towns and villages of East Lothian with libraries of useful books, chiefly such as are calculated to promote the knowledge and influence of religion : and in order to keep up a constant supply of different books, they are arranged in divisions of fifty volumes each, which are removed from station to station every second year. A second period having arrived for removing the different divisions, it may be of some use to report the result of the experiment which has been made, and the progress of the plan, with the prospects of its extension.

In the year 1817, four libraries, of 50 volumes each, were stationed at the villages of Aberlady, Salton, Tynningham, and Garvald-kirk. The issues of books at these stations were as follows :

First year, 1461 ; second year, 733. Total, 2194.

In 1819, new divisions of the libraries were sent to the same places ; and since that time the issues have been as follows :

First year, 1313 ; second year, 928. Total, 2241.

In 1819, four additional libraries were sent to the following places : Prestonpans, Penston, Stenton, and Highlie. In the present year, other two divisions have been sent from the parent library in Haddington ; and by an arrangement which will be immediately noticed, three divisions from the North Berwick Evangelical Library are added to the Itinerating Libraries in the county, making in all, 13 libraries, containing 650 volumes. One in Haddington of 200 volumes.

Catholic National Education Society, Dublin.—The Annual Meeting of the new (Catholic) Education Society was held at the Rotunda, Dublin, on Thursday, May 9th, for the purpose of receiving the Report of the Committee for the last year, and appointing a new Committee for the year ensuing.

On the motion of Lord Cloncurry, the Most Rev. Dr. Troy (Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin), was called to the chair.

Mr. Terry, the Secretary, read the Report, which stated, that there were 200 children educated at the Society's School, Abbey-street ; that a school, containing 90, had been established at Magherafelt, and another at Newmarket ; that if this Society were supplied with funds, it would have a larger number of schools under its direction and patronage, than any Society that had ever yet been established in Ireland ; and they therefore determined to petition Parliament forthwith for the necessary aid. Mr. Terry remarked, that the Kildare-place Society had failed to obtain its object. Nine-tenths of the poor are Roman Catholics, and are averse to the Bible " without note or comment " as a school-book.—The other speakers were Lord Cloncurry (who stated at considerable length the causes of his secession from the Kildare-place Society) ; Sir Thos. Esmonde, Bart. ; Archibald H. Rowan, Esq., and Counsellor O'Connell. The latter gentleman concluded by moving, " That this Society do petition Parliament for a grant in aid of its great objects."

THE
I N Q U I R E R.

Hominis est propria veri inquisitio.

CICERO.

What's good—doth open to the Inquirer stand.

DENHAM.

VOL. II.

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THE INQUIRER.

JANUARY 1823.

ART. I.—*Thoughts on the Necessity of ameliorating the Condition of the Negro Slaves (in the British Colonies, and elsewhere) with a view ultimately to their Emancipation.*

WE know of no subject, where humanity and justice, as well as public and private interest, would be more intimately concerned or united than in that, which should recommend a mitigation of the slavery, with a view afterwards to the emancipation of the Negroes, wherever such may be held in bondage. This subject was taken up for consideration, so early as when the Abolition of the slave trade was first practically thought of, and by the very persons who first publicly embarked in that cause in England; but it was at length abandoned by them, not on the ground *that Slavery was less cruel, or wicked, or impolitic, than the slave trade*, but for other reasons. In the first place there were not at that time so many obstacles in the way of the Abolition, as of the Emancipation of the Negroes. In the second place Abolition could be effected immediately, and with but comparatively little loss, and no danger. Emancipation, on the other hand, appeared to be rather a work of time. It was beset too with many difficulties, which required deep consideration, and which, if not treated with great caution and prudence, threatened the most alarming results. In the third place it was supposed, that, by effecting the abolition of the slave trade, the axe would be laid to the root of the whole evil; so that by cutting off the more vital part of it, the other would gradually die away:—for what was more reasonable than to suppose, that, when masters could no longer obtain Slaves from Africa or elsewhere, they would be compelled individually, by a sort of inevitable necessity, or a fear of consequences, or by a sense of their own interest, *to take better care of those whom they might then have in their possession?* What was more reasonable to suppose, than that the different legislatures themselves, moved also by the same necessity, *would immediately interfere*, without even the loss of a day, *and so alter and amend the laws* relative to the treatment of Slaves, as to enforce that as a public duty, which it would be thus the private interest of individuals to perform? Was it not also reasonable to suppose that a system of better treatment, thus begun by individuals, and enforced directly afterwards by law, would produce more

willing as well as more able and valuable labourers than before; and that this effect, when once visible, would again lead both masters and legislators on the score of interest to treat their slaves still more like men; nay, at length to give them even privileges; and thus to elevate their condition by degrees, till at length it would be no difficult task, and no mighty transition, *to pass them to that most advantageous situation to both parties, the rank of Free Men?*

These were the three effects, which the simple measure of the abolition of the slave trade was expected to produce by those, who first espoused it; by Mr. Granville Sharp, and those who formed the London committee; and by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Wilberforce, and others of illustrious name, who brought the subject before Parliament. The question then is, how have these fond expectations been realized? or how many and which of these desirable effects have been produced? We may answer perhaps with truth, that in our own Islands, where the law of the abolition is not so easily evaded, or where there is less chance of obtaining new slaves, than in some other parts, there has been already, that is, since the abolition of the slave trade, a somewhat *better individual treatment* of the slaves than before. A certain care has been taken of them. The plough has been introduced to ease their labour. Indulgences have been given to pregnant women both before and after their delivery; premiums have been offered for the rearing of infants to a certain age; religious instruction has been allowed to many. But when we mention these instances of improvement, we must be careful to distinguish what we mean;—we do not intend to say, that there were no instances of humane treatment of the slaves before the abolition of the slave trade. We know, on the other hand, that there were; we know that there were planters, who, much to their honour, introduced the plough upon their estates, and who granted similar indulgences, premiums, and permissions to those now mentioned, previously to this great event. All then that we mean to say is this, that, independently of the common progress of humanity and liberal opinion, the circumstance of not being able to get new slaves as formerly, has had its influence upon some of our planters; that it has made some of them think more; that it has put some of them more upon their guard; and that there are therefore, upon the whole, more instances of good treatment of slaves by individuals in our Islands (though far from being as numerous as they ought to be) than at any former period.

But, alas! though the abolition of the slave trade may have produced a somewhat better individual treatment of the slaves, and this also to a somewhat greater extent than formerly, *not one of the other effects*, so anxiously looked for, has been realized. The condition of the slaves has not yet been improved by *law*. It is a remarkable,

remarkable, and indeed almost an incredible fact, that no one effort has been made by the legislative bodies in our Islands with the real intention of meeting the new, the great, and the extraordinary event of the abolition of the slave trade. While indeed this measure was under discussion by the British Parliament, an attempt was made in several of our Islands to alter the old laws with a view, as it was then pretended, of providing better for the wants and personal protection of the slaves; but it was afterwards discovered, that the promoters of this alteration never meant to carry it into effect. It was intended, by making a show of these laws, *to deceive the people of England, and thus to prevent them from following up the great question of the abolition.* Mr. Clappeson, one of the evidences examined by the House of Commons, was in Jamaica, when the Assembly passed their famous consolidated laws, and he told the House, that "he had often heard from people there, that it was passed because of the stir in England about the slave trade;" and he added, "that slaves continued to be as ill treated there *since the passing of that act as before.*" Mr. Cook, another of the evidences examined, was long resident in the same island, and, "though he lived there also *since the passing of the act, he knew of no legal protection*, which slaves had against injuries from their masters." Mr. Dalrymple was examined to the same point for Grenada. He was there in 1788, when the Act for that island was passed also, called "An Act for the better Protection and promoting the Increase and Population of Slaves." He told the House, that, "while he resided there, the proposal in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was a matter of general discussion, and that he believed, that this was a principal reason for passing it. He was of opinion, however, that this Act would prove ineffectual, because, as Negro evidence was not to be admitted, those, who chose to abuse their slaves, might still do it with impunity; and people, who lived on terms of intimacy, would dislike the idea of becoming spies and informers against each other." We have the same account of the ameliorating Act of Dominica. "This Act," says Governor Prevost, "appears to have been considered from the day it was passed until this hour as a *political measure to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of the slaves.*" We are informed also on the same authority, that the clauses of this Act, which had given a promise of better days, "*had been wholly neglected.*" In short, the Acts passed in our different Islands for the pretended purpose of bettering the condition of the slaves have been all of them most shamefully neglected; and they remain only a dead letter; or they are as much a nullity, as if they had never existed, at the present day.

And as our planters have done nothing yet effectively by *law* for ameliorating

ameliorating the condition of their slaves, so they have done nothing or worse than nothing in the case of their *emancipation*. In the year 1815 Mr. Wilberforce gave notice in the House of Commons of his intention to introduce there a bill for the registration of slaves in the British colonies. In the following year a very serious insurrection broke out among some slaves in Barbadoes. Now, though this insurrection originated, as there was then reason to believe, in local or peculiar circumstances, or in circumstances which had often produced insurrections before, the planters chose to attribute it to the Registry Bill now mentioned. They gave out also, that the slaves in Jamaica and in the other islands had imbibed a notion, that this Bill was to lead to *their emancipation*; that, while this notion existed, their minds would be in an unsettled state; and therefore that it was necessary that *it should be done away*. Accordingly on the 19th day of June 1816, they moved and procured an address from the Commons to the Prince Regent, the substance of which was (as relates to this particular) that "His Royal Highness would be pleased to order all the governors of the West India islands to proclaim, in the most public manner, his Royal Highness's concern and surprise at the false and mischievous opinion, which appeared to have prevailed in some of the British colonies,—that either His Royal Highness or the British Parliament had sent out orders for *the emancipation* of the Negroes; and to direct the most effectual methods to be adopted for discountenancing *these unfounded and dangerous impressions*." Here then we have a proof that in the month of June 1816 the planters *had no notion of altering the condition of their Negroes*. It is also evident, that they have entertained *no such notion since*; for emancipation implies a *preparation* of the persons who are to be the subjects of so great a change. It implies a previous alteration of treatment for the better, and a previous alteration of customs and even of circumstances, no one of which can however be really and truly effected without a *previous change of the laws*. In fact, a progressively better treatment *by law* must have been settled as a preparatory and absolutely necessary work, had *emancipation been intended*. But as we have never heard of the introduction of any new laws to this effect, or with a view of producing this effect in any of our colonies, we have an evidence, almost as clear as the sun at noon-day, that our planters have no notion of altering the condition of their Negroes, though fifteen years have elapsed since the abolition of the slave trade.

But if it be true that the abolition of the slave trade has not produced all the effects, which the abolitionists anticipated or intended, it would appear to be their duty, unless insurmountable obstacles present themselves, *to resume their labours*: for though there

there may be upon the whole, as we have admitted, a somewhat better *individual* treatment of the slaves by their masters, arising out of an increased prudence in some, which has been occasioned by stopping the importations, yet it is true, that not only many of the former continue to be ill-treated by the latter, but that *all may be so ill-treated*, if the latter be so disposed. They may be ill-fed, hard-worked, ill-used, and wantonly and barbarously punished. They may be tortured, nay even deliberately and intentionally killed without the means of redress, or the punishment of the aggressor, so long as the evidence of a Negro is not valid against a white man. If a white master only take care, that no other white man sees him commit an atrocity of the kind mentioned, he is safe from the cognizance of the law. He may commit such atrocity in the sight of a thousand black spectators, and no harm will happen to him from it. In fact, the slaves in our Islands have *no more real protection or redress from law*, than when the Abolitionists first took up the question of the slave trade. It is evident therefore, that the latter have still one-half of their work to perform, and that it is their duty to perform it. If they were ever influenced by any good motives, whether of humanity, justice, or religion, to undertake the cause of the Negroes, they must even now be influenced by the same motives to continue it. If any of those disorders still exist, which it was their intention to cure, they cannot (if these are curable) retire from the course and say—there is now no further need of our interference.

The first step then to be taken by the Abolitionists is to attempt to introduce an *entire new code of laws* into our colonies. The treatment of the Negroes there must no longer be made to depend upon the *presumed effects* of the abolition of the slave trade. Indeed there were persons well acquainted with Colonial concerns, who called the abolition *but a half measure* at the time when it was first publicly talked of. They were sure, that it would never *of itself* answer the end proposed. Mr. Steele also confessed in his letter to Dr. Dickson* (of both of whom more by and by), that the abolition of the slave trade would be *useless*, unless at the same time the *infamous laws*, which he had pointed out, were *repealed*. Neither must the treatment of the Negroes be made to depend upon what may be called *contingent humanity*. We now leave in this country neither the horse, nor the ass, nor oxen, nor sheep, to the contingent humanity even of *British bosoms*;—and shall we leave those, whom we have proved to be *men*, to the contingent humanity of a *slave colony*, where the eye is familiarized with cruel sights, and where we have seen a constant exposure to op-

* See Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery, p. 17.

pression without the possibility of redress? No. The treatment of the Negroes must be made to depend *upon law*; and unless this be done, we shall look in vain for any real amelioration of their condition. In the first place, all those old laws, which are repugnant to humanity and justice, must be done away. There must also be new laws, positive, certain, easy of execution, binding upon all, by means of which the Negroes in our islands shall have speedy and substantial redress in real cases of ill-usage, whether by starvation, over-work, or acts of personal violence, or otherwise. There must be new laws again more akin to the principle of *reward* than of *punishment*, of *privilege* than of *privation*, and which shall have a tendency to raise or elevate their condition, so as to fit them by degrees to sustain the rank of free men.

But if a new Code of Laws be indispensably necessary in our colonies in order to secure a better treatment to the slaves, to whom must we look for it? I answer, that we must not look for it to the West Indian Legislatures. For, in the first place, judging of what they are likely to do from what they have already done, or rather from what they have not done, we can have no reasonable expectation from that quarter. One hundred and fifty years have passed, during which long interval their laws have been nearly stationary, or without any material improvement. In the second place, the individuals composing these Legislatures, having been used to the exercise of unlimited power, would be unwilling to part with that portion of it, which would be necessary to secure the object in view. In the third place, their prejudices against their slaves are too great to allow them to become either impartial or willing actors in the case. The term *slave* being synonymous according to their estimation and usage with the term *brute*, they have fixed a stigma upon their Negroes, such as we, who live in Europe, could not have conceived; unless we had had irrefragable evidence upon the point. What evils has not this cruel association of terms produced? The West Indian master looks down upon his slave with disdain. He has besides a certain antipathy against him. He hates the sight of his features, and of his colour; nay, he marks with distinctive opprobrium the very blood in his veins, attaching different names and more or less infamy to those who have it in them, according to the quantity which they have of it in consequence of their pedigree, or of their greater or less degree of consanguinity with the whites. Hence the West Indian feels an unwillingness to elevate the condition of the Negro, or to do any thing for him as a human being. We have no doubt, that this prejudice has been one of the great causes why the improvement of our slave population *by law* has been so long retarded, and that the same prejudice will continue to have a similar operation, so long as it shall

shall continue to exist. Not that there are wanting men of humanity among our West Indian legislators. Their humanity is discernible enough when it is to be applied to the *whites*; but such is the system of slavery, and the degradation attached to this system, that their humanity seems to be lost or gone, when it is to be applied to the *blacks*. Not again that there are wanting men of sense among the same body. They are shrewd and clever enough in the affairs of life, where they maintain an intercourse with the *whites*; but in their intercourse with the *blacks* their sense appears to be shrivelled and not of its ordinary size. Look at the laws of their own making, as far as the Negroes are concerned, and they are a collection of any thing but—wisdom.

It appears then, that if a new code of laws is indispensably necessary in our Colonies in order to secure a better treatment of the slaves there, we are not to look to the West Indian Legislatures for it. To whom then are we to turn our eyes for help on this occasion? We answer, To the British Parliament, the source of all legitimate power; to that Parliament, which has already heard and redressed in part the wrongs of Africa. The West Indian Legislatures must be called upon to send their respective codes to this Parliament for revision. Here they will be well and impartially examined; some of the laws will be struck out, others amended, and others added; and at length they will be returned to the Colonies, means having been previously devised for their execution there.

But here no doubt a considerable opposition would arise on the part of the West India planters. These would consider any such interference by the British Parliament as an invasion of their rights, and they would cry out accordingly. We remember that they set up a clamour when the abolition of the slave trade was first proposed. But what did Mr. Pitt say to them in the House of Commons? “I will now,” said he, “consider the proposition, that on account of some patrimonial rights of the West Indians, the prohibition of the slave trade would be an invasion of their legal inheritance. This proposition implied, that Parliament had no right to stop the importations: but had this detestable traffic received such a sanction, as placed it more out of the jurisdiction of the Legislature for ever after, than any other branch of our trade? But if the laws respecting the slave trade implied a contract for its perpetual continuance, the House could never regulate any other of the branches of our national commerce. But *any contract* for the promotion of this trade must, in his opinion, *have been void from the beginning*; for if it was *an outrage upon justice*, and only another name for *fraud, robbery, and murder*, what *pledge* could devolve upon the Legislature

ture to incur the obligation of becoming principals in the commission of such enormities by sanctioning their continuance?"

They set up again a similar clamour, when the Registry Bill before mentioned was discussed in Parliament, contending that the introduction of it there was an interference with their rights also : but we must not forget the reply which Mr. Canning made to them on that occasion. "He had known, (he said,) and there might again occur, instances of obstinacy in the colonial assemblies, which left the British Parliament no choice but direct interference. Such conduct might now call for such an exertion on the part of Parliament ; but all that he pleaded for was, that time should be granted, that it might be known if the colonial assemblies would take upon them to do what that House was pleased to declare should be done. The present address could not be misunderstood. It told the colonial assemblies, You are safe for the present from the interference of the British Parliament, on the belief, and on the promise made for you, that left to yourselves you will do what is required of you. To hold this language was sufficient. The Assemblies might be left to infer the consequences of a refusal, and Parliament might rest satisfied with the consciousness, that they held in their hands the means of accomplishing that which they had proposed." In a subsequent discussion of the subject in the House of Lords, Lord Holland remarked, that "in his opinion there had been more prejudice against this Bill than the nature of the thing justified ; but, whatever might be the objection felt against it in the Colonies, it might be well for them to consider, that it would be *impossible for them to resist*, and, that, if the thing was not done by them *it would be done for them*." But on this subject, that is, on the subject of colonial rights, we shall say more in another place. It will be proper, however, to repeat here, and to insist upon it too, that there is *no effectual way* of remedying the evil complained of, but by subjecting the colonial laws to the *revision of the Legislature of the mother country* ; and perhaps we shall disarm some of the opponents to this measure, and at any rate free ourselves from the charge of a novel and wild proposition, when we inform them that Mr. Long, the celebrated historian and planter of Jamaica, and to whose authority all West Indians look up, adopted the same idea. Writing on the affairs of Jamaica, he says : "The system* of Colonial government, and the imperfection of their several laws, are subjects, which never were, but *which ought to be*, strictly canvassed, examined, and amended by the British Parliament."

The second and last step to be taken by the Abolitionists should

* See Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery, p. 339.

be, to collect all possible light on the subject of *emancipation* with a view of carrying that measure into effect in its due time. They ought never to forget, that *emancipation* was included in *their original idea of the abolition of the slave trade*. Slavery was then as much an evil in their eyes as the trade itself; and so long as the former continues in its present state, the extinction of it ought to be equally an object of their care. All the slaves in our colonies, whether men, women, or children, whether *Africans* or *Creoles*, have been *unjustly deprived of their rights*. There is not a master, who has the least claim to their services in point of equity. There is, therefore, a great debt due to them, and for this no payment, no amends, no equivalent can be found, but a *restoration to their liberty*.

That all have been unjustly deprived of their rights may be easily shown by examining the different grounds on which they are alleged to be held in bondage. With respect to those in our colonies, who are *Africans*, I never heard of any title to them but by the *right of purchase*. But it will be asked, where did the purchasers get them? It will be answered, that they got them from the sellers; and where did the sellers, that is, the original sellers get them? They got them by *fraud or violence*. So says the evidence before the House of Commons; and so in fact, said both Houses of Parliament, when they abolished the trade: and this is the plea set up for retaining them in a cruel bondage!!!

With respect to the rest of the slaves, that is, the *Creoles*, or those born in the colonies, the services, the perpetual services, of these are claimed on the plea of the *law of birth*. They were born slaves, and this circumstance is said to give to their masters a sufficient right to their persons. But this doctrine sprung from the old Roman law, which taught that all slaves were to be considered as *cattle*. "*Partus sequitur ventrem*" says this law, or the "condition or lot of the mother determines the condition or lot of the offspring." It is the same law, which we ourselves now apply to cattle while they are in our possession. Thus the calf belongs to the man who owns the cow, and the foal to the man who owns the mare, and not to the owner of the bull or horse, which were the male-parents of each. It is then upon this, the old Roman law, and not upon any English law, that the planters found their right to the services of such as are born in slavery. In conformity with this law they denied, for one hundred and fifty years, both the moral and intellectual nature of their slaves. They considered them themselves, and they wished them to be considered by others in these respects, as upon a level only *with the beasts of the field*. Happily, however, their efforts have been in vain. The evidence examined before the House of Commons in the years 1789, 1790, and

and 1791, has confirmed the falsehood of their doctrines. It has proved that the social affections and the intellectual powers both of Africans and Creoles are the same as those of other human beings. What then becomes of the Roman law? For as it takes no other view of slaves than as *cattle*, how is it applicable to those, whom we have so abundantly proved to be *men*?

This is the grand plea, upon which our West Indian planters have founded their right to the perpetual services of their *Creole* slaves. They consider them as the young or offspring of cattle. But as the slaves in question have been proved, and are now acknowledged, to be the offspring of men and women, of social, intellectual, and accountable beings, their right must fall to the ground. Nor do I know upon what other principle or right they can support it. They can have surely no *natural right* to the infant, who is born of a woman slave. If there be any right to it by *nature*, such right must belong, not to the master of the mother, but to the mother herself. They can have no right to it again, either on the score of *reason* or of *justice*. Debt and crime have been generally admitted to be two fair grounds, on which men may be justly deprived of their liberty for a time, and even made to labour, inasmuch as they include *reparation of injury*, and the duty of the magistrate to *make examples*, in order that he may not bear the sword in vain. But what injury had the infant done, when it came into the world, to the master of its mother, that reparation should be sought for, or punishment inflicted for example, and that this reparation and this punishment should be made to consist of a course of action and suffering, against which, more than against any other, human nature would revolt? Is it reasonable, is it just, that a poor infant who has done no injury to any one, should be subjected, *he and his posterity for ever, to the arbitrary will and tyranny of another, and moreover to the condition of a brute*, because by *mere accident*, and by *no fault or will of his own*, he was born of a person, who had been previously in the condition of a slave?

And as the right to slaves, because they were born slaves, cannot be defended either upon the principles of reason or of justice, so this right absolutely falls to pieces, when we come to try it by the touchstone of *the Christian religion*. Every man who is born into the world, whether he be white or whether he be black, is born, according to Christian notions, a *free agent* and an *accountable creature*. This is the Scriptural law of his nature as a human being. He is born under this law, and he continues under it during his life. Now the West Indian slavery is of such an arbitrary nature, that it may be termed *proper* or *absolute*. The dominion attached to it is a despotism without control; a despotism, which keeps up its authority by terror only. The subjects of it *must do*, and this *instantaneously*,

nerously, whatever their master *orders them to do*, whether it be *right or wrong*. His will, and his will alone, is their law. If the wife of a slave were ordered by a master to submit herself to his lusts, and therefore to commit adultery, or if her husband were ordered to steal any thing for him, and therefore to commit theft, we have no conception that either the one or the other would *dare* to disobey his commands. Now if the master has the power, a *just and moral power*, to make his slaves do what he orders them to do, even if it be wrong, then we must contend that the Scriptures, whose authority we venerate, are false. We must contend that his slaves never could have been born free agents and accountable creatures; or that, as soon as they became slaves, they were absolved from the condition of free-agency and that they lost their responsibility as men. But if, on the other hand, it be the revealed will of God, that all men, without exception, must be left free to act, but accountable to God for their actions;—we contend, that no man can be born, nay further, that no man can be made, held, or possessed as a proper slave. We contend that there can be, according to the Gospel-dispensation, *no such state as West Indian slavery*. But let us now suppose for a moment, that there might be found an instance or two of slaves enlightened by some pious Missionary, who would *refuse* to execute their master's orders on the principle that they were wrong; even this would not alter our views of the case. For would not *this refusal* be so unexampled, so unlooked-for, so immediately destructive to all authority and discipline, and so provocative of anger, that it would be followed by *immediate and signal punishment*? Here then we should have a West Indian master reversing all the laws and rules of civilized nations, and turning upside down all the morality of the Gospel by the novel practice of *punishing men for their virtues*. This new case affords another argument, why a man cannot be born a proper slave. In fact, the whole system of our planters appears to us to be so directly in opposition to the whole system of our religion, that we have no conception, how a man can have been born a slave, such as the West Indian is; nor indeed have we any conception, how he can be, rightly, or justly, or properly, a West Indian slave at all. There appears to us something even impious in the thought; and we are convinced, that many years will not pass, before the West Indian slavery will fall, and that future ages will contemplate with astonishment how the preceding could have tolerated it.

It has now appeared, if we have reasoned conclusively, that the West Indians have no title to their slaves on the ground of purchase, nor on the plea of the law of birth, nor on that of any natural right, nor on that of reason or justice, and that Christianity absolutely annihilates it. It remains only to show, that they have

no title to them on the ground of *original grants or permissions of Governments*, or of *Acts of Parliament*, or of *Charters*, or of *English law*.

With respect to original grants or permissions of Governments, the case is very clear. History informs us, that neither the African slave trade nor the West Indian slavery would have been allowed, had it not been for the *misrepresentations and falsehoods* of those, *who were first concerned in them*. The Governments of those times were made to believe, first, that the poor Africans embarked *voluntarily* on board the ships which took them from their native land; and secondly, that they were conveyed to the Colonies principally for *their own benefit*, or out of *Christian feeling for them*, that they might afterwards *be converted to Christianity*. Take as an instance of the first assertion, the way in which Queen Elizabeth was deceived, in whose reign the execrable slave trade began in England. This great princess seems on the very commencement of the trade to have questioned its lawfulness. She seems to have entertained a religious scruple concerning it, and indeed, to have revolted at the very thoughts of it. She seems to have been aware of the evils to which its continuance might lead, or that, if it were sanctioned, the most unjustifiable means might be made use of to procure the persons of the natives of Africa. And in what light she would have viewed any acts of this kind, had they taken place to her knowledge, we may conjecture from this fact—that when Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins returned from his first voyage to Africa and Hispaniola, whither he had carried slaves, she sent for him, and, as we learn from Hill's Naval History, expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off *without their free consent*, declaring, "that it would be detestable and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers." Capt. Hawkins promised to comply with the injunctions of Elizabeth in this respect. But he did not keep his word; for when he went to Africa again, *he seized many of the inhabitants and carried them off as slaves*. "Here, (says Hill,) began the horrid practice of forcing the Africans into slavery, an injustice and barbarity, which, so sure as there is vengeance in Heaven for the worst of crimes, will sometime be the destruction of all who encourage it." Take as an instance of the second what Labat, a Roman missionary, records in his account of the Isles of America. He says, that Louis the Thirteenth was very uneasy, when he was about to issue the edict, by which all Africans coming into his colonies were to be made slaves; and that this uneasiness continued, till he was assured that the introduction of them in this capacity into his foreign dominions was the readiest way of *converting them to the principles of the Christian religion*. It was upon these ideas then, namely, that the Africans left their

country voluntarily, and that they were to receive the blessings of Christianity, and upon these alone, that the first transportations were allowed, and that the first *English* grants and Acts of Parliament, and that the first *foreign* edicts, sanctioned them. We have therefore the fact well authenticated, as it relates to *original Government grants and permissions*, that the owners of many of the Creole slaves in our colonies have no better title to them as property, than as being the descendants of persons forced away from their country and brought thither by a traffic, which had its allowed origin in *fraud and falsehood*.

Neither have the masters of slaves in our colonies any title to their slaves on account of any *charters*, which they may be able to produce, though their charters are the only source of their power. It is through these that they have hitherto legislated, and that they continue to legislate. Take away their charters, and they would have no right or power to legislate at all. And yet, though they have their charters, and though the slavery, which now exists, has been formed and kept together entirely by the laws, which such charters have given them the power to make, this very slavery is *illegal*. There is not an individual, who holds any of the slaves by a *legal* title: for it is expressed in all these charters, whether in those given to William Penn and others for the continent of North America, or in those given for the islands now under our consideration, that "the laws and statutes, to be made there, are *not to be repugnant*, but, as near as may be, *agreeable, to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of Great Britain*." But is it consistent with the laws of England, that any one man should have the power of forcing another to work for him without wages? Is it consistent with the laws of England, that any one man should have the power of flogging, beating, bruising, or wounding another at his discretion? Is it consistent with the laws of England, that a man should be judged by any but his peers? Is it consistent with the same laws, that a man should be deprived of the power of giving evidence against the man who has injured him? or that there should be a privileged class, against whom no testimony can be admitted on certain occasions, though the perpetrators of the most horrid crimes? But when we talk of consistency on this occasion, let us not forget that old law of Barbadoes, made while the charter of that island was fresh in every body's memory, and therefore in the very teeth of the charter itself, which runs thus: "If any slave, under punishment by his master or by his order, shall suffer in life or member, no person shall be liable to any fine for the same: but if any person shall *wantonly or cruelly* kill his own slave, he shall pay the treasury 15*l*." And here let us remark, that, when Lord Seaforth, governor of Barbadoes, proposed, so lately as in 1802, the repeal of this bloody

bloody law, the Legislature of that island rejected the proposition with indignation. Nay, the very proposal to repeal it so stirred up at the time the bad passions of many, that several brutal murders of slaves were committed in consequence; and it was not till two or three years afterwards that the governor had influence enough to get the law repealed. Let the West Indians then talk no more of their *charters*; for in consequence of having legislated upon principles, which are at variance with those upon which the laws of England are founded, they have *forfeited them all*. The mother country has therefore a right to withdraw these charters whenever she pleases, and to substitute such others as she may think proper. And here let it be observed also, that the right of the West Indians to make any laws at all for their own islands being founded upon their charters, and upon these alone, and the laws relating to the slaves being contrary to what such charters prescribe, the *slavery itself*, that is, the daily living practice with respect to slaves under such laws, is *illegal* and *may be done away*. But if so, all our West Indian slaves are, without exception, unlawfully held in bondage. There is no master, who has a legal title to any of them. This assertion may appear strange and extravagant to many; but it does not follow on that account that it is the less true. It is an assertion, which has been made by a West Indian proprietor himself. Mr. Steele*, before quoted, furnishes us with what passed at the meeting of the Society of Arts in Barbadoes at their committee-room in August 1785, when the following question was in the order of the day: "Is there any law written, or printed, by which a proprietor can prove his title to his slave under or conformable to the laws of England?" And "Why, (immediately said one of the members,) why conformable to the laws of England? Will not the courts in England admit such proof as is authorised by *our slave laws*?"—"I apprehend not, (answered a second,) unless we can show that *our slave laws* (according to the limitations of the charter) are *not repugnant* to the laws of England."—The same gentleman resumed: "Does the original purchaser of an African slave in this island obtain any legal title from the merchant or importer of slaves—and of what nature? Does it set forth any title of propriety, agreeable to the laws of England (or even to the laws of nations) to be in the importer more than what depends upon his simple averment? And have not free Negroes been at sundry times trepanned by such dealers, and been brought contrary to the laws of nations, and sold here as slaves?"—"There is no doubt, (observed a third,) but such villainous actions have been done by worthless people: however, though an honest and unsuspecting man may be deceived in buying a stolen horse, it does

* See Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery, p. 102.

not follow that he may not have a fair and just title to a horse or any thing else bought in an open and legal market; but according to the obligation *of being not repugnant to the laws of England*, I do not see how *we can have any title to our slaves* likely to be supported by the laws of England." In fact, the Colonial system is an excrescence upon the English Constitution, and is constantly at variance with it. There is not one English law, which gives a man a right to the liberty of any of his fellow creatures. Of course there cannot be, according to charters, any Colonial law to this effect. If there be, it is *null and void*. Nay, the very man, who is held in bondage by the Colonial law, becomes free by English law the moment he reaches the English shore. But we have said enough for our present purpose. We have shown that the slaves in our Colonies, whether they be Africans, or whether they be Creoles, *have been unjustly deprived of their rights*. There is of course a great debt due to them. They have a claim to a restoration to liberty; and as this restoration was included by the Abolitionists in their original idea of the abolition of the slave-trade, so it is their duty to endeavour to obtain it *the first moment it is practicable*. We shall conclude our observations on this part of the subject, in the words of that old champion of African liberty, Mr. W. Smith, the present Member for Norwich, when addressing the House of Commons in the last session of parliament on a particular occasion. He admitted, alluding to the slaves in our colonies, that "immediate emancipation might be an injury, and not a blessing to the slaves themselves. A period of *preparation*, which unhappily included delay, seemed to be necessary. The ground of this delay, however, was not the intermediate advantage to be derived from their labour, but a conviction of its expediency as it related to themselves. We had to *compensate* to these wretched beings *for ages of injustice*. We were bound by the strongest obligations *to train up* these subjects of our past injustice and tyranny *for an equal participation with ourselves in the blessings of liberty and the protection of the law*; and by these considerations ought our measures to be strictly and conscientiously regulated. It was only in consequence of the necessity of time to be consumed in such a preparation, that we could be justified in the retention of the Negroes in slavery *for a single hour*; and he trusted that the eyes of all men, both here and in the colonies, would be opened to this view of the subject as their clear and indispensable duty."

Having led the reader to the first necessary step to be taken in favour of our slaves in the British Colonies,—namely, the procuring for them a new and better code of laws; and having since led him to the last or final one,—namely, the procuring for them the rights, of which they have been unjustly deprived: we shall now confine ourselves

ourselves entirely to this latter branch of the subject, being assured, that it has a claim to all the attention that can be bestowed upon it; and we trust that we shall be able to show, by appealing to historical facts, that, however awful and tremendous the work of *emancipation* may seem, it is yet *practicable*; that it is practicable also *without danger*; and moreover, that it is practicable with the probability of *advantage* to all the parties concerned.

In appealing however to facts for this purpose, we must expect no light from antiquity to guide us on our way; for history gives us no account of persons in those times similarly situated with the slaves in the British colonies at the present day. There were no particular nations in those times, like the Africans, expressly set apart for slavery by the rest of the world, so as to have a stigma put upon them on that account, nor did a difference of the colour of the skin constitute always, as it now does, a most marked distinction between the master and the slave, so as to increase this stigma and to perpetuate antipathies between them. Nor did the slaves of antiquity, except perhaps once in Sparta, form the whole labouring population of the land; nor did they work incessantly, like the Africans, under the whip; nor were they generally so behind their masters in cultivated intellect. Neither does ancient history give us in the cases of manumission, which it records, any parallel, from which we might argue in the case before us. The ancient manumissions were those of individuals only, generally of but one at a time, and only now and then; whereas the emancipation, which we contemplate in the colonies, will comprehend *whole bodies of men*, nay, *whole populations*, at a given time. We must go therefore in quest of examples to modern times, or rather to the history of the colonial slavery itself; and if we should find any there, which appear to bear at all upon the case in question, we must be thankful for them, and, though they should not be entirely to our mind, we must not turn them away, but keep them, and reason from them as far as their analogies will warrant.

In examining a period comprehending the last forty years, we find no less than six or seven instances of the emancipation of African slaves *in bodies*. The first of these cases occurred at the close of the first American war. A number of slaves had run away from their North American masters and joined the British army. When peace came, the British Government did not know what to do with them. Their services were no longer wanted. To leave them behind to fall again into the power of their masters would have been great cruelty as well as injustice; and as to taking them to England, what could have been done with them there? It was at length determined to give *them their liberty*, and to disband them in Nova Scotia, and to settle them there upon grants of land

as *British subjects* and as *free men*. The Nova Scotians on learning their destination were alarmed. They could not bear the thought of having such a number of black persons among them, and particularly as these understood the use of arms. The Government, however, persevering in its original intention, they were conveyed to Halifax, and distributed from thence into the country. Their number, comprehending men, women, and children, were two thousand and upwards. To gain their livelihood some of them worked upon little portions of land of their own; others worked as carpenters; others became fishermen; and others worked for hire in other ways. In process of time they raised places of worship of their own, and had ministers of their own from their own body. They led a harmless life, and gained the character of an industrious and honest people from their white neighbours. A few years afterwards the land in Nova Scotia being found too poor to answer, and the climate too cold for their constitutions, a number of them, to the amount of between thirteen and fourteen hundred, volunteered to form a new colony, which was then first thought of, at Sierra Leone. Accordingly, having been conveyed there, they realized the object in view; and they are to be found there, they or their descendants, most of them in independent and some of them in affluent circumstances, at the present day.

A second case may be taken from what occurred at the close of the second, or last American war. It may be remembered that a large British naval force, having on board a powerful land force, sailed in the year 1814, to make a descent on the coast of the southern States of America. The British army, when landed, marched to Washington, and burnt most of its public buildings. It was engaged also at different times with the American army in the field. During these expeditions, some hundreds of slaves in these parts joined the British standard by invitation. When the campaign was over, the same difficulty occurred about disposing of these as in the former case. It was determined at length to ship them to Trinidad as *free labourers*. But here, that is, at Trinidad, an objection was started against receiving them, but on a different ground from that which had been started in the similar case in Nova Scotia. The planters of Trinidad were sure that no free Negroes would ever work, and therefore that the slaves in question would, if made free and settled among them, support themselves *by plunder*. Sir Ralph Woodford, however, the governor of the island, resisted the outcry of these prejudices. He received them into the island, and settled them where he supposed the experiment would be most safely made. The result has shown his discernment. These very men, formerly slaves in the Southern States of America and afterwards emancipated in a body at Trinidad, are now earning

their own livelihood, and with so much industry and good conduct, that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away.

A third case may comprehend those Negroes, who lately formed what we call our West Indian black regiments. Some of these had been originally purchased in Africa, not as slaves but recruits, and others in Jamaica and elsewhere. They had all served as soldiers in the West Indies. At length certain of these regiments were transported to Sierra Leone and disbanded there, and the individuals composing them received their discharge *as free men*. This happened in the spring of 1819. *Many hundreds* of them were *set at liberty at once* upon this occasion. Some of these were afterwards marched into the interior, where they founded Waterloo, Hastings, and other villages. Others were shipped to the Isles de Loss, where they made settlements in like manner. Many, in both cases, took with them wives, which they had brought from the West Indies, and others selected wives from the natives on the spot. They were all settled upon grants given them by the Government. It appears from accounts received from Sir Charles M^cCarthy, the governor of Sierra Leone, that they have conducted themselves to his satisfaction, and that they will prove a valuable addition to that colony.

A fourth case may comprehend what we call the *captured Negroes* in the colony now mentioned. These are totally distinct from those either in the first or in the last of the cases which have been mentioned. It is well known that these were taken out of slave-ships captured at different times from the commencement of the abolition of the slave trade to the present moment, and that on being landed *they were made free*. After having been recruited in their health they were marched in bodies into the interior, where they were taught to form villages and to cultivate land for themselves. They were *made free* as they were landed from the vessels, *from fifty to two or three hundred at a time*. They occupy at present twelve towns, in which they have both their churches and their schools. Regents Town having been one of the first established, containing about thirteen hundred souls, stands foremost in improvement, and has become a pattern for industry and good example. The people there have now fallen entirely into the habits of English society. They are decently and respectably dressed. They attend divine worship regularly. They exhibit an orderly and moral conduct. In their town little shops are now beginning to make their appearance; and their lands show the marks of extraordinary cultivation. Many of them, after having supplied their own wants for the year, have a surplus produce in hand for the purchase of superfluities or comforts.

Here

Here then are four cases of slaves, either Africans or descendants of Africans, *emancipated in considerable bodies* at a time. We have kept them by themselves, because they are of a different complexion from those, which we intend should follow. We shall now reason upon them. Let us premise, however, that we shall consider the three first of the cases as one, so that the same reasoning will do for all. They are alike indeed in their *main* features; and we must consider this as sufficient; for to attend minutely to every shade of difference*, which may occur in every case, would be to bewilder the reader, and to swell the size of this article unnecessarily, or without conferring an adequate benefit to the controversy on either side.

It will be said then (for our reasoning will consist principally in answering objections on the present occasion) that the three first cases *are not strictly analogous* to that of our West Indian slaves, whose emancipation we are seeking. It will be contended, that the slaves in our West Indian colonies have been constantly in an abject and degraded state. Their faculties are benumbed. They have contracted all the vices of slavery. They are become habitually thieves and liars. Their bosoms burn with revenge against the whites. How then can persons in such a state be fit to receive their freedom? The slaves, on the other hand, who are comprehended in the three cases above mentioned, found in the British army a school as it were, *which fitted them by degrees for making a good use of their liberty*. While they were there, they were never out of the reach of discipline, and yet were daily left to themselves to act as free men. They obtained also in this *preparatory school* some knowledge of the customs of civilized life. They were in the habit also of mixing familiarly with the white soldiers. Hence, it will be said, they were in a state much *more favourable for undergoing a change in their condition* than the West Indian slaves before mentioned. We admit all this. We admit the difference between the two situations, and also the preference which we ourselves should give to the one above the other on account of its desirable tendencies. But we never stated, that our West Indian slaves were to be emancipated *suddenly*, but *by degrees*. We always, on the other hand, took it for granted, that they were to have *their preparatory school* also. Nor must it be forgotten, as a comparison has been instituted, that if there was *less danger* in emancipating the other slaves, *because they had received something like a preparatory education* for the change, there was *far more* in another point of

* A part of the black regiments were bought in Africa as recruits, and were not transported in slave-ships, and never under West India masters: but it was only a small part compared with the whole number in the three cases.

view, because *they were all acquainted with the use of arms*. This is a consideration of great importance ; but particularly when we consider *the prejudices of the blacks against the whites* ; for would our West Indian planters be as much at their ease, as they now are, if their slaves had acquired *a knowledge of the use of arms*, or would they think them on this account more or less fit for emancipation ?

It will be said again, that the fourth case, consisting of the Sierra Leone captured Negroes, *is not strictly analogous* to the one in point. These had probably been slaves but *for a short time*,—say a few months, including the time which elapsed between their reduction to slavery and their embarkation from Africa, and between this their embarkation and their capture upon the ocean. They had scarcely been slaves when they were returned to the rank of free men. Little or no change therefore could have been effected in so short an interim in their disposition and their character ; and, as they were never carried to the West Indies, so they never could have contracted the bad habits, or the degradation or vices, of the slavery there. It will be contended therefore, that they were *better, or less hazardous*, subjects for *emancipation*, than the slaves in our colonies. We admit this objection, and we give it its full weight. We admit it to be *less hazardous* to emancipate a *new* than an *old* slave. And yet the case of the Sierra Leone captured Negroes is a very strong one. They were all *Africans*. They were all *slaves*. They must have contracted *as mortal a hatred of the whites* from their sufferings on board ship by fetters, whips, and suffocation in the hold, as the West Indian from those severities which are attached to their bondage upon shore. Under these circumstances then we find them *made free* ; but observe, not after any *preparatory* discipline, but almost *suddenly*, and *not singly*, but *in bodies* at a time. We find them also settled or made to live under the *unnatural* government of the *whites* ; and, what is more extraordinary, we find their present number, as compared with that of the whites in the same colony, nearly as *twenty to one* ; notwithstanding which superiority fresh emancipations are constantly taking place, as fresh cargoes of the captured arrive in port.

It will be said, lastly, that all the four cases put together prove nothing. They can give us nothing like a *positive assurance*, that the Negro slaves in our colonies would pass through the ordeal of emancipation without danger to their masters or the community at large. Certainly not. Nor if these instances had been far more numerous than they are, could they, in this world of accidents, have given us *a moral certainty of this*. They afford us however *a hope*, that emancipation is practicable without danger : for will any one pretend to say, that we should have had as much
reason

reason for entertaining such a hope, *if no such instances had occurred*; or that we should not have had reason to despair, if four such experiments had been made, and if they had all failed. They afford us again ground for believing, that there is a peculiar softness, and plasticity, and pliability in the African character. This softness may be collected almost every where from the Travels of Mr. Mungo Park, and has been noticed by other writers, who have contrasted it with the unbending ferocity of the North American Indians and other tribes. But if this be a feature in the African character, we may account for the uniformity of the conduct of those Africans, who were liberated on the several occasions above mentioned, or for their yielding so uniformly to the impressions, which had been given them by their superiors, after they had been made free; and, if this be so, why should not our colonial slaves, if emancipated, conduct themselves in the same manner? Besides, we are not sure whether the good conduct of the liberated in these cases was not to be attributed in part to a sense of interest, when they came to know, that their condition *was to be improved*. Self-interest is a leading principle with all who are born into the world; and why is the Negro slave in our colonies to be shut out from this common feeling of our nature?—why is he to rise against his master, when he is informed that his condition is to be bettered? Did not the planters, as we have before related, declare in the House of Commons in the year 1816, that their Negroes had then imbibed the idea that they were to be made free, and that they were *extremely restless on that account*? But what was the cause of all this restlessness? Why, undoubtedly the thought of their emancipation was so interesting, or rather a matter of such exceedingly great joy to them, that *they could not help thinking and talking of it*. And would not this be the case with our Negroes at this moment, if such a prospect were to be set before them? But if they would be overjoyed at this prospect, is it likely they would cut the throats of those, who should attempt to realize it? would they not, on the other hand, be disposed to conduct themselves equally well as the other African slaves before mentioned, when they came to know, that they were immediately to be prepared for the reception of this great blessing, the *first guarantee* of which would be an *immediate and living experience* of better laws and better treatment?

(To be continued.)

ART. II. *The Colony of Fredericks-oord—an Experiment for relieving the Poor by the Cultivation of Waste Lands*.*

A BENEVOLENT Society was instituted at the Hague in the year 1818, with the view of providing for the subsistence of the poor by their own labour; and of creating, for that purpose, effective and economical resources.

We shall preface our account of the labours of this society by a statement of the principles on which it was established. With every people, labour is limited by the quantity of food which can be disposed of. The truth of this principle may be thus confirmed. Land actually in cultivation requires only a definite number of hands. If the number of persons, of which a nation consists, exceed that which agriculture demands, the excess of population can find the means of subsistence only by the production of such articles as will tempt the agricultural class to give in exchange for them the surplus of their own consumption.

But as the portion, which may for this purpose remain disposable, is circumscribed by the extent of the lands appropriated to agriculture, by the fertility of the soil, and by the system of cultivation, it is evident, that the other branches of industry can only furnish the means of support for a definite number of individuals—for so many, that is, as the surplus of the harvests can subsist. If the wants of a society surpass this measure, a part of its population is necessarily reduced to indigence; that is, it is no longer in a state to gain by its labour the means of subsistence. And such is unhappily the state of the greater part of European nations, as the following facts will sufficiently prove.

All the provisions, which the soil of Europe produces, are consumed. There is no country so fertile, that any part of its alimentary produce can remain unappropriated, and become superfluous. As land does not produce gratuitously, the cultivator would have no interest in plucking from its bosom, what is to cost him constant toil, without compensation. That part of the produce which the cultivator himself consumes not, finds other consumers; and, as it is an unquestionable fact, that many human beings, in the actual state of things, cannot procure sufficient food, it is clear, that either some consume beyond what is necessary, or else, that the whole of the food which the land produces, falls short of the whole wants of the people by which it is inhabited. But both these cases exist.

It is unquestionable, that if the rich, and such as are in easy

* Vide a statement published by Major-gen. Van den Bosch, the superintendent of the colony.

circumstances, retrenched their luxuries; if they were content with more substantial and less expensive food; if they sacrificed a part of the enjoyments with which they studiously surround themselves, the same quantity of land now consecrated to their use, would no longer be necessary for them.

If we consider how many fields are withdrawn from the cultivation of human food, to subsist horses kept for pleasure, to raise colouring substances (which are not articles of the first necessity), to convert them into gardens, and groves and walks, to procure the means of indulging the sense and gratifying the taste, we shall soon be convinced that a large portion of valuable soil serves solely for factitious wants, and that the poorest class of the human race employs more of it than is necessary to secure its subsistence.

But as it is essential to the order of society, that every one should use, at his pleasure, what he has legally acquired, this superabundant consumption of some cannot be limited in favour of others, without utterly subverting the edifice of society, and violating those rights, the preservation of which is the very object of the assemblage of men in political communities.

With respect to others among us, there are unhappily a very considerable number who do not find the means of comfortable subsistence, after opulence has provided for its wants, and satisfied its desires; for, if there were enough for all, each must find his share, or some portion must remain unappropriated.

The first of these suppositions is contradicted by the obvious fact; and the second is inadmissible, because, as has already been observed, there would be an absurdity in the employment of time and labour, for the production of what could be subservient neither to the wants nor the pleasures of life.

There is no remedy against the misery which overwhelms one portion of the human race, but in the two following measures—to augment the quantity of food, and to secure the augmented subsistence to the support of the indigent class.

In admitting the possibility of augmenting by encouragement, by the extension and improvement of agriculture, the fruits of the earth, till they were equal to the real wants of all animated beings, still it would not follow, that those who are now in want of the necessaries of life, would find the means of comfortable subsistence. For it is possible, it is even probable, that some of the richer orders, availing themselves of the advantages of their position, would hasten to anticipate the indigent class, and outstrip it, in order to get possession of this new wealth.

The prosperity of one class of society would without doubt be a gainer by such an amelioration in the state of things: in one point of view, whatever tends to realise such an amelioration is certainly a

matter of high importance. It is the direct means of advancing art and science, and to a certain point, of diffusing an increase of accommodation over the whole of society. But it is not by such an amelioration, that we can hope to pluck a nation from the deep misery, into which a great number of its members are plunged.

Let us only turn our eyes upon North America. Nature there presents in sufficiency, and even in abundance, all that is requisite for the acquirement of necessities, by means of labour. There exist immense tracts, which, when rendered productive, might furnish food for ten times, and more, the actual population of those vast countries; and, nevertheless, a multitude of paupers are scattered over the soil. Is this matter of astonishment? Alas! there are every where unhappy persons, who either through want of industry, or the consequences of former prodigality, or profusion, or debauchery, or other less blameable causes, sink into a state of destitution, which leaves them neither vigour nor courage enough to recover or escape. Bereft of all moral energy, they abandon themselves to public charity; and calculating on gratuitous assistance, prefer their misery to labour. Freed from many of the obligations, to which the other members of society must submit, the indigent of every country resign themselves too readily to drag on a degraded existence, in which, however, irregular enjoyments (the fruit of injudicious liberality) compensate occasionally the most painful privations. Their children grow up in idleness and profligacy; and thus a race of Pariahs every where springs up, propagates, and becomes at once a burden and a source of danger to society.

It is of importance, then, not only to assign the means of subsistence to those who are without them, and prevent others from invading them; but also, in some measure, to force the indigent to improve these means by well-regulated labour, to use them with reserve and foresight, and thus re-enter honourably into that society, of which they are now the shame and the scourge.

To this subject we shall have occasion again to recur. But we have first to show more distinctly, how strongly the plan we have just described, ought to fix the attention of governments and of the friends of humanity.

Since machinery has been introduced and multiplied in our manufactories, manual labour must of necessity have diminished in value. At least triple the sale of an article is now necessary, to furnish subsistence for the same number of workmen which it subsisted before. Every consumer employs in his consumption now a more considerable portion of raw material, and a less value of manual labour than before.

Now this raw material being, for the most part, agricultural production,

production, the progress of agriculture left to its natural course must improve the condition of the farmer, and enable him to consume more manufactures of every kind.

But the labouring class of society would not by this gain any thing like the amount of what it has lost, by the introduction of machinery into the workshops of the manufacturer. For again we repeat, the manufactures which issue from them contain now a much greater value in the raw produce, and much less in manual labour, than before. We must therefore set about creating new resources, and directing those which agriculture places at our disposal, in such a manner that not only the indigent, who existed before the invention of machinery, may find in them the means of subsistence, but also that the multitude of hands which, since that epoch, has been thrown out of employment, may be replaced in a state of productive activity.

To cast a little more light on the solidity of our reasoning, let it be supposed, that a machine has been invented, by means of which the cultivator can himself give to the raw produce of his own industry, the form and quality, which his occasions require. The cultivator might thus subsist in society alone by his own labour. The only effect of any amelioration in the state of agriculture, would be in the increased consumption of the cultivator. For the machine, which he would have at his disposal, applied to the products of rural industry, would place him in an independence, nearly complete, of all foreign assistance, for the procurement of whatever was necessary for his accommodation.

Now the number of men, who can find the means of subsistence in any other branch of industry than agriculture, must become less in proportion as the want of hands, when armed with machinery, diminishes. For the cultivator will always himself consume a greater share of raw produce in proportion to the smaller sum, which he will require to get it worked up, and fitted for his own purposes; and thus the number of those, who can subsist by any labour independent of agriculture, would be annihilated the very moment there existed machinery, which the farmer could employ at his pleasure, in transmuting the produce of the earth at once into a manufactured state.

If agriculture, in its turn, demanded a greater number of hands, in proportion to the improvements and augmentation on which it is susceptible, there would be a compensation; but this is not the case. Improvements of this kind are effected in a great measure by the employment of horses, instruments, mechanical means, so that the resources of those, who must labour for subsistence, are not materially multiplied.

The improvement of agriculture, abstractedly considered, is therefore

therefore not of itself a sufficient remedy for poverty : and, indeed, in the actual state of industry in Europe, it is very uncertain, whether the indigent classes would in this way gain any sensible augmentation of labour. With these considerations, then, we have only to contrive by other expedients the means of obtaining resources, which are every day becoming more and more imperative. The nature of these resources must be such as unite three conditions.

In the *first place*, they must in the result, by an increase of territorial productions, augment the mass of food ; for, without this, we shall be in danger of only displacing misery, and of endowing actual indigence at the expense of a class now occupied and industrious.

We must, *besides*, take the necessary precautions to secure to the indigent this increase of provisions, the advantage of which they must be enabled to acquire in exchange for their labour.

And, *finally*, it is not enough to attack the evil in its principles; it must be combated also in the effects, which by its too long existence it has produced on the indigent part of the nation. In this view, it is indispensable, that they be in some measure forced to labour and to economy, and the race be regenerated by a moral amelioration, which the assisting hand, that seeks to rescue it from its state of misery and prostration, may spread over it.

All these considerations, if we mistake not, are united and closely connected, in the project for establishing agricultural colonies—for which the waste lands of our country present a vast tract of territory; particularly, if to this resource be added that of manufacturing labour, such as spinning and weaving linen and woollen; by means of which, the colonists will be able to provide, by their own industry, both their food and clothing.

It is well known, that our heaths of sand and peat are capable of cultivation. For more than a century, many thousand acres of similar wastes have been converted into productive fields, particularly in Groningen, where new inclosures have given birth to the beautiful villages of Peckel-Aa and Wildervanck. By similar undertakings, the provinces of Drenthe and Overijssel are every day receiving new accessions of territorial riches. There is no doubt, therefore, that a very considerable quantity of our barren lands, conceal beneath their surface sources of subsistence, which a wise industry might turn to advantage. The question to be examined here, however, is, whether this resource can be rendered profitable to our paupers; and we shall soon perceive, that, in this respect, experience has removed all uncertainty.

It is sufficiently ascertained, what the lands of which we are speaking, will return as profit to the cultivators. In an average year, the gross produce (of course, seed, manure, labour—all is included)

cluded) amounts to 150 or 200 florins the arpent = 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ English acre. Therefore, when the colonists shall be in a state to procure by their own diligence, the requisite manure, and when they shall acquire, by their own hands, the labour, for which others must be paid, it will be no exaggeration to calculate on a net return of 125 florins = nearly 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ English acre: and if we consider the high prices at which the small consumer, who never purchases but in detail, and often on credit, now procures the articles for which he has occasion, (articles, too, which are always of inferior quality,) we shall readily perceive, how much the certainty of a fixed income must ameliorate his condition.

The wants of a family of seven or eight persons of this class, are calculated, in the country, at 250 or 300 florins annually = about 24 $\frac{1}{2}$; that is, at 200 florins for food and clothing, and, at the least, 50 for different articles of every other sort.

The produce of two cows, which may certainly be valued at 100 florins = 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ 15s., and for which an arpent and a half of land = nearly two English acres, is quite sufficient, added to the return of two arpents = 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ English acres, to be employed in the growth of corn, will amply supply the wants of such a family, especially as the members of it have besides the opportunity of making some advantage, by working in the Society's agricultural and manufacturing establishments.

To make these lands serviceable, they must first be improved. The operations of paring, burning, &c. will do this well in the first instance. But the fertility thus elicited, will soon be exhausted without a supply of manure. The colonists must therefore be enabled to procure themselves, for the future, sufficient manure for the cultivation of their lands. The cows, which should for this purpose be fed in hovels, will furnish a part. More may be obtained by making near each house a reservoir, for the reception of soil, suds, sweepings and refuse of every kind. It will be seen in the sequel of this article, that the advantages to be derived from vegetable manure have not been lost sight of in our colonies. Measures again have been taken to introduce and feed sheep. By means of these resources, a good system of cropping, and approved principles of farming, certain success may be reckoned upon.

If the highest degree of welfare for the colonists were the principal thing in view, without doubt a larger quantity of land might be assigned to each family. There is enough disposable. But the great object is to provide a remedy for indigence; and therefore we must proceed cautiously and economise a resource which is destined for the benefit of the greatest number possible of the destitute. We must even carefully guard against placing our colonists in a state of ease and welfare, which might induce small cultivators

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to dissipate their property, in the hope of finding afterwards an ample indemnification for their losses, in a more prosperous lot than what they now enjoy. It is of importance also in the distribution of land, not to go beyond the strength of an establishment; which, on our plan, will frequently be composed, not only of paupers, in a great degree deteriorated physically and morally, but also of the very dregs of towns; and consequently of individuals little familiar with field labour.

It is not enough, again, to secure to such an establishment the means of subsistence for one year. It is the permanent improvement of the condition of the poor which we are attempting to promote: it is to open sources of subsistence, which will never dry up, unless they themselves peril the existence of them, by idleness or misconduct, that we are labouring to accomplish. The establishment of agricultural colonies will furnish us with the means of effecting this object; but a plan of this kind demands great care and great perseverance. It is not enough to assign lands to the colonists; the most watchful solicitude must more particularly be devoted to their agricultural education and moral regeneration. Our colonists will require a corresponding instruction in the art (new to the greater part of them), which they are going to exercise; their labour and their conduct will alike demand a constant superintendence; extraordinary assistance must be provided, when harvests fail, when sickness and other misfortunes threaten the extinction of their hopes.

Accordingly, it has been thought necessary to subject the colonists to a kind of military discipline, and not only to fit them for their situation by agricultural instruction adapted to their wants, but also not to leave them the disposal of their property, except under certain conditions, and in proportion as by their assiduity, economy, and conduct, they show themselves worthy of so much confidence.

It has also been thought necessary to introduce manufactures in the colonies, in order that the women and children may contribute to the welfare of the family, increase its accommodations, and provide resources against the failure of harvests, or the occurrence of any other calamity. The whole productive power of the colonists will thus be always in activity, some turning land to the best account, and others adding new value to flax and fleeces.

But admitting that, by the concurrence of so many cares, we may reckon upon a successful result, it still remains to be considered, whether we are not incurring the risk of purchasing it too dearly, whether the resulting advantages are worth the expense which it requires. To this question also, experience has replied most satisfactorily.

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The sequel of this article will irrefragably prove, that the system here developed, so far from being expensive, on the contrary presents great facilities for economy; and that the savings which may result from it to local and benevolent institutions are very considerable. It is not however the less true, that our undertaking, like every other great undertaking, demands large funds: we will therefore now state, first, in what manner the Society provided the resources, which were necessary to commence its career; we shall then detail the uses which it has made of them; and, finally, the results of all its cares and labours. The reader will thus be enabled, with a perfect knowledge of the cause, to judge whether the success is worth the cost incurred in producing it.

The Society resolved upon making an experiment, to secure to fifty families, composed solely of destitute persons, an honest and competent subsistence, by means of the cultivation of barren lands, and the manufacture of common articles. For this purpose not only ready money was wanting, but also a certainty of sale for wool and flax, spun or woven.

For this purpose recourse was had, in the first place, to voluntary subscriptions. These the Society, which assumed the appellation of *La Société de Bienfaisance*, realised; and the members were bound together by a set of regulations, established on the principles of a rigorous responsibility, and an administration calculated expressly for effecting the object of the association.

These regulations were, in some measure, submitted to the approbation of the whole nation, and formed an appeal to the benevolence of all the friends of humanity, which it reckoned within its precincts. It will be desirable to state the most important of them.

Every inhabitant of the Low Countries, in possession of his political rights, is admissible into the Society on the presentation of one of its members.

Every member of the Society contributes annually the small sum of 52 sous de Holland = 4s. 4d.,—not being precluded of course from making any donations, which he may further consecrate to the objects of the Society.

Every person, belonging or not belonging to the Society, may subscribe for any quantity of cloth, which the Society will furnish out of the produce, which the colonists manufacture under its direction and superintendence.

Every member is at liberty to quit the Society at his pleasure, and to exonerate himself for the future from all obligations contracted towards it.

The funds, which the Society obtains by means of contributions, donations,

donations, or in any other way, are to be employed solely in establishing agricultural colonies, where the destitute may find a shelter from misery by means of labour.

Every commune (parish) which entrusts the Society with funds, preserves its right in them : these funds must be employed in favour of the paupers of that commune ; and the buildings constructed from the produce of its liberality, become its own property.

Education, and the exercise of the different forms of religious worship, which are to be secured to the colonists, are chargeable on the Society. The expense relative to these matters is to be paid out of the funds at its disposal.

The administration of the interests, which constitute the object of the Society, is entrusted to two commissions.

The first of them has the name of Commission of Beneficence : it consists of a president for life, an office which His Royal Highness Prince Frederic, the second son of the King, has condescended to undertake ; two assessors, assistants of the president, appointed for one year, but re-eligible for any number of years ; and nine other members, out of whom a secretary is selected.

This commission is divided into four sections : the first of which is charged with the administration of the finances ; the second with the arrangements, that is, of works, &c. ; the third with the correspondence ; and the fourth with all the remaining interests of the Society.

The first assessor is president of the section of arrangements ; the second assessor presides over the fourth section. The other two sections choose their own presidents.

When the Commission of Beneficence is not assembled, its functions are exercised by a committee ; which is composed of those members whose constant attendance may be reckoned upon, and takes the title of Permanent Commission, of which the second assessor is the president.

The two assessors are personally responsible : the *first*, that no orders be issued (and all orders must be countersigned by him to give them validity) contrary to the rules of the Society ; the *second*, that in the execution of these orders (with the execution of which he is particularly charged,) the funds be not diverted from the purposes to which they are specifically appropriated.

The president of the Commission of Beneficence has the supreme direction of the affairs of the Society : he summons the members of the said commission at his pleasure, and dissolves in the same way its meetings.

Every year one member of the said Commission of Beneficence goes out, but may be re-elected.

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The other, called the Commission of Superintendence, consists of 24 members; who are elected by the whole Society, and re-eligible. It nominates its own president and secretary.

In the year 1819, His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange accepted the first of these functions.

This commission annually receives and verifies the accounts of the Society; it examines, or causes to be examined, all the plans and labours executed by the Society; as also all that has been done or undertaken in favour of the destitute: it discharges the Commission of Beneficence from its responsibility; and, if there be cause, orders prosecutions to be instituted against those who have contravened the orders or rules.

No modification of the rules can be made but by the consent of the two commissions, with the approbation of the majority of the members of the Society.

Such are the principal regulations, which constitute the fundamental laws of the Société de Bienfaisance.

The rules of the Society received the royal sanction and were announced to the public in the year 1818; the governors of provinces, the commanders of military districts, and the local authorities were exhorted to second the execution of them, and empowered to increase the numbers of the Society, by associating charitable persons within their influence. The effect of all these measures was, that very speedily 20,000 persons were enrolled in the lists of the Society, and the contributions amounted to more than 70,000 florins, exclusive of engagements for more than 26,000 yards of cloth. The Society was thus in a short time in a state to commence its projected experiment.

The authorities of the towns and country villages (*communes*) were requested to appoint local commissions, consisting, in the towns, of two members of the corporation (*regence*), of two ministers of different religious persuasions, and of two of the most distinguished members of the Society; as also of a general, or other superior officer, in places where there were any such. In country places these commissions consist of the head of the local authorities, of an ecclesiastic, and of a member of the Society. The object of these subordinate commissions is, to collect the contributions, and to watch over the interests of their communes, in the administration of the funds of the Society.

For the greater security of the public, all contributions and donations are directed to be paid into the Bank of the Low Countries by the Section of Finance; and the Permanent Commission alone can dispose of the funds, by checks on the bank, in which the names of the persons in whose favour they are given, the object for which they are given, and the order which authorizes the payment,

ment, must be stated. Each check must be signed by His Royal Highness the President of the Commission of Beneficence, and countersigned by the second assessor.

For the further satisfaction of the public, and to afford the greater security to the nation for the proper employment of these funds, every article of expense referable to the colonial establishments, has been fixed at a maximum, to be, in no case, exceeded.

	<i>Fl.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For each house	500	=	43	15 0
— furniture and farming implements	100	=	8	15 0
— clothes	150	=	13	2 6
— two cows	150	=	13	2 6
— the seed of the first year, and bringing the land into a state of cultivation	400	=	35	0 0
— advances in provisions for the first year	50	=	4	7 6
— for different purposes	50	=	4	7 6
— flax and wool for spinning and weaving	200	=	17	10 0
— 3½ arpents = 4½ English, of waste land	100	=	8	15 0
	1700	=	148	15 0

After having thus arranged the appropriation of its finances, the Society purchased a tract of land called Westerbeck-Sloot, situated near the confines of Drenthe, Friesland, and Overijssel, near the small town of Steenwyk. This purchase, which comprehends about 600 arpents (= 770 Eng. acres) of heath and bog, of which about 50 or 60 were already inclosed or wooded, was made at the price of 56,000 florins, which sum was raised by a loan at 6 per cent., with an engagement to redeem at certain periods.

The land already in cultivation was let to the former occupants; and 150 arpents (= 190 Eng. acres) of the uncultivated part were destined for the establishment of the first colony: His Royal Highness Prince Frederic permitting it to take the name of **FREDERICKS-OORD**.

In order to facilitate the communication of the colony with the adjoining country, and to make conveyance less expensive, a small river, called the Aa, was made navigable. A store-house, school, spinning-rooms, and fifty-two cottages were built: and then the Society proceeded to people the colony; for which purpose the principal communes sent their destitute families, and were immediately exonerated from the burden of their future support.

These different labours commenced in September 1818; and on the first of the following November the colonists were put in possession of their houses.

Rules for their domestic management had been drawn up before their arrival; and every colonist bound himself by his signature to conform to them in all respects. Care was taken, at the same time,

to state the reasons for establishing these rules, in an explanatory paper annexed to the rules; and the utmost pains were used to impress upon the colonists the necessity and usefulness of the arrangements.

To secure still further the execution of these rules, it was also resolved that each colony should be subjected to the superintendence of a sub-director, who, under the authority of a director-general for all the colonies, should watch over the interior management of the cottages and the execution of the agricultural labours.

Every ten families were besides confided to the particular care of an inspector. For this purpose the King has placed under the orders of the Society a certain number of non-commissioned officers, with the requisite talents and qualities, to exercise the sort of surveillance assigned them.

The functions of the inspectors consist in directing the colonists in the practice of agriculture; in keeping an eye upon their labour, and their domestic interests: in a word, in seeing, each in the extent confided to his care, that the regulations be observed, and the orders of the sub-director be punctually executed.

Every morning, at an appointed hour, the colonists who are employed in farming operations, assemble at the sound of a bell; and are occupied during the rest of the day in their labours, under the direction and superintendence of the inspectors. They are paid at a certain rate for the labours which they execute for the Society. In this way they earn successively the 400 florins which the Society allows for bringing the lands assigned them into a state of cultivation. These lands constitute the little farms, which they have to put into order. These little farms are placed in their hands in a state of cultivation, and cropped for the first year; and then they are to make the most of them in future.

In introducing this regulation, it was besides resolved, that the purchase of six horses, with the necessary implements for ploughing, should be made for every fifty farms.

The Society, it is to be observed, undertakes to bring the lands into a state of cultivation; it pays the colonists employed for this purpose, just as it would pay strangers, according to the amount of labour they perform. When the lands are brought into this state, that is, after the first cropping, the colonists themselves are to work them on their own account.

The house and farm are then rented by the colonists. The rent which each pays is fifty florins a year. The colonists must besides reimburse by degrees the advances made to them for clothes and furniture.

The cows remain the property of the Society. The capital, which is expended in the purchase of them, and in occasionally replacing

replacing them, make it necessary that the colonists, who have the benefit of them, should pay two sous per week for each cow. The Society has also reserved a small share in the profit, which the colonists derive from the sale of the calves.

At the outset the Society provides the colonists with food. It advances till harvest to each family every day six pounds of bread and 25 potatoes, besides 25 sous in money per week. The repayment of this advance is effected by weekly deductions from the produce of their earnings, whether in field labours, or by the linen and woollen they spin. If the value of their labour exceed the advance, they receive the surplus. If they earn less than is required to effect this repayment, suitable measures are taken to enforce their diligence.

After the first year, each family is bound to cultivate, under the superintendence of the inspector and sub-director, the lands which it rents of the Society; and if any family be incapable by itself of performing the task, through want of sufficient strength, or skill, the Society provides the necessary assistance, for which the cost must be paid out of the produce of its harvest.

Every colonist, who by his diligence and application has been successful enough to reimburse the Society for all its advances, and who receives no assistance, either for his support or for tilling his land, is intrusted with the entire care of his own interests, and the Society presents him with a silver medal, withdrawable if a change of conduct ensue. So long as he possesses this mark of confidence, his connexion with the Society differs in nothing from that which usually subsists between tenants and landlords, except in the regulations relative to the instruction of the children, and the dress of the colonists. Those who repay more than half the advances, who till their own land without assistance, and conduct themselves in other respects well, receive a copper medal. From that time they dispose of their produce under the superintendence and with the consent of their sub-directors.

Those, on the other hand, to whom the Society is obliged to lend assistance, or whose conduct is wasteful or irregular, are placed under particular controul. The Society allows them out of the produce of their lands and labours, what is requisite for food every week, and the money necessary for clothes every three months. The surplus of their earnings is not paid to them till the advances are all discharged. The colonists who distinguish themselves in any remarkable manner, obtain a gold medal. All these marks of honour are worn on the left breast, and fastened to an orange ribband.

All the children (except orphans, who are under particular regulations) are allowed for pocket-money an eighth part of what they earn, either by spinning or labour on the farms. For the first year, the

the whole of this peculium is at their command; afterwards only one half is given them, and the other half is placed in a savings-bank, the amount of which is not paid them till they quit the colony.

Experience has proved that these regulations are sufficient to keep the colonists in excellent order, when they have not been too much brutalized by misery. But, at the same time, it was soon perceived, that there were some too deeply demoralized to be brought back to propriety of conduct by gentleness and reason alone.

The Society has been obliged to dismiss four families for misconduct; and a new institution will be immediately organized near an old castle, called Ommeschans, granted by the King to the Society for this purpose. It is intended there to form a colony out of such families as, in their state of moral degradation, require severer discipline to compel them to habits of labour, and submission to the rules of good behaviour.

The results of all these arrangements were amply detailed in the reports made by the two sections of the Commission of Superintendence, on the 28th Oct. 1819. The first had examined on the spot the situation of the colony; the other had verified all that regarded the administration and responsibility of the interests of the Society. An accurate statement also of the money account of each colonist was prepared by them.

In these accounts a considerable difference was observed. This difference proceeded partly from some of the families being more numerous, or less burdened with young children, or more industrious than others; and partly from accidental circumstances, which have not been equally favourable. Still the average amount of the produce of each family rose to 349 florins = 30*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*; and assuredly this is a degree of success sufficiently remarkable, especially for the first year of such an establishment, and under the influence of a season so little favourable to the success of agriculture as was the summer of 1819.

With such results, the Commissions of Beneficence and of Superintendence were of opinion, that the Society might safely pursue its useful career. But to give to their undertaking such an extent and efficacy, that the whole nation might soon find in it an alleviation of its burdens, and the great numbers of which the indigent class consists, a sensible amelioration of their condition, more extensive funds were necessary, than it was possible to raise by the feeble contributions, which the Society received from its members. For, notwithstanding the great augmentation which the Society so promptly obtained, its resources, though they now exceed the sum of 100,000 florins = nearly 9,000*l.* a year, are necessarily and greatly short of what is requisite to realize a plan of such importance and extent

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The Society therefore took into consideration the means by which it could procure more ample resources; and availing itself of the advantages which its position afforded, of establishing paupers on the colony, on conditions not less advantageous for itself than for charitable institutions, it resolved to undertake the support of the poor at the low rate of 25 florins each per annum. Orphans, foundlings, and deserted children at present cost the hospital near 120 florins a year. The Society undertakes the care of them for half that sum. It does more: if public institutions or charitable persons subscribe for six children above six years of age, the Society charges itself, at the same time, and without any augmentation of expense, not only with the maintenance of two persons, to whom the care and superintendence of the children are confided, but also with two whole establishments, each consisting of six persons.

In this way, twenty persons are provided for by means of a sum, which before was not equal to the support of four orphans.

Parishes (communes), hospitals, and individuals, who supply the funds, are empowered to name the persons whose misery they desire to alleviate. The engagements which they contract for this purpose with the Society are not indeed revocable at pleasure, like those which are referable to the annual contributions of the members of the Society, but those who fulfill them for sixteen years at the maximum, obtain by this means, without any new payment for this purpose, the right of disposing, in favour of the poor in whose fate they are interested, of establishments created by the employment of their funds—establishments, which will at that period be free, and exonerated from all charge or claim.

We do not at present call the attention of our readers to a particular development of this part of the Society's plan; the principles of the calculation, however, rest on the solid basis of experience. We are more inclined to dwell for a moment on the multiplied and important advantages, which public beneficence may receive by these arrangements.

According to the Report which the Secretary for the Home Department (Ministre de l'Interieur) made to the States-General, on the 9th of March, 1818, the number of persons supported by the hospitals in the northern provinces of the kingdom amounted to 20,000, for the most part orphans; and cost annually 2,400,000 florins, that is, 114 florins for each orphan.

Supposing then that 12,000 of these orphans were placed in the colony, they would be distributed into 2000 establishments, consisting of 16,000 persons; because, according to the plan projected by the Society, to each family of six children must be added two adult persons charged with the management of them.

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By adding to this number that of 24,000 paupers, peopling 4000 establishments, with the support of which, the Society charges itself at the same time, and for the same sum; public charitable institutions will be relieved from the maintenance of 40,000 paupers, by means of a sum to be paid for sixteen years at the most, scarcely amounting to 18 florins a-head per annum.

Now the average expense for orphans in the hospitals amounting to 114 florins, and that fixed by the Society being only 60, a saving of 54 florins a-head will be effected by this means, which for 12,000 orphans makes on the whole a saving of 648,000 florins. And if we reckon, that the 24,000 paupers which the Society in addition engages to support for the same sum, would have, besides, cost the local authorities and managers of public institutions, suppose only 10 florins a-head, the savings will amount to 240,000 florins more. These sums will together amount to nearly 900,000; to which may be added the annual saving, which parishes and public institutions will successively realize, in consequence of their arrangements with the Society. And this is not all: at the expiration of sixteen years, which is the ultimate term of payment, 12,000 poor children will have an asylum and the means of subsistence in our colonies gratuitously. This will be a new saving of 60 florins for each child, 720,000 for the whole. Thus the entire accumulation of these savings will amount to no less a sum than 1,600,000 annually, at the end of 16 years.

[We are compelled to break off:—there is much still that requires to be stated, for a complete understanding of this interesting establishment; and in our next Number we hope to be able to present our readers with the latest intelligence relative to the state of this successful undertaking. Our account, it will be observed, refers to 1819; the first year of its establishment. There are now 3000 colonists, and the Society have extended their purchases of land to 7000 acres. A Permanent Commission for the Southern Provinces has also been appointed at Brussels, and a new colony is forming at Wortel, near Hoogstraeten; between Antwerp and Breda.]

ART. III.—*American Poetry*.*

THIS little volume, though in one respect it has somewhat disappointed us, has also afforded us considerable gratification; the disappointment, perhaps, resulted from the want of proper reflection, *a priori*, on our own parts; for the gratification, we are unquestionably indebted to our transatlantic brethren, and their editor. A few words will suffice to explain in what it has fallen short of our preconceptions: on the interest it has excited, we shall perhaps be more diffuse. The main defect, then, of the book to our taste is, that it is not enough American; it has not enough of the genuine transatlantic flavour; it wants somewhat more of the Jonathanian raciness. "What's in a name?" asked Wordsworth, when he indited Benjamin the Waggoner. If we take up a volume of American poetry, we wish in its perusal to be frequently reminded of its "birth, parentage, and education;" and not every now and then fancy we are reading *The Pleasures of Hope*, or *Beppo*. To a certain extent, however, our more mature deliberative judgement inclines us to admit that, as respects American poets, this similarity to our English bards is almost an unavoidable, and for the present it ought to be a prepossessing, defect, if it be a defect at all: and so far as the rising poets of America choose to make the excellencies of our English poets their models of imitation, we think they do honour to themselves and to us. We hope they will stop here, and follow our example no further than it is worthy imitation. But more of this hereafter. We must now state more fully why we have been so much interested and gratified by the pages before us. Few subjects can offer more pleasing themes for speculation to the philosopher or the philanthropist, than the advancement of literature in nations or states possessing already influence and power, and destined in all probability hereafter to have that influence immensely extended, that power incalculably increased. We are not, assuredly, amongst those who view with a jaundiced eye the rising greatness of America; on the contrary, it gives us cordial pleasure to see her thus cultivating the refining and humanizing arts of polished life, and adding the ornamental graces of elegant literature to her other national acquirements. In poetry more especially, we do think she has ample, almost unbounded scope for the development

* *Vide Specimens of the American Poets, with Critical Notices, and a Preface: 1832.*

and exercise of powers which may obtain her honourable fame, and not only advance her in the scale of empires, but at the same time add incalculably to her happiness and virtues. It has been with hopes and anticipations of this nature, that we have perused these specimens of her native poets; and it is chiefly under the influence of such feelings that we wish to comment on them to our readers. The volume has, we believe, been *reviewed* before by different periodicals, with which we have no idea of disputing the palm of *criticism*. And perhaps, as this is the first time we have introduced a volume of poetry to our readers, it may not be amiss for us to observe that in this, as in any future instances, neither priority of notice, peculiar elegance of style, brilliancy of wit, or pungency of sarcasm, will be objects of ambition with us in our occasional notices of the labours of those who "build the lofty or the lowly rhyme." We shall act "THE INQUIRER's" part, when poetry comes before us, with reference to higher canons than those of verbal criticism; and estimate the effusions of the bard rather by their probable bearings on the happiness of his readers, by their ultimate tendencies to make mankind wiser and more benevolent, than by any hope of rendering our verdicts in the least degree popular with what is called "the reading public." But enough of introduction: we are, without intending it, approaching the prospectus style, to which we have as great an antipathy as our readers possibly can cherish. We gladly turn from our own prose to "American Poetry."

Of Mr. Pierpont, the whole of whose *Airs of Palestine* is given as a specimen, the editor says, we think with justice as respects his versification and diction, that he "is evidently a faithful scholar of the school of Pope." Unfortunately Pope's versification and diction are not precisely to our taste. But we have no ambition to plunge into the Byron and Bowles controversy, as to whether Pope was a natural or an artificial poet, nor to revive the often agitated question as to the harmony or monotony of his verse: he is certainly not the poet to whom we should have expected an American bard would have looked for a model, any more than we should have expected to meet with the Twickenham Grotto on the banks of the Ohio: but that Mr. Pierpont approaches very closely to Pope's smooth and flowing line, no reader of the following extract, we think, can doubt.

In what rich harmony, what polish'd lays,
Should man address thy throne, when Nature pays
Her wild, her tuneful tribute to the sky!
Yes, Lord, she sings thee, but she knows not why.

The

The fountain's gush, the long resounding shore,
 The zephyr's whisper, and the tempest's roar,
 The rustling leaf, in autumn's fading woods,
 The wintry storm, the rush of vernal floods,
 The summer bower, by cooling breezes faan'd,
 The torrent's fall, by dancing rainbows spann'd,
 The streamlet, gurgling through its rocky glen,
 The long grass, sighing o'er the graves of men,
 The bird that crests yon dew-bespangled tree,
 Shakes his bright plumes, and trills his descant free,
 The scorching bolt, that, from thine armoury hurl'd,
 Burns its red path, and cleaves a shrinking world ;
 All these are music to Religion's ear :—
 Music, thy hand awakes, for man to hear.

“The Backwoodsman,” by Mr. Paulding, as its title indeed would indicate, comes nearer to our anticipations of American poetry: its story is of a very simple kind, consisting merely of the real or imaginary adventures of a settler and his family, adopted, as the author himself states, for the purpose of introducing in an easy and natural way a greater variety of scenery. The resources of an American poet in this respect are, indeed, vast and magnificent; and some of the extracts adduced by the editor from “The Backwoodsman” show that Mr. Paulding can wield them with considerable power and address. He is more distinguished, we think, by the former, than the latter; but, perhaps, on that very account, and his coming in the volume before us directly after Mr. Pierpont, we have been more struck with his homely vigour. We give the following extract from an American landscape, principally for the sake of its spice of Nationality, with which we are by no means inclined to quarrel. Thus would we have a poet think of his native country.

In truth it was a landscape wildly gay
 That 'neath his lofty vision smiling lay;
 A sea of mingling hills, with forests crown'd,
 E'en to their summits, waving all around,
 Save where some rocky steep aloft was seen,
 Frowning amid the wild romantic scene,
 Around whose brow, where human step ne'er trode,
 Our native Eagle makes his high abode;
 Oft in the warring of the whistling gales,
 Amid the scampering clouds, he bravely sails;
 Without an effort winds the loftiest sky,
 And looks into the Sun with steady eye:
 Emblem and patron of this fearless land,
 He mocks the might of any mortal hand,

And,

And, proudly seated on his native rock,
Defies the World's accumulated shock.
Here, mid the piling mountains scatter'd round,
His winding way majestic Hudson found;
And as he swept the frowning ridge's base,
In the pure mirror of his morning face,
A lovelier landscape caught the gazer's view,
Softer than nature, yet to nature true.

The following evening sketch is also additionally interesting to us from its slight Americanisms; it would be pleasing, even without the whip-poor-will, and firefly; but they have a very poetical air of truth and reality with them.

Anon, the gorgeous scene begins to fade,
And deeper hues the ruddy skies invade;
The haze of gathering twilight Nature shrouds,
And pale, and paler, wax the changeful clouds.
Then sunk the breeze into a breathless calm,
The silent dews of evening dropt like balm;
The hungry nighthawk from his lone haunt hies,
To chase the viewless insect through the skies;
The bat began his lantern-loving flight,
The lonely whip-poor-will, our bird of night,
Ever unseen, yet ever seeming near,
His shrill note quaver'd in the startled ear:
The buzzing beetle forth did gaily hie,
With idle hum, and careless blund'ring eye;
The little trusty watchman of pale night,
The firefly, trimm'd anew his lamp so bright,
And took his merry airy circuit round
The sparkling meadow's green and fragrant bound,
Where blossom'd clover, bath'd in balmy dew,
In fair luxuriance, sweetly blushing, grew.

We can only afford room for one more extract from Mr. Paulding; and though we think with the editor that his description of a storm is very striking and vivid, we rather prefer the following, which we think is surpassed by few descriptions of night scenery in English poetry: nor are the reflections which follow the introductory sketch at all unworthy of the scene which calls them forth: with the exception of one line, to which we shall afterwards state our objections, we think them beautiful.

So through the livelong night they held their way,
And 'twas a night might shame the fairest day,

So

So still, so bright, so tranquil was its reign,
 They car'd not though the day ne'er came again.
 The Moon high wheel'd the distant hills above,
 Silver'd the fleecy foliage of the grove,
 That as the wooing zephyrs on it fell,
 Whisper'd it lov'd the gentle visit well—
 That fair-fac'd orb alone to move appear'd,
 That zephyr was the only sound they heard.
 No deep-mouth'd hound the hunter's haunt betray'd,
 No lights upon the shore, or waters play'd,
 No loud laugh broke upon the silent air,
 To tell the wand'ers man was nestling there;
 While even the froward babe in mother's arms,
 Lull'd by the scene, suppress'd its loud alarms,
 And, yielding to that moment's tranquil sway,
 Sunk on the breast, and slept its rage away.
 All, all was still, on gliding barque and shore,
 As if the Earth now slept to wake no more;
 Life seem'd extinct, as when the World first smil'd,
 Ere ADAM was a dupe, or EVE beguil'd.

In such a scene the Soul oft walks abroad,
 For Silence is the energy of GOD!
 Not in the blackest Tempest's midnight scowl,
 The Earthquake's rocking, or the Whirlwind's howl,
 Not from the crashing thunder-rifted cloud,
 Does His immortal mandate speak so loud,
 As when the silent Night around her throws
 Her star-bespangled mantle of repose;
 Thunder, and Whirlwind, and the Earth's dread shake,
 The selfish thoughts of man alone awake;
 His lips may prate of Heav'n, but all his fears
 Are for himself, though pious he appears.
 But when all Nature sleeps in tranquil smiles,
 What sweet yet lofty thought the Soul beguiles!
 There's not an object 'neath the Moon's bright beam,
 There's not a shadow dark'ning on the stream,
 There's not a star that jewels yonder skies,
 Whose bright reflexion on the water lies,
 That does not in the lifted mind awake
 Thoughts that of Love and Heav'n alike partake;
 While all its newly waken'd feelings prove,
 That Love is Heaven, and GOD the Soul of Love.
 In such sweet times the spirit rambles forth
 Beyond the precincts of this grov'ling earth,
 Expatiates in a brighter world than this,
 And, plunging in the Future's dread abyss,
 Proves an existence separate, and refin'd,
 By leaving its frail tenement behind.

So felt our BASIL, as he sat the while,
 Guiding his boat, beneath the moonbeam's smile.
 For there are thoughts, which GOD alike has giv'n
 To high and low—and these are thoughts of Heav'n.

It is from no disposition to cavil at what may strike others as being sublime, that we object to the *sentiment* that "silence is the energy of God." Nor should we indeed have objected to it, had we not either seen or heard it quoted as a very lofty and sublime passage, and had not our author, by his eloquent interpretation of it, peculiarly forced it on our notice. We admit that what he says on the subject he says well; but we dislike the *exclusive appropriation* of *divine energy* to any *one* mode or manifestation of divine power, and object to the very idea of concentrating in any imaginable period, whether of storm or calm, of beauty or terror, that irrepressible and incomprehensible energy which pervades all alike. But it is time for us to take our leave of Mr. Paulding; and we do so with sincere respect for his genius, which we think calculated to ensure him enduring reputation, and no less capable of adding to the gratification of his countrymen. With occasional faults of diction, and, as it appears to us, occasional misconceptions as to what is truly energetic and sublime, he certainly seems to combine gifts and acquirements of no ordinary stamp, and we would fain hope that the free exercise and right direction of them may entitle him to rank, hereafter, with the benefactors of his country and mankind.

From "Fanny," an anonymous poem, our editor's next specimens are extracted, seemingly "*con amore*." We cannot say it is a favourite of ours; and when the editor concludes his usual introduction by informing us that "an English edition of Fanny has been published, but does not appear to have had a very extensive circulation," we congratulate American literature and our own in the circumstance. We have had enough, and more than enough, of this foolery nearer home, and are very heartily sick of it. It is only justice, however, to the American quiz, to say that while his badinage, in more sportive passages, recalls our home-manufactured article, he does not so grossly shock and disgust us by blending licentiousness with pathos, and obscenity with buffoonery. Still we think a taste for this gossiping, slipshod rhyme, and these effectually abrupt transitions from the *pathetic* to the ludicrous, of bad augury for the *rising* literature of any country. We quote, however, the lyrical effusion with which the editor concludes his extracts; because, in spite of the bathos of Scudder's balcony, it
 is

is to our ear sweetly musical, and evinces a degree of lyrical talent which might be much more worthily employed.

Young thoughts have music in them, love
And happiness their theme;
And music wanders in the wind
That lulls a morning dream.
And there are angel voices heard,
In childhood's frolic hours,
When life is but an April day,
Of sunshine and of showers.

There's music in the forest leaves
When summer winds are there,
And in the laugh of forest girls
That braid their sunny hair.
The first wild bird that drinks the dew,
From violets of the spring,
Has music in his song, and in
The fluttering of his wing.

There's music in the dash of waves
When the swift bark cleaves their foam;
There's music heard upon her deck,
The mariner's song of home.
When moon and star beams smiling meet
At midnight on the sea—
And there is music once a week
In Scudder's balcony.

But the music of young thoughts too soon
Is faint, and dies away,
And from our morning dreams we wake
To curse the coming day;
And childhood's frolic hours are brief,
And oft, in after years,
Their memory comes to chill the heart,
And dim the eye with tears.

To-day the forest leaves are green,
They'll wither on the morrow,
And the maiden's laugh be chang'd ere long
To the widow's wail of sorrow.
Come with the winter snows, and ask
Where are the forest birds?
The answer is a silent one,
More eloquent than words.

The moonlight music of the waves
In storms is heard no more,
When the living lightning mocks the wreck
At midnight on the shore;

And

And the mariner's song of home has ceased,
His corse is on the sea—
And music ceases when it rains
In Scudder's balcony.

With Mr. Dabney's specimens we have not been so peculiarly charmed, as to tempt us to delay our readers, or occupy our pages with extracts. Nor can we quite agree with our editor in thinking that Mr. Maxwell has caught much of the lightness and grace of Waller. To our taste the following, though light enough, is far from graceful. What the transatlantic term for Namby-Pamby may be, we are not exactly aware; but we think this is as notable a specimen of the thing itself, as we have often met with.

HEART'S-EASE.

There is a charming little flow'r,
A charming flow'r it is;
The brightest gem in Flora's bow'r
And sweet as Beauty's kiss.
There is no fragrance in its sigh,
To tempt the busy Bee;
It doesn't please the Butterfly,
But it is dear to me.
I love to see the little thing,
When Morning paints the skies,
Before the Lark is on the wing,
Open its sparkling eyes.
Then, bright and fresh with shining dew,
It glitters to the ray,
With triple spots of various hue,
So fancifully gay.
This is the flow'r that I will wear,
That girls may cease to tease;
Its name is music to my ear,
What is it call'd?—Heart's-Ease.

We now come to specimens selected from the poems of William Cullen Bryant; and we cordially agree with the editor in much of the praise he has awarded to the genius of this promising young poet. The longest poem here given, "The Ages," though justly styled by the editor, "a masterly sketch, displaying marks of an eminently poetical mind," is notwithstanding only a sketch; and consequently of more value as implying a pledge for the future, than for the sake of its present performance. In the short compass of thirty-five stanzas it may be easily supposed that no poet could do more than glance over the rise and fall of the Grecian and Roman Empires;

the night of Papal darkness; the dawn of the Reformation; and the early barbarism of the New World, contrasted with its present aspect. These, however, are glanced at in Mr. Bryant's sketch of "The Ages;" and in some passages, we think, with equal felicity and boldness. The following is a fine apostrophe to the continually renewed youth and freshness of nature, in those outward and visible forms which in successive ages seem "though ever changing, still the same."

Has Nature, in her calm majestic march,
Falter'd with age at last? Does the bright sun
Grow dim in heaven? Or, in their far blue arch,
Sparkle the crowd of stars, when day is done,
Less brightly? When the dew-lipp'd spring comes on,
Breathes she with airs less soft, or scents the sky
With flowers less fair than when her reign begun?
Does prodigal Autumn, to our age, deny
The plenty that once swell'd beneath his sober eye?

Look on this beautiful world, and read the truth
In her fair page; see, every season brings
New change to her, of everlasting youth;
Still the green soil, with joyous living things
Swarms, the wide air is full of joyous wings,
And myriads, still, are happy in the sleep
Of Ocean's azure gulfs, and where he flings
The restless surge. Eternal love doth keep
In his complacent arms, the earth, the air, the deep.

Will then the merciful One, who stamp'd our race
With his own image, and who gave them sway
O'er earth, and the glad dwellers on her face,
Now that our flourishing nations far away
Are spread, where'er the moist earth drinks the day,
Forget the ancient care that taught and nurs'd
His latest offspring? Will he quench the ray
Infus'd by his own forming smile at first,
And leave a work so fair all blighted and accurs'd?

O no! a thousand cheerful omens give
Hope of yet happier days, whose dawn is nigh;
He, who has tamed the elements, shall not live
The slave of his own passions; he whose eye
Unwinds the eternal dances of the sky,
And in the abyss of brightness dares to span
The sun's broad circle, rising yet more high,
In God's magnificent works his will shall scan;
And love and peace shall make their paradise with man.

The Grecian and Roman empires are thus briefly and spiritedly
adverted

adverted to; and the corruptions of the Romish church touched upon with equal skill.

O Greece! thy flourishing cities were a spoil
Unto each other; thy hard hand oppress'd
And crush'd the helpless; thou didst make thy soil
Drunk with the blood of those that lov'd thee best;
And thou didst drive, from thy unnatural breast,
Thy just and brave to die in distant climes;
Earth shuddered at thy deeds, and sigh'd for rest
From thine abominations; aftertimes
That yet shall read thy tale, will tremble at thy crimes.

Yet there was that within thee which has sav'd
Thy glory, and redeem'd thy blotted name;
The story of thy better deeds, engrav'd
On fame's unmouldering pillar, puts to shame
Our chiller virtue; the high art to tame
The whirlwind of the passions was thine own;
And the pure ray, that from thy bosom came,
Far over many a land and age has shone,
And mingles with the light that beams from God's own throne.

And Rome, thy sterner, younger sister, she
Who awed the world with her imperial frown,
Drew the deep spirit of her race from thee,
The rival of thy shame and thy renown.
Yet her degenerate children sold the crown
Of earth's wide kingdoms to a line of slaves;
Guilt reign'd, and woe with guilt, and plagues came down,
Till the north broke its flood-gates, and the waves
Whelm'd the degraded race, and welter'd o'er their graves.

Vainly that ray of brightness from above,
That shone around the Galilean lake,
The light of hope, the leading star of love,
Struggled, the darkness of that day to break;
Even its own faithless guardians strove to slake,
In fogs of earth, the pure immortal flame;
And priestly hands, for Jesus' blessed sake,
Were red with blood, and charity became
In that stern war of forms, a mockery and a name.

They triumph'd, and less bloody rites were kept
Within the quiet of the convent cell;
The well-fed inmates patter'd prayer, and slept,
And sinn'd, and liked their easy penance well.
Where pleasant was the spot for men to dwell,
Amid its fair broad lands the Abbey lay,
Sheltering dark orgies that were shame to tell;
And cowl'd and barefoot beggars swarm'd the way,
All in their convent woods, of black, and white, and grey.

The triumphs of the Reformation are thus vigorously and com-
pendiously celebrated.

At last the earthquake came—the shock, that hurl'd
To earth, in many fragments dash'd and strown,
That throne, whose roots were in another world,
And whose far stretching shadow aw'd our own.
From many a proud monastic pile, o'erthrown,
Fear-struck, the hooded inmates rush'd and fled;
The web, that for a thousand years had grown
O'er prostrate Europe, in that day of dread,
Crumbled and fell, as fire dissolves the flaxen thread.

The Spirit of that day is still awake,
And spreads himself, and shall not sleep again;
But through the idle mesh of power shall break,
Like billows o'er the Asian monarch's chain,
Till men are fill'd with him, and feel how vain,
Instead of the pure heart and innocent hands,
Are all the proud and pompous modes to gain
The smile of heaven;—till a new age expands
Its white and holy wings, above the peaceful lands.

We must, however unconscionable our extracts may appear,
make room for three stanzas more, delineating what America
was.

Late, from this western shore, that morning chas'd
The deep and ancient night, that threw its shroud,
O'er the green land of groves, the beautiful waste,
Nurse of full streams, and lifter up of proud
Sky-mingling mountains that o'erlook the cloud.
Erewhile, where yon gay spires their brightness rear,
Trees wav'd, and the brown hunter's shouts were loud
Amid the forest; and the bounding deer
Fled at the glancing plume, and the gaunt wolf yell'd near.

And where his willing waves yon bright blue bay
Sends up, to kiss his decorated brim,
And cradles, in his soft embrace, the gay
Young group of grassy islands born of him,
And, crowding nigh, or in the distance dim,
Lifts the white throng of sails, that bear or bring
The commerce of the world;—with tawny limb
And belt and beads in sun-light glistening,
The Savage urg'd his skiff like wild bird on the wing.

Then all this youthful paradise around,
And all the broad and boundless mainland, lay
Cool'd by the interminable wood, that frown'd
O'er mound and vale, where never summer ray

Glanced,

Glanced, till the strong tornado broke his way
Through the grey giants of the sylvan wild;
Yet many a shelter'd glade, with blossoms gay,
Beneath the showery sky and sunshine mild,
Within the shaggy arms of that dark forest smil'd.

The following delightful little piece, in metre and sentiment, is alike creditable to its author's taste and feeling.

TO A WATER-FOWL.

Whither, 'midst falling dew,
While glow the heavens with the last steps of day,
Far through their rosy depths, dost thou pursue
Thy solitary way?

Vainly the fowler's eye
Might mark thy distant flight to do thee wrong,
As, darkly painted on the crimson sky,
Thy figure floats along.

Seek'st thou the plashy brink
Of weedy lake, or maze of river wide,
Or where the rocking billows rise and sink
On the chaf'd Ocean side?

There is a Power whose care
Teaches thy way along that pathless coast,
The desert and illimitable air,—
Lone wandering, but not lost.

All day thy wings have fann'd,
At that far height, the cold thin atmosphere;
Yet stoop not, weary, to the welcome land,
Though the dark night is near.

And soon that toil shall end;
Soon shalt thou find a summer home, and rest,
And scream among thy fellows; reeds shall bend
Soon o'er thy shelter'd nest.

Thou 'rt gone, the abyss of heaven
Hath swallow'd up thy form; yet, on my heart,
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart.

He, who from zone to zone
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright.

We had marked several more extracts for quotation from Mr. Bryant; but our limits compel us to refer to the volume itself. On one piece we believe we must offer a comment or two; as the editor has challenged for it a degree of admiration, not merely for its poetical

poetical excellence, but for its "pure and high philosophy," which we cannot conscientiously assent to. As a piece of splendid diction, of magnificent imagery, and sonorous declamation, we are willing to allow the *Thanatopsis* all due merit; but, we candidly confess, its philosophy, however pure and high, has been sadly thrown away upon us. But, in spite of our declared intention of giving no more extracts, we believe we must let it speak for itself, more especially as we believe we have not yet given a specimen of American blank verse, and this we think is a very fine one.

THANATOPSIS.

To him who in the love of Nature holds
 Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
 A various language; for his gayer hours
 She has a voice of gladness, and a smile
 And eloquence of beauty, and she glides
 Into his darker musings, with a mild
 And gentle sympathy, that steals away
 Their sharpness, ere he is aware.—When thoughts
 Of the last bitter hour come like a blight
 Over thy spirit, and sad images
 Of the stern agony, and shroud, and pall,
 And breathless darkness, and the narrow house,
 Make thee to shudder, and grow sick at heart;—
 Go forth under the open sky, and list
 To Nature's teachings, while from all around—
 Earth and her waters, and the depths of air,
 Comes a still voice—yet a few days, and thee
 The all-beholding sun shall see no more
 In all his course; nor yet in the cold ground,
 Where thy pale form was laid, with many tears,
 Nor in the embrace of ocean shall exist
 Thy image. Earth that nourish'd thee, shall claim
 Thy growth, to be resolv'd to earth again;
 And, lost each human trace, surrend'ring up
 Thine individual being, shalt thou go
 To mix for ever with the elements,
 To be a brother to th' insensible rock,¹³
 And to the sluggish clod, which the rude swain
 Turns with his share, and treads upon. The oak
 Shall send his roots abroad, and pierce thy mould.
 Yet not to thy eternal resting place
 Shalt thou retire alone—nor could'st thou wish
 Couch more magnificent: Thou shalt lie down
 With patriarchs of the infant world—with kings,
 The powerful of the earth—the wise, the good,
 Fair forms, and hoary seers of ages past,
 All in one mighty sepulchre. The hills

Rock-ribb'd

Rock-ribb'd and ancient as the sun,—the vales
Stretching in pensive quietness between
The venerable woods—rivers—that move
In majesty, and the complaining brooks
That make the meadows green—and, poured round all,
Old Ocean's grey and melancholy waste,—
Are but the solemn decorations all
Of the great tomb of man. The golden sun,
The planets, all the infinite host of heaven,
Are shining on the sad abodes of death,
Through the still lapse of ages. All that tread
The globe, are but a handful to the tribes
That slumber in its bosom.—Take the wings
Of morning, and the Barcan desert pierce,
Or lose thyself in the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save his own dashings—yet, the dead are there,
And millions in those solitudes, since first
The flight of years began, have laid them down
In their last sleep—the dead reign there alone.
So shalt thou rest—and what if thou shalt fall
Unnotic'd by the living—and no friend
Take note of thy departure! All that breathe
Will share thy destiny: the gay will laugh
When thou art gone, the solemn brood of care*
Plod on, and each one as before will chase
His favourite phantom; yet all these shall leave
Their mirth and their employments, and shall come
And make their bed with thee; as the long train
Of ages glide away, the sons of men,
The youth in life's green spring, and he who goes
In the full strength of years, matron, and maid,
The bow'd with age, the infant in the smiles
And beauty of its innocent age cut off,—
Shall one by one be gathered to thy side,
By those, who in their turn shall follow them.
So live, that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan, that moves
To the pale realms of shade, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but sustain'd and sooth'd
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave,
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

This may be all very gorgeous and imposing; but it is very far
from satisfactory to us, as to all the nobler purposes of philosophy,
or

or what truly deserves that title. It would afford us no imaginable consolation in the hour of death to reflect that we were about to lose each human trace, to surrender up our individual being, and mix for ever with the elements. We really have not, even in anticipation, should still less have in actual, fearful reality, a single thought to bestow on the "magnificence of our couch," or the illustrious company with which it might be shared. The question, the awful momentous question of our future and immortal destiny, is not to be got rid of in this way; nor could any other than Christian Philosophy, founded on the hopes and promises of the Gospel, and confirmed to us, individually, by faith in *Him* who died, and rose again, yield us either consolation or support in such a crisis.

But it is quite time for us to close this article, which has already exceeded the limits we proposed to ourselves, and seduced us into more frequent and copious quotations than we originally intended to indulge. From the poetry of Mr. Eastburn and his friend who bring up the rear of American poets (with the exception of some "Fugitive Pieces,") we cannot possibly venture on further extract, and we let them pass with less regret because Dr. Drake has previously done them full justice.

It only remains for us, in conclusion, to express our hopes, which we do most cordially, for the increasing literary fame of America; more particularly in the department of Poetry. The elements of this refining, this noble and elevating art, are, we think, scattered around those of her children who may feel themselves called upon to exercise the poetical functions, in lavish profusion. The vastness, and magnificence of her scenery, which, though not rendered classical by its connexion with the past, may be equally inspiring by its association with the future; combined with those feelings and recollections which we doubt not still exist in the breasts of her nobler sons for the Parent Country, appear to us to open sources of the loftiest and most touching inspiration, admirably adapted to the rising literature of a great Empire. The two most formidable impediments to the advancing fame of the American muse, in our view, are the sordid influence of a calculating, money-getting spirit, and the no less baneful blight of party feeling, arising from narrow and mistaken ideas of patriotism: to the former she is naturally exposed by the extended and extending influence of America as a commercial power; and to the latter we admit she has some, perhaps peculiar, provocations. Her better sense, her nobler feeling, must guard her against both these evils. A spirit merely mercantile, is, whether in England or America, equally hostile to poetry: to its sordid dictates we would reply in the eloquent language

language of a living poet :—" If to *feel rightly* be of more *importance* than to *think wisely*, since we more often act from *impulse* than from *thought*, it will be found that poetry holds no contemptible place in the scale of moral causes. Many persons, unthinkingly, are ready to say 'What is the use of poetry? there is not any information contained in it.' Is it of no use, then, to have thy brute appetites chastened to exalted delight? to connect ideal charms with all the visible creation? to learn to trace a moral character, and feel a taste excited, and a passion without price gratified, by every object of pure beauty that presents itself? Is it of no importance for minds of sensibility to be led from the world of art, too often full of disappointment, disease, and discontent, to the more simple, noble, and glorious world of nature, which is full of beauty, and peace, and harmony? Is it of no importance to be rather independent and happy in thy feelings, than dependent and miserable? Ask thy heart these questions, and thou wilt have discovered how far the poetic gift is excellent, holy, and sublime." On party feeling, so far as it is likely to affect the literature of America, or rather so far as its influence, unchecked by more generous emotions, might have this baneful tendency, we wish to say little, because we think it more likely to be insensibly counteracted by her own more enlightened spirits, than by European advice. Washington Irving has practically shown that an American author can feel for Old England as one of her descendants ought to feel; and we doubt not many of the best heads and hearts in America will understand and feel the full force of the following stanzas by one of their countrymen, published by Mr. Coleridge in his "Sybil-line Leaves."

Though ages long have past
 Since our fathers left their home,
 Their pilot in the blast,
 O'er untravell'd seas to roam,
 Yet lives the blood of England in our veins!
 And shall we not proclaim
 That blood of honest fame
 Which no tyranny can tame
 By its chains?

While the language free and bold
 Which the bard of Avon sung,
 In which our Milton told
 How the vault of heaven rung
 When Satan, blasted, fell with his host;
 While this, with rev'rence meet,
 Ten thousand echoes greet,
 From rock to rock repeat
 Round our coast;

While

While the manners, while the arts,
 That mould a nation's soul,
 Still cling around our hearts—
 Between let ocean roll,
 Our joint communion breaking with the sun:
 Yet still from either beach
 The voice of blood shall reach,
 More audible than speech,
 "WE ARE ONE."

ART. IV.—*Law Abuses.**

GOOD laws are the most important benefit capable of being bestowed upon society. In proportion to the value of good laws is the value of every thing which has a tendency to produce them. Among the things which have a tendency to produce good laws, few are more powerful than the indications of the defects which belong to existing laws.

This is a truth which we shall take frequent opportunity of presenting to the notice of our readers. And it is a truth the value of which we deem it of cardinal importance to imprint on the public mind. It is of little or no use to dwell upon those particulars in which the laws completely answer the important ends of law. In those particulars there is need of no alteration. It suffices that the benefits accrue, and that things remain as they are. But it is of great importance to point out all those particulars in which the laws fail of answering the grand purposes of law: because, without such information, no amendment will take place. In as much, then, as good laws are a greater benefit than bad laws, in so much is the accusation and exposure of what is vicious in the laws, a greater benefit than *silence*. It is evident that any thing like *praise* bestowed upon the defective parts of the law is one of the greatest injuries which can be committed against society.

* *Vide A TREATISE ON THE ABUSES OF THE LAWS; particularly in Actions by Arrest—pointing out numerous Hardships and Abuses in the different Courts, from the Commencement of an Action to its Conclusion; and the various Extortions, from the High-Sheriff to the Bailiff's Follower: together with the System of the King's Bench Prison, and the Spunging-Houses in London, Middlesex, and neighbouring Counties—shewing also the enormous Expense Parties are put to on small Debts; the cruel Practice of bringing numerous Actions, only to increase the Costs: and the Necessity for establishing a Court, in which the Tradesman can recover his small Debts.—The whole tending to shew, that the Arrest on Common or *Meme Process* (as now carried on) is equally oppressive to the Plaintiff and Defendant. By James Pearce, Gent. an Attorney of Twenty Years Practice in London, and who has served the Office of Under-Sheriff of London and Middlesex. London, printed 1814.*

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The sort of persuasion, then, which too much prevails, that it is good to be always applauding things established, and not good to be frequent in the exposure of faults, is a *most pernicious* PREJUDICE. It is not only at war, as every reader perceives, with the interests of *truth*; it is not only the direct course for being cheated of the truth, depriving the intellectual part of one's nature of its appropriate fruition; and so of weakening and depraving the intellect, holding it in a state of folly and delusion:—but it is the most effectual course for depriving society of all the advantages of improvement; of condemning it to the perpetual endurance of all the evils under which it may at any time happen to labour; of compelling it to be (what is the unavoidable result of imperfect laws) immoral and vicious; when it might be (what is the certain result of good laws) a pattern of morality and virtue;—compelling it, in short, to suffer physically, intellectually, and morally, when in all these respects it might flourish and enjoy.—On all occasions, unspeakably different is the man who speaks only to flatter, and the man who speaks only to inform: on no occasion is that difference more remarkable than when it is required to speak of the qualities of the laws.

On this account we bestow our highest approbation upon the gentleman who has benefited his country by the useful and most important little volume, which we now present to the notice of our readers, and which we should wish to be in the hands of every man in the kingdom; but which we have good reason to believe is in the hands of very few. We are extremely happy to see that Sir Samuel Romilly agreed with us on these important heads; and gave his sanction to this very seasonable attempt to disseminate a knowledge of some of the worst corruptions of the law, by manfully permitting the author to publish, that it was dedicated to him by permission. If the people at large could in sufficient numbers be made fully acquainted with the lamentable facts—the multitude of lamentable facts, which this work attests;—the vile, the ruinous, the disgusting scene, which it lays open to view; an alteration could not fail to be soon effected—an alteration by which a greater quantity of human misery—unnecessary, gratuitous human misery, would be prevented, than could be so immediately done by almost any other legislative act. It only requires a general dissemination of the knowledge of the case, to ensure the production of this most important effect. That dissemination, therefore, is one of the most momentous of all the services which an Englishman can render to his country.

The author begins with a remark, which, though in some degree incidental, we think of sufficient importance to be held up to view, that though the practices of the law were familiar to him during
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the business of twenty years, yet it was not till he began to write upon the subject of abuses, that he was in any tolerable degree aware of their extent. "When I began," says he, "my intention was to point out the different abuses and hardships in our courts of law; my practice for many years as an attorney, having convinced me, that they were numerous and extensive. To my great surprise, however, when I entered upon them, one abuse branched out into another, and the torrent came upon me with such rapidity—betraying such a system of corruption, abuse, extortion, perjury, and of every thing bad—that I found I must go through the whole, or relinquish the task altogether."

We are willing to hold up this passage as a sort of an apology—such as it is—for practising lawyers. When one sees the manifold corruptions of the system, and the mass of cruelty and oppression of which they are the cause, our indignation naturally rises against those, who can be familiar with such scenes of iniquity, and can go on coolly from day to day, from year to year, nay from age to age, extracting their own profit out of factitious and needless misery, without expressing so much as a sense of its existence. But we see from this confession of a man, who proves that he has no love to the corruption, that in regard to the vices of the law the scene of practice is not the school of discovery; and that a man may be very familiar with those vices, and yet have little conception of their existence. There seems to be in the practice of the law a kind of blinding efficacy with regard to goodness or badness. If any thing is but law; in the view of the practitioner that is enough: all then is equal. Indeed the blinding efficacy is not all; there seems to be also an estranging efficacy; which makes practitioners in general detest the very question as to goodness or badness; and very willing to run down, nay even to persecute, every man who thinks it his duty to push the important inquiry.

In addition to the intimate knowledge which he had of the system, the author was encouraged to proceed, by finding (as he says) "that, as the charges had increased imperceptibly, *corruption had increased in an equal degree*—that I was attacking no man's character—that I was doing no man an injury—that I was combating a system which had got to an alarming height—that, if I succeeded in a small degree, I was benefiting society—that *every fact I should state was capable of proof*—that I was capable of establishing them before any tribunal in the kingdom—and that I needed no occasion to state an exaggeration, much less a falsehood."—From this passage we find it incidentally asserted, that the charges *i. e.* the expense of law proceedings—a great evil, as all the world acknowledges—have up to this period been increasing, not diminishing.

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We find it also asserted, that the corruptions practised under colour of law—another odious evil, as all the world acknowledge—have, in this enlightened age, been not diminishing, but increasing. It is surely high time that *such* a tide should turn.

It is one branch only of the practice of the law which is taken for the subject of the present volume. It is that course of proceedings which the law prescribes, or at least allows to be pursued, for the recovery of debts. This, it may easily be conceived, is the most copious source of law business.

In order to introduce into a complicated subject as much distinctness as possible, in the introduction of which the chief talent of our instructive author does not consist, it is necessary to classify, in some degree, the cases in which the process of law becomes the medium for the recovery of debt.

They may be divided into—first, Those in which the question of the debt is really doubtful, and the decision of the judge to settle the doubt, is all that is required—and second, Those in which the question of the debt is really not doubtful, and what is wanting is the compulsory process of the law to extract payment of the debt.

Of the first sort the cases are very small in number compared with those of the second; and as no peculiar abuse attends them which is not exemplified in those of the second, we shall not treat of them further than by any incidental reflection which may occur.

The second sort, namely, those in which the compulsory process of law is employed to enforce payment of a just demand, may again be divided into two species; the first, where the party sued is able to pay; the second, where he is not able.

Under a bad system of law—where delay, intricacy, uncertainty, and expense prevail—there is so much encouragement to a dishonest man to withhold payment of a just debt, though fully able to pay, that the number of cases of this description cannot be small.

Of those, however, who are sued for debt, the most numerous class by far consists of those unhappy men who are *unable* to pay. Of course, when we say *unable*, we mean that sort of inability which admits of degrees. We mean that sort of inability which nothing but some extraordinary sacrifice can enable a man *immediately* to surmount.

It is this last class of cases, therefore, which, as the most numerous, is of vast importance to explain. As the abuses, too, which are exemplified in this class are the materials out of which the abuses exemplified in the other classes are composed, the elucidation of this class is in reality the elucidation of the whole.

We shall not be very solicitous about the explanation of law terms. Our reader is either acquainted with them, or it is of little importance to the present purpose whether he is, or not. We shall

shall endeavour to describe *things*, in such common language as all will understand.

In using the instrumentality of law for the recovery of a debt, the first operation is of the nature of a summons to the party against whom the demand is brought, either to pay the debt, or appear before the judge on a certain day to receive the judicial decision.

This operation, it is evident, is necessary; and all that is required is—that, as the operation in itself is simple in the highest possible degree, it should be performed in the most simple manner, in a manner the most intelligible, the most convenient, and the least expensive possible to the parties.

Is this the mode in which this very simple operation is performed by English law? Alas! no: very much the contrary indeed. It is so contrived, that this is one of the most obscure, and intricate, and puzzling of all the parts of procedure; and what with their *originals*, their *bills of Middlesex*, their *latitats*, their *ac etiams*, their *quo minuses*, their *si fecerit te securums*, their *capiases*, &c. &c. the lawyers have made the simple business of a notice either to pay a debt, or appear before the judge, a perfect mystery; which throws an impenetrable cloud over the very commencement of a suit, and perplexes and obscures it through all its winding and tedious progress to the very end. It is chiefly of importance to our present purpose to state, that the business, as we shall see more fully hereafter, is not performed in the cheapest possible manner, but with a large creation of expense.

Upon the day in which the defendant is summoned to appear before the judge, the reader (if he is not somewhat initiated in these subterranean mysteries) will suppose that it is intended he *should* appear before the judge, that the judge should take cognizance of the affair, and there should be an end of it. He will suppose so, because this is the course which reason would prescribe.

Very different is the course which the common law prescribes. On the day on which the person is ordered to appear before the judge, it is not intended that he should see the judge, or that the judge should know any thing about him. It is only intended that he should give bail, that is, tender security that he will appear on some other day. But why this double operation about appearance, when one would suffice? It is of no use. It only complicates the business, and increases delay, vexation, and expense.

If the sum for which a man is sued is less than 15*l*. (less than 10*l*. it was till the year 1811) he is not required to give any real security, that is, he is not required to give security at all. He is, however, made to act as if he did. He gives two fictitious names, John Doe and Richard Roe. What is the use of this? Evidently no use at all. Why then is it done? Oh,—for that, ask them under

under whose authority it is done. One thing we can tell you, which is, that the doing of it produces fees,—adds to the system of expense by which the suitors are oppressed; and the whole tribe of law officers, from the lord chief justice to the bailiff's follower, are enriched.

If the sum be not less than 15*l.*, the party sued is required to give real security, that is, to find real persons to be responsible for his appearance. If these be not found, his appearance is to be secured by imprisonment of his person. This is called holding-to-bail, or arrest on mesne process.

It has now at last become the practice of the courts to omit all the former parts of the business, and to begin with the arrest, leaving the party to liberate himself, by giving bail afterwards, if he can. This, it may appear, is somewhat sudden; a warning to pay, or to give reasons for not paying, may, upon the obvious principles of justice, be thought to be advisable in the first instance: because, peradventure, the claim is unjust; and to be liable to be arrested at the will of every man who chooses to advance an unjust claim, is a satire upon government.

No matter,—with this evil it may be supposed that some good is attained. If men are exposed to the hardship of sudden and unjust imprisonment; the preceding process being cut off, the expense of it is also cut off. Oh, reader, no!—you little understand, it seems, with whom you have to deal. Though not one of the preceding operations is performed, it is affirmed that they are all performed; it is entered in the judicial record that they are all performed; and suitors are made to pay for them as if they were all performed!

This topic of holding to bail is as much of the subject handled by Mr. Pearce as we shall be able to overtake in a single article. We shall in the first place inquire of what use it is; what *good* consequences it produces; an inquiry which will not detain us long. We shall next consider what *bad* consequences it produces; and here we shall enter upon a field which is equally extensive and important.

1. USE OF HOLDING TO BAIL, OR OF ARREST ON MESNE PROCESS.—The *end* to which it professes to be directed is to give security to the party suing, that the party sued shall not run away from the suit. Here the questions are—Whether this end *requires* the use of such costly means?—and 2ndly, Whether it is *worth* the use of such costly means: that is to say, whether the end is not sufficiently attained without any such costly means?—and 3dly, Whether, if it is not, the evil produced by such costly means is not greater than the advantage gained? This last question will be answered best when the amount of the evil is ascertained.

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With regard to the first question, experience appears most amply to have confirmed, what reason would have previously suggested, that the end *requires* no such oppressive means: that in a state of society, such as that in which we live, there are motives abundant and to spare, to prevent men from running away, upon the prospect of a law-suit. Where men have sufficient motives to run away, holding to bail can be of no service; because such men will take care to anticipate process, and be gone before it arrives. If they have sufficient motives to wait the arrest, they can hardly fail to have motives sufficient to make them wait all the other consequences of the suit. In fact, by running away, a man must incur what, in almost all cases, is a much greater evil than any consequences of an action for debt; he must incur a perpetual exile.—To create a great mass of evil, for the sake of securing an end, which is of such a nature as sufficiently to secure itself, is a policy in the maintaining of which legislative reason appears to very little advantage.

We call Mr. Pearce to speak to the facts to establish the matter of experience.

"There are," says he, page 13, "such abuses daily practised, in consequence of the power vested in individuals, of arresting each other, and the intentions of the law of arrest have been so completely perverted, that I shall here notice a few of the consequences. For instance, when a man arrests another, the object of the plaintiff, in general, is—not the obtaining of two good bail for the defendant's forthcoming, (which it would appear by the recognizance is the only benefit intended,) for he is not afraid of his running away: on the contrary, a man's being enabled to get bail is the daily reason why the plaintiff will *not* arrest him." In another passage, p. 17, he says: "Notwithstanding the fact, that the bail are daily saddled with the payment of the debt and costs, yet out of 5000 arrests, not one defendant runs away from his bail."

The truth of the proposition, then, is notorious. For the purpose for which the law allows the holding to bail, and imprisonment on default of it, bail is altogether unnecessary. The evil which it produces, therefore,—evil, the deplorable magnitude of which we shall presently perceive, is evil for its own sake, evil without any good. Surely reason cries aloud, that evil of this description cannot too speedily be removed.

2. BAD CONSEQUENCES OF HOLDING TO BAIL, AND ARREST ON MESNE PROCESS.

First reflect upon the cruelty of imprisonment itself. Let the imagination trace the miseries which it implies; and then let the judgement pronounce what is to be said of that policy which inflicts it for no end. To be debarred of freedom, that sweet enjoyment without

without which nothing else that life affords is sweet; to be shut up within four walls; to cease to be the master of our own actions; to become so dependent upon the tools and instruments of incarceration that the dependence of the slave upon his master is liberty in the comparison; is all this misery fit to be inflicted for nothing? In a country so fond of boasting of the liberty of its people, is this the care which is taken of the liberty of the individual? Is this the manner in which that exquisite blessing is respected by the laws? On some occasions the law (but it is all over inconsistency) would seem to establish it as a rule, that individual liberty is of inestimable value, by inflicting a severe punishment on what it is pleased to call *false imprisonment*. But what imprisonment can be more *false*, than that which the law allows for no good end? All other false imprisonment is a *trifle* in comparison of *this*. This is heightened by the cruelty of the reflection that it is done by law; and that there is no remedy.

But the pains inseparable from the loss of liberty are not all. A man is torn from his family—from his business, the very existence of which, perhaps, depends upon his personal presence. He sustains a species of disgrace, which, to a man who has been accustomed to feel in a particular way, may be cruel in the highest degree. Add to all this, that his credit as a man of business must always suffer severely; must generally be altogether destroyed; and with it a business in which he might have maintained himself and his family with credit, or perhaps have risen to affluence.

Consider that as all this is done for no end but to ensure the man's forthcomingness; of which not once in ten thousand times there is any doubt,—so all this may be done, all this evil may be inflicted upon any man whatsoever, by any who chooses—by a man to whom not a farthing is due, to a man by whom not a farthing is owing.

To this purpose hear the testimony of Mr. Pearce: "The foregoing remarks (says he, p. 17) are grounded on the supposition that the debt for which the defendant is arrested is a just one: but how much stronger will they apply against the policy of arresting upon mesne process, when the demand is an unjust one, and the arrest is made use of for the purposes of injustice and oppression—which daily happens as to all or a part of the debt, and can be proved beyond a possibility of doubt!"

How dreadful to think that any man—that ourselves—that the most respectable man we know, is liable to be arrested upon the simple affidavit of any man (however rascally) that such an one owes him a debt!

It is feeble consolation to say that a man may quickly procure his liberty by giving two respectable persons for his bail. A man

may be a very good member of society, and have no such intimate connexion with others as to know of a single person from whom he could expect such a favour. Cases of this sort are innumerable. Among the men who are the most liable to arrest,—among the men who form by far the largest class of those upon whom this operation of the law presses,—the smaller tradesmen,—and those sued for petty sums,—the difficulty of giving bail is prodigious. So ensnaring and oppressive is the operation of the law upon the persons who become bail, (as we shall explain more fully hereafter,) that there is a general horror at the thought of it. On this subject Mr. Pearce is good evidence. “Of finding bail,” says he, “no one knows the trouble, but he who has felt it. A defendant is more likely to succeed in obtaining the loan of the money three times over.—It is very common for a man to refuse his nearest relative.”

Such is a general view of the case. But to have any thing like an adequate conception of it, the reader must understand a little of the particulars.

The ruinous expense which this process engenders, is the principal head of detail. But before proceeding to this we shall give a specimen of the evils of another sort, of which it is the fruitful parent.

“The defendant,” says Mr. Pearce, “being carried to the spunging-house, with his total ruin, perhaps, staring him in the face, frequently moves heaven and earth, either by making a sacrifice of his property to enable him to pay the debt, or procuring some friend either to pay it for him, or give some security.—And this no doubt is occasionally done; and the surety pays the debt, and perhaps never gets a shilling. It also often occurs that men, in this distressed situation, who have other persons’ moneys in their possession, will, on the impulse of the moment, to obtain their liberation, break into and apply a part of it to their own purposes—and from which circumstance their utter ruin may follow. The money having been once broken into, though intended to be replaced, it is perhaps never done, at least till too late to prevent the mischief.—The reader may not know that it is fourteen years transportation for any person employed by another, in the capacity of a servant or clerk, to misapply money of his master’s in this manner. I have known more than one in my practice brought up to Bow-street for it.”

This is dreadful. The desperate courses to which men are driven in this extremity, not only hurry them to ruinous sacrifices of their own property, extinguishing perhaps the well grounded hopes of a happy life; but to hazardous experiments upon other men’s property, which swell the list of victims to the most penal operations

operations of the law. If we reckon up the number of these unhappy victims, with the number of those whose minds become reckless and depraved after disgrace, and of those on whom the education of a prison takes effect, we may safely assign to *arrest on mesne process* no small portion of the crimes with which the law and morals of the country are disgraced, and the people are infested.—And all the while, this evil is incurred for no purpose at all; for an end which is sufficiently secured of itself, without so many deplorable sacrifices.

Mr. Pearce goes on: “Another of the hardships of this system is, that the little tradesman is frequently arrested on a Saturday night, and taken out of his business; and, in preference to stopping in a spunging-house till the Monday, will even send and pawn his property—a thing, perhaps, to which he had never before been compelled to resort.

“A man on his death-bed is also frequently arrested—and the money must be raised in that case, though the very bed on which he lies is sent to the broker.”

The most numerous list of hardships grow out of the expense, and will best be understood when the grand subject—that of expense—is properly explained. To this we shall now therefore proceed. As it would require no little time to arrange methodically so large an aggregate of confused materials as the facts present, we shall content ourselves with taking some of the most remarkable of the circumstances adduced by Mr. Pearce, pretty nearly in the order in which he has presented them.

This holding to bail is of no manner of use. Why then is it not given up? We shall answer as we did just now on a similar occasion. Ask those on whose will it depends that it is not given up. One thing in the mean time we can tell you; which is—that not being given up, it increases that general stock, the produce of fees; out of which the whole tribe of law agents, from the lord chief justice to the bailiff's follower, make their respective lots of profit—that of the lord chief justice being of course one of the largest.

Not only are fees to be paid for the giving and renewing and justifying of bail, which it would be a great loss to the law partnership to give up; but bail creates, more than all other things perhaps put together, other occasions for the extraction of fees—occasions which but for its fruitful operation would have no existence. To a plain understanding it would appear that one action for one debt might suffice. The fees upon one action are not a trifle; heaven and the unfortunate know!

The fruitful invention of bail effects a great deal more. It enables two, three, four actions (the occasions are of the greatest frequency)

quency) to be brought upon one debt, though of the smallest sort ; —thus multiplying in a most remarkable manner the profits of the law fraternity, and the cruelties inflicted upon the unfortunate suitors.

One of the first passages we meet with in Mr. Pearce is the following : “ Supposing the debt and costs are not paid, and the defendant is enabled to get his liberation from the spunging-house,” that is to say, supposing he has been able to procure bail—“ the next object for the plaintiff is to sue the bail given to the sheriff, or to fix the sheriff with the debt : for it is the daily practice among the attorneys to use every exertion to carry this point. And in fact this is what the bailing system owes its great increase to ; for, if any mistake is made even in a letter of the names of the plaintiff or defendant—or if the bail do not attend in time—the sheriff is fixed, and is immediately called on to pay the money ; which he does, and then resorts to the bail bond.”—This passage would need a much longer commentary than we shall be able to bestow.

The sheriff is rendered responsible, for this reason, because he is required to produce the body of the defendant, or, on default, to pay the debt. He is, at the same time, obliged to take bail ; and if the plaintiff is pleased with the bail which the sheriff has taken, he accepts from the sheriff the bail-bond by assignment, which clears the sheriff, and enables the plaintiff to proceed against the bail. But we are here told by Mr. Pearce, that it is the common endeavour of the attorneys to fix the sheriff with the debt ; and that this happens so frequently as to be the great cause of the increase of the bailing system.

When this happens, observe what are the consequences : one action is brought against the sheriff for the debt : the sheriff immediately after brings two actions against the bail, one against each ; and the bail may have two actions, one for each, against the defendant. Let us now reckon up : the first action is brought against the real debtor, a second against the sheriff, two against the bail, and two (it may be) by the bail against the defendant ;—*six actions all for one debt!*—the horrid expenses of one action multiplied to six-fold ; and at last thrown with all their accumulated weight upon the head of the unfortunate defendant, if he is able to pay ; if not, the bail remain with the loss both of the debt and the costs. Such is the prolific operation of bail, for which there is no manner of use. Such is the mass of profit which it creates to the law-partnership on the one part ; such is the mass of oppression which it creates to the multitude of its victims on the other ! To the extent of the multiplication which is here pictured out, the evil seldom perhaps, if ever, proceeds ;—the object was to put an extreme case. But the fact is, that the reality is perpetually

usually approximating to the possibility, and very often indeed but little falling short of it. *Three* of these dreadful actions are common practice! and two out of the three are the pure, direct result of the useless burthen of bail to appearance.

Let us follow the unhappy defendant in his course. He is arrested, and taken to a spunging-house or lock-up house. "There," says Mr. Pearce, "the system of extortion begins; and I shall by a series of expositions endeavour to convince the reader that the bailing system is a complete system of extortion, from the high sheriff down to the bailiff's follower." But we may ask of Mr. Pearce why he stops at the high sheriff? Why not go higher still? Is he not aware that the lord chief justice has his profit in the business as well as the high sheriff, or the bailiff's follower? And surely it much more depends upon the lord chief justice to put an end (if he chose) to such a scene.

Mr. Pearce, however, begins with the high sheriff, meaning more particularly of London and Middlesex.

"Previous," says he, "to the high sheriff appointing his under sheriff, he makes a bargain with him—that he shall give him a certain sum of money for the situation, say £000/. or a certain part of the poundage, &c.—but the understanding generally is for a specific sum."

Mr. Pearce continues, "How is the under sheriff to be paid? He and his deputy keep an office, with three or four principal, and fourteen or fifteen clerks to assist; and he is put to considerable personal expenses; and all this is done for him for nothing. An account at the expiration of his under-sheriffalty is rendered by the deputies to him, in which he is not only enabled to pay his purchase money to the high sheriff, but to have something handsome besides."

Thus far the business goes smoothly on: the high sheriff gets something handsome out of his under sheriff; the under sheriff gets something handsome out of his deputy; but out of whom does the deputy get all—all that goes both to himself and his betters? Mr. Pearce both puts the question and answers it.

"How," says he, "do the deputies make it answer? By extortions on the public, and many of them on the poor defendant, as I will proceed to show.

"If a warrant is applied for, on a special writ, the charge is 2s. 6d.; on every common writ, 1s.; for a warrant on a writ of execution against a defendant's goods, 3s.; for the like against his person, 3s.; for every copy of causes or detainers against a prisoner, 2s. 6d.: for every discharge sent to a prisoner, (even if he has got his release regularly signed under the Insolvent Act,) 4s. 6d.; and for every action that there is against him above one, the additional sum of 2s. 6d. each. If a short copy of a writ is wanted, to put
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in ball by, and protect the sheriff, *1s.*; but no responsibility is to attach for its correctness. If a search is made for a defendant in custody out of office hours, and which are only from eleven to three, or on a holiday, the charge is *5s.*, and so on to the end of the chapter. This is independent of the officer's charge of *3s.* or *5s.* sometimes twice a day. The under sheriff could put these into his own pocket; but as great care is taken that the extensive system of the office of the deputy sheriff of the county of Middlesex should not be known to any one but themselves, it is not worth his while, for twelve months, to revolutionize it. Should he attempt the task, he might, within the first six months of his sheriffalty, have good cause to repent; he therefore relies entirely on the deputy sheriff, who commands his office, and makes his own charges, without being amenable to any one."

This passage contains curious matter. The sheriff and under sheriff are temporary officers. But the deputy, the great practical organ, is permanent; and why? Because there are secrets in his office into which it is not for the interest of the under sheriff to pry.

Mr. Pearce is careful to inform us, however, that the deputy sheriff, the gentleman who at present fills the office, is a man of excellent character. It is to us a great satisfaction to hear so. We shall be always happy, if called upon to find fault with the constitution of an office, to be able to separate the character of the individual who fills it. We have no desire, on any occasion, to find fault with character. Institutions are the objects to which we look. Make the institutions good, and there will then be no room for misconduct.

In the city of London there is some little diversity. Instead of the deputy sheriff, there are officers called secondaries, who occupy the deputy's place.

"The secondaries of London," says Mr. Pearce, "act there completely as the under sheriff, or deputy sheriff, of Middlesex does in his county, and take to themselves all the profits. The under sheriff has nothing to do with it. The receipts and disbursements pass through the hands of the secondaries, who indemnify the sheriffs from all consequences, and they look to the officers and their sureties for their own indemnity. They hold the office of perpetual under sheriff, but firmer, if possible, than the deputy sheriff of Middlesex, for the corporation of London now sell the office. There are two secondaries, whose offices used to be held separate; but, at the death of one of them, some years since, the place was purchased by one of the present officers, for his life, by public auction, from the city of London, at the enormous sum of 10,300*l.* and from that period the two offices have been joined together, and, no doubt, a much better thing has been made of it, as there is now no opposition. It is supposed that the profits of this office, for the last ten years, may, at a low average, be put at from 10,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* a year.

"The system of this office is exactly the same as that of the under sheriff of Middlesex. It begins by purchase, and runs through all the subordinate officers, precisely in the manner I have already described.

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"The secondaries make the public pay, as in Middlesex, all they can, *legal or illegal*. There are some differences in the regulations by which this office is regulated and that of Middlesex; and where these are material, I shall endeavour to point them out. There is a trifling variation as to the poundage; for, in order to keep the officers from disputing the secondaries' right to the poundage, the secondaries, some years ago, agreed to give them an eighth, a custom which is continued down to the present time, and the officer now not only enters into the common indemnity-bond, but executes a separate bond also, to account for the poundage.

"The next difference is, they take fees upon all bail-bonds executed in London, which is not the case in Middlesex; the county officer taking his own bonds; and this adds considerably to the expenses of the defendant, on being arrested in London. They have no legal title to it, it is true; but it is universally taken, and generally under a particular regulation, at least up to a certain extent, a pound for every hundred, and frequently more, in proportion to the sum for which a man may be arrested."

We must descend a little lower. We have not yet arrived at a very important personage in this work of exaction,—the sheriff's officer.

His case is singular. He gets no salary—he pays for his office—the law allows him no fee—he gives security to indemnify the sheriff from all consequences—and attends on all public business. How is *he* paid? The following passage from Mr. Pearce explains the mystery:

"How is the sheriff's officer to be paid? He is sent out to the public, to execute his writ of execution, or *feri facias*, against the defendant's goods. The sheriff says, 'poundage is all you can levy for, beyond the debt, and that is mine: you may get what you can. The law allows you nothing; no fee at all; but it is worth your while, notwithstanding, to give me security to a large amount, not only to execute the writ, but to indemnify me from all consequences whatever, and beyond that, to attend on all public business, during the twelvemonth, for nothing, and pay a handsome fee on the day of your appointment besides.'

"Every new officer pays, on his being sealed in, or signing his bond, including the stamp, 50*l.* and every other, annually, 20*l.*

"What is the sheriff's officer to do? He has no resource but in extortion, at least that which is so considered in the eye of the law, though not in a moral point of view, whilst he confines himself only to a fair and reasonable recompense for any accommodation that he may show the defendant, and the risk he runs by granting that accommodation. I say, therefore, that the charge of extortion, of which there is such a universal complaint, lies not against the sheriff's officer only: he may be as good as his various masters, and there are respectable men among them, equally as valuable in their situations in life as the rest of mankind. There are also others, who would be guilty of extortion to any extent, and who rob and plunder the necessitous, and do every thing that is bad. I shall therefore endeavour, presently, to point out to the reader their various manœuvres.

"The best of these officers, from the nature of their daily habits, are not gifted with any superfluity of feeling. If they were, indeed, they would be
very

very unfit for their situation. Although I have known numerous instances of their having been saddled with the debt and costs, in consequence of the lenity they have shown the defendant."

We left the defendant just taken to the spunging-house; in order to show into what sort of hands he had got. We now proceed to show the species of treatment which is there bestowed upon him. Mr. Pearce shall again be our instructive guide.

"The defendant being safely lodged in a spunging-house, begins to reflect upon his situation, and presently wishes to see the master of the house, who is always an officer, and who then receives the warrant from the officer bringing him there, and becomes responsible to him for the defendant; that is, between themselves: both of course are still responsible to the sheriff. This officer, however, is not to be found, though he is perhaps within, or waiting at the public house opposite to see what sort of a customer he has. The defendant is told by the people of the house, he must apply to the officer who brought him there, and who is now gone away, or he must send in the names of his bail regularly to the office. The master of the house is, however, at last seen, perhaps so late in the day that nothing can be done till the next morning. The defendant then states what he wants, and how he purposes getting out. There are various ways; perhaps he purposes to send for his attorney to give an undertaking for him, or gives him names of bail, and, if he likes either, so as to be perfectly satisfied, he will discharge him on the undertaking being given, or the bail-bond executed, upon taking what he calls his regular fees; but if the undertaking or the bail are not of the first order, he does not like the undertaking, nor does he know the bail, though they live next door to him and are unexceptionable. They must be inquired after, and the law allows him twenty-four hours to give his answer. In fact, for the regular fee only, every thing must be as good as in London. They will not say they have any objection; but they move slow. A greater fee, perhaps, may tempt them; when that point is clearly ascertained, whether their usual fees or larger are taken, every thing goes on pleasantly. The more actions that come out on the search the better, as the more fees; and the man gets out in an instant. When a bail-bond is to be executed, however, it frequently happens, though the bail are accepted, and every thing arranged with the officer as to his fees, that one bail is out of town, and will not return till the next day; the other perhaps sends word, that he must consult a friend, or his wife; in which case, he is sure never to go near the place; so that, in fact, though a man can get good bail, yet, from little circumstances, he will be detained there two, three, or four days before it is completed.

"Suppose the defendant is arrested for 15*l.*, no less a fee is ever taken than one guinea by the officer, as his regular civility-fee, and 5*s.* man and search. But that is not sufficient; he tells the defendant, that another officer arrested him, and that he cannot turn him out without a fee for him, though no responsibility whatever attaches upon that officer, the officer at the spunging-house having taken it off his shoulders; nor has he shown the defendant the smallest accommodation, perhaps he has taken him out of his bed and carried him there without allowing him even time to button the knees of his breeches.

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"This is an extortion and oppression in every point of view, although at present treated only as two regular fees, instead of one. But that is not the worst of the grievance, for the defendant is always taken off to the spunging-house. The officer who arrested him, unless something very tempting is offered by the defendant, would rather have his regular fee and no responsibility.

"It must however be complied with, and why? Because the officer is a customer of his, and locks up, as the term is, at his house; and if he lets a man out, without taking care of his brother officer's fees, the next customer goes elsewhere. The charge of the house, the searches, the letters, and messengers, and what defendant has spent in the house, amount to another pound.

"I will now point out what the defendant pays. The writ, as is very commonly the case in term-time, is returnable the next day, or the same day of arrest, in which case, the expenses increase daily, like an overwhelming torrent, and the defendant is compelled to use all his exertion, the next day, to pay the debt and costs, which are as follow :

" Debt	£15	0	0
Lock-up house	1	0	0
Two officers and men	2	12	0
Attorney	1	0	0
Bond (if in London)	1	3	6
Costs of writ	4	4	0
Ditto declaration, rule, &c.	5	0	0
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	£29	19	6

"It frequently happens, that three parties are sued upon the same bill of exchange; but it is every day's practice to sue two of them; and, for the truth of this assertion, I might refer to the Judge's bail-books, and for the costs, to those allowed by the public officer of the court. In that case, there are 14*l.* more costs, should the other defendant happen to be arrested; if not, there are only the costs of the writ or writs, from three to seven guineas, as the case may be. If the debt and costs are not paid, rules are given to return the writs, and to compel the defendant to put in and justify bail. If the first is not put in within four days, an assignment is taken of the bail-bond, if good; the sheriff is then relinquished, (which is the law in that case,) and three separate actions are brought upon the bail-bond, returnable perhaps the next day, and declarations, rules to plead, &c. are all given over again. The defendant therefore has no remedy. He must, by making any sacrifices, either pay the money, or render himself to a prison. In the latter case, the plaintiff loses his debt and all costs, while the defendant also must take care to keep a few notes in his pocket, for it will cost him near 10*l.* by the time that he is safely lodged in the King's Bench prison. This, it may be said, is very hard: but how much harder does it fall upon the poor man, who has no money, but who, for want of it, is under the necessity of going at once to Newgate!

"Upon an average there are 1000 prisoners a year brought to Newgate for debt.

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"The system therefore, in either way, as I have before stated, is cruel itself. I will not, however, enlarge further on the particulars of the system here laid down, as it must be disgusting and tiresome to the reader; but I shall merely state, that it frequently happens that, upon a debt of this description, costs to the amount of 100*l.* are run up in a short space of time, and, in the end, these costs must fall on somebody. I think I have particularized sufficiently to show that it is high time some alteration should take place."

We are persuaded that this representation needs no commentary. Here is a case of a man who is unable to pay 15*l.* and who, in one day, has the debt doubled upon him, by costs. Observe too that this enormous exaction arises upon one action alone. When additional actions grow out of the bailing system, which so naturally and frequently they do, the oppression is proportionally increased.

"I now proceed," says Mr. Pearce, "to describe the spunging-house, which I consider not less material than the rest. With respect to the charges, they have been occasionally regulated by the sheriffs themselves. It is unnecessary, however, to particularize them, as very little attention is paid to that regulation.

"Sir Richard Phillips, in his sheriffalty, took infinite pains in regulating all the departments of the sheriffs, and these among the rest; but such regulations soon drop. With respect to the spunging-houses, indeed, it would not be worth any man's while to keep one, unless he got considerably more from his customer than the law allows him. They will be paid in some way or other.

"If a man eats and drinks (and if he does not, or pay for his meals, they will soon send him off either to Newgate or the Compter,) it will cost him about a pound a day. This includes the different *et ceteras* he may have to pay for, but not wine or spirits; and as to attendance in these places, a prisoner can hardly get any body to move even by paying for it, much less without.

"Should a man wish for a room to himself, or other accommodations, he in all probability can have it, but he must pay handsomely for it.

"A man having passed a gloomy day, towards eleven o'clock the lock-up time comes. The man servant of the house, perhaps the bailiff's follower, comes in, to show the prisoner to his apartments, first having brought in his slate, to collect round, what could not in the course of the day be collected, in ready money. Such as the house, bed, &c. He is then shown to his bed, where one, two, or three others are in the same room, looking shy at each other, for fear of their pockets. The bed room door is double locked, and the keys carried down stairs. Let the reader figure to himself the feelings of a man, a stranger to such a place, when the debt is a just one. But let him consider the hardship of a man's case, when the debt is an unjust one, or where the defendant has fair ground for disputing its justice. Illness, fire, his wife and family at home in the greatest distress, and all his business at a stand. Newgate is a heaven to it, did not the feelings revolt at the idea. In the morning, about nine, the keys are brought up stairs, and the room door is unlocked.

lashed. Perhaps the people of the house are up at six, but the prisoners are less trouble to them in bed; they do not wait their guests till breakfast, the first meal, and that is not ready till nine. The business goes on till night comes round again: and notwithstanding this description and this ceremony, most of the houses are of late much improved from the great influx of business, and people will sometimes stay, and particularly in the long vacation, though most of them are in very confined situations, two, three, or four months, in the hope of getting out, and frequently at last rendered to the King's Bench or Fleet Prisons; and in that case the lock-up house keeper, having drained his customer of all his ready money, and given him a little credit, sometimes gets a bad debt himself. The writ of habeas corpus coming, the defendant must go: he parts from his friends with fair promises, but before he has been in the King's Bench a week, the debt is as desperate a one as the plaintiff's. It is far the preferable mode, unless a man sees his way pretty clear, to take this step immediately, for he can do little in his affairs whilst in confinement in a place of this sort."

The following is one, out of several cases adduced by Mr. Pearce as specimens of the operation of this blessed portion of the law.

"A tradesman having a 10*l.* bill returned to him as an indorser, he put it into his attorney's hands (a near relation of his) to recover the money. The man who paid it him was good, but he had no wish to trouble him. The attorney immediately sued out *bailable* process against two of the indorsers, tradesmen in the city, and both were arrested; he filed a bill against a third indorser, who was an attorney. The parties all went to him together, to see if it was possible to settle the business; the costs however appeared so enormous that nothing could be done: it therefore took its course. The attorney gave a *cognovit* or confession for the debt, and paid six guineas for his costs. —Bail not being justified within the eight days in one of the actions, he took an assignment of the bail-bond, and brought three separate actions against the bail to the sheriff; and, bail not being justified in due time, in the other action he sent an attachment in that action into the sheriff's office, for 3*l.* The plaintiff now having recovered his debt, he proceeded in the other three actions for costs only; and the defendant, in order to save his bail, paid him 20*l.* more, by way of compromise. The expenses run up upon this 10*l.* bill, in the course of a very short time, including those of the defendant, were at least from 70*l.* to 100*l.*"

We cite the following case as an illustration of the mischief when the demand is unjust, and the defendant in reality owes not the sum, for the pretended debt of which he is arrested, and not unfrequently ruined.

"A man invited another to dine with him at an inn, where he was staying in London. After dinner, whilst they were drinking their wine, an officer was introduced, and the visitor arrested for 700*l.* and upwards, at the suit of the person who invited him.—The circumstances were these: the plaintiff and defendant were old friends, and had many money transactions together, but no account had been settled or any acknowledgement given on either

either side. The defendant expostulated at the hardship of the treatment, and begged, at all events, it might be withdrawn, as it would be his inevitable ruin, and expressed his readiness to settle accounts, and that, if any thing was due, he would pay it as soon as he could. The plaintiff, however, said the law must take its course, and that he could not interfere. The defendant was put into a coach and taken off to a spunging-house, with directions to the officer, that he must take nothing but a good bail-bond: he remained there two days, for want of bail. At the expiration of that time, a *habeas corpus* was issued, to take him to the King's Bench prison. A friend, however, happened to go to the spunging-house on other business; and, on hearing the hardship of the case, and that the defendant must inevitably, if he went to prison, give up a situation, which he then held, of 200*l.* a year, and having a wife and five children to support, he with some difficulty got him out, upon paying the officer and the house expenses, which came to about 10*l.*, and within the time allowed, after the return of the writ, he was enabled to justify his bail, in the usual way. This, however, was done with the greatest difficulty, so much so, that an appointment was actually made for him to surrender to the King's Bench prison.

"The cause was proceeded in, and set down for trial, and was then left, by the consent of the parties, to arbitration. The accounts were investigated by the arbitrator, a young man at the bar, who went through them with the greatest minuteness and attention, and he directed, by his award, that a verdict should be given for the defendant. Upon the face of the award there appears even a balance 416*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* due to the defendant from the plaintiff, which it is supposed the arbitrator would have directed to have been paid to him by the plaintiff, but he had not the power to do so. The plaintiff, however, had to pay all the costs both of the cause and the reference, which he did without making any attempt to set it aside. And here I cannot help mentioning the evidence of a gentleman given before the arbitrator, who is in the profession, and has been a clerk in court in the Exchequer of Pleas for upwards of forty years. He was called, on the part of the defendant, to prove that a sum of money was paid by the defendant to him, on the plaintiff's account, for the debt and costs in an action in which the plaintiff had been arrested, and which, of course, the defendant had a right to charge the plaintiff with, if paid by him.

"This gentleman said, that during the whole of his practice he had never considered it necessary, nor had ever sued out a bailable process against any man, unless he considered him a sojourner, a man that was here to-day and gone to-morrow, who had no settled place of residence, lodging at a coffee-house, perhaps, or a man of that description."

From these particulars some sort of conception may be formed of the amount of the mischief which holding to bail cannot but do, the dreadful amount of the mischief which it is always liable to do, and the vast amount of mischief which it is habitually doing. Now what is to be remembered is, that all this mischief is daily and regularly produced for the purpose of taking security that a man shall not run away, when not one man in five thousand would ever think of running away.

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There may be a plea for this mischief on another ground. It may be admitted, that the professed object of the law, in the bailing system, the mere *forthcoming*, or, as it is called in continental law, the *justiciability* of the defendant, is not worth a millionth part of the evil which it produces :—but that the *intent* of the law is not regarded ; and the process which it has established for one purpose, and that a very insignificant one, is employed by the *lawyers* for another purpose, and that a very important one—namely, the extraction of the payment for the plaintiff.

This point requires a little commentary. The obtaining the payment of just debts is an important object—that will not be denied. But Heaven defend the weak from those men who can be contented with the bailing system, as means for the accomplishment of that end !

When any end is sought to be obtained, the proper consideration is, What are the means, by which, with most benefit, or least evil, it is capable of being effected ? If a good end is sought to be obtained by means productive of a huge mass of evil, when it might be obtained by means which would produce very little ; that sort of course is pursued by which a great part of the evil which hitherto has oppressed mankind, has been entailed upon the race—that course in which villainy has in all ages found it most safe and profitable to pursue its own gratification.

For the compulsory payment of debt, where compulsion is required, the course which justice and right reason point out is obvious in the highest degree. Let the debtors be immediately called before the judge, which may be done at scarcely any expense ; let proof of the debt be given, which in the great majority of cases may also be done at very little expense ; and then let the judge order whatever acts of coercion the law prescribes. What are the acts of coercion most fit to be prescribed, is a matter of some difficulty to determine, and at present we have no occasion to undertake the inquiry. One thing in the mean time is certain, that it ought to be as little expensive as possible.

It will, at any rate, be granted to be a primary canon of justice, that coercion, for the payment of debt, should not be applied without the decision of the judge : that one man should not, at his own pleasure, have the power of applying coercion to another ; because that is to open a door to all manner of injustice, cruelty, and oppression. This injustice, this cruelty, this oppression, is incurred, by allowing the bailing system to be made use of as the instrument of coercion for the payment of debt. It is a coercion applied totally independent of the judge ; not only without the decision, but without the knowledge of any judge. . It is a coercion which may
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be applied with perfect safety, and is habitually applied with perfect safety, to individuals not indebted to the plaintiffs in a single farthing. It is surely needless to say any thing which has for its object to excite a lively idea of the enormity of this extraordinary case. The bare enunciation of the fact, that in England a man may employ the system of coercion allowed for the recovery of debt whenever he pleases, without the intervention of any judge,—is quite sufficient. The stranger who should hear this averred of any nation, of the name of which he was not informed, would suppose that he was hearing an averment respecting some nation of barbarians; a people as yet too far sunk in ignorance and ferocity to be capable of establishing or enduring a regular administration of law.

To have a just conception, however, of this most astonishing portion of English law, it is necessary to bear in the mind two things—both that the coercion is *extra-judicial*, applied not *after* evidence and decision, but *before* them; and also that it is oppressive in a manner and to a degree which outrage both policy and humanity. In the first place it operates to a destruction of the property of the defendant, which in the case of a poor man, that is; in the case of the far greater portion of those against whom it is applied, must be altogether ruinous. That is to say, it is so oppressive as to bring upon the greater portion of those against whom it is applied, the extremity of misfortune. It is, in this manner, calculated to defeat the very end which, according to pretence, it has in view—namely, payment to the plaintiff. The man to whom it is exceedingly difficult to pay 15*l.*, when 15*l.* or perhaps a great deal more is added to it by law charges, finds himself reduced to a state of total inability to pay; and his creditor loses every chance of recovery. Upon the ground of experience, this accordingly is the general result. But if the bailing system procures not payment from the defendant, what does it do? It extorts money from the necessitous in vast quantities, to enrich with it the whole tribe of law agents, from the lord chief justice down to the bailiff's follower!

But it is not merely the exhaustion of their property which this system of coercion inflicts upon its unhappy victims. It robs them of their personal liberty; shuts them up without a moment's warning in a prison; drags them from their suffering families; drags them away from that superintendence of their business on which more than any thing payment of their creditors must depend; from that superintendence without which, perhaps, the business, and with it the very subsistence of them and their families, may be lost. This—all this, is done, without the intervention of any judge. A mass of suffering, which would not be justifiable as a punishment,
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for any but some of the most destructive crimes, after ample proof and judicial decision, is daily inflicted in England, without proof, and without judicial decision, by any man upon any other man whom he chooses to represent as 15*l.* in his debt.

We daily hear it ostentatiously boasted, that it is the privilege of Englishmen, secured to them by their most venerated charters, that not an individual of them can have his liberty taken away without the judgement of his peers. Alas! how far is the matter of *fact* from corresponding with this delusive boast! A number of Englishmen are deprived of their liberty—a number so great, that of all the rest of them who are deprived of their liberty, the number sinks into insignificance on the comparison—not only without the judgement of their peers, but without any judgement at all! It would not, we are well assured, be going too far to assert, that if all the individuals, in all the countries of Europe, who are imprisoned without judicial decision, were taken together, the number of those who are so imprisoned in England would surpass them all.

To what degree this unparalleled system of coercion for the recovery of debt, is ill adapted to the end, to which, according to pretence, it is directed—namely, payment of the debt—a few particulars adduced by Mr. Pearce will give a practical conception.

At p. 16, he says, “The more common way now is”—namely the more common way now pursued by a party held to bail—“after staying in the spunging-house a certain number of days, and finding he can neither raise money, security, nor bail—which, perhaps, he could do, if at large—to make up his mind to go to a prison; and from that moment *it is fifty to one if the plaintiff can get a shilling.*”—In that class of cases which is here represented as the most common, it is stated to be as fifty to one that the plaintiff gets any thing but the lawyers to pay!

In another passage, in the following page, our author says, “When the defendant is forced to the desperate remedy of surrendering himself to a prison, whatever money he is possessed of, instead of being paid in part of the plaintiff’s demand, is appropriated to the purpose of paying the necessary *law expenses of getting himself into prison*, and the support of himself and family whilst there: the payment of the debt is then entirely given up, and every day the defendant stops in prison, the more desperate the plaintiff’s demand becomes.”

In fact, Mr. Pearce affirms that this process is an instrument for cheats and oppressors, who frequently make it available to their own purposes, while it is of very little use to the fair and honest creditor. It does, he allows, in some cases, though few in comparison, produce payment; and we have already seen the deplorable

able sacrifices, both of property and character, which for that purpose are apt to be made. Now comes the important fact: "It is not," says Mr. Pearce, "the fair-dealing, but the mercenary tradesman who generally benefits by this." The particulars are supported by their own evidence. In the greater portion of cases, the dreadful amount of law charges absorbs the property which afforded to the creditor any hope of payment: in some case the extremity of the pressure pushes the defendant upon desperate courses to procure his liberty: but of these cases it is not the honest man, but the rogue, who commonly takes the benefit.

Besides the general course of hardship, there are particular occasions on which the process is rendered more than usually oppressive. Some of them are specified by Mr. Pearce in the following words.

"A defendant is frequently arrested on the return day, which is a great hardship; and no harm could be done to the plaintiff by preventing that, as the only consequence would be, the making the return longer. The hardship is as follows: There is no time to get the bail-bonds completed, and the sheriff has no power, after the return day, to take the bail. The bond, therefore, must be completed on the same day, or the defendant must stay in custody, and give forty-eight hours notice of bail. But even that is not permitted in London: there the defendant is taken to the Compter, the secondary insisting upon it, that no man shall be kept in custody after the return of the writ; and nothing saves him, excepting the payment of the debt and costs, or the money being lodged under Lord Moira's Act.

"In Middlesex the officer will keep him the eight days in the spunging-house, even after the return; but, if taken in execution, the defendant must go to gaol, of course, either in London or Middlesex.

"Again, if a defendant happen to be arrested a day or two before the change of the sheriffs, which, of course, is done annually, he has great difficulty indeed of getting out. The officers will arrest you, notwithstanding, on the very day of the change, and this circumstance is an excuse for their not hurrying themselves. A man is frequently kept in custody, on this account, whilst the transfer of the prisoners from one sheriff to another is making out, and in general taken to Newgate.

"Again, if a man is arrested in London, and taken to a spunging-house, the officer dare not let him out until a bail-bond is signed, without risk of being suspended. Why? Because, if he does, and the debt and costs are paid, the secondary is deprived of his fee on the bail-bond. But why should he have it? He takes no responsibility until the bail-bond is executed; and why should the defendant be deprived of the great accommodation of getting out, and the officer be punished for taking a fee, which the defendant is perfectly satisfied in paying, and for no other reason, but that a further illegal fee may be extorted by the secondaries?

"The oppression is extremely great: suppose a man is arrested late in the evening, or on a Saturday evening, which is frequently the case, the names of the bail cannot in that case be given in, much less inquired after, till Monday morning, and perhaps the man will not be able to get out before

Tuesday;

Tuesday; and, if the officer chooses to run the risk and give him his liberty, contrary to the inclinations of the secondaries, the officer is sure to incur censure; for, if the defendant is seen out, or an attachment comes to the office, the irregularity is then discovered. The secondary says, the officer had no business to let him out without a bond; and in consequence of this difficulty, respectable men are frequently kept in custody, in London, two or three days, and cannot be released till the bond is signed; nor can the secondary be bribed."

After treating of London, Middlesex, and Surry, the principal counties, Mr. Pearce says a few words respecting the state of the business in other counties.

"I do not mean," says he, "to include the high sheriffs of counties: the system has not quite reached them; but who can tell how soon it may? it *may perhaps have found its way even to their superiors.*"

"If we look round the neighbouring counties, we shall not only find, as in London and Middlesex, the under sheriffs generally the same men, but in the county of Surry, the same under sheriff for twenty years together, and always the same deputy sheriff, as well as in the counties of Kent and Essex. The same system prevails, and they act exactly upon the same principles as in London and Middlesex, except trifling variations of practice, and fees of allowance to the officers. If a man is arrested at Maidstone, or Gravesend, and tenders the debt and costs, or the debt, and 10*l.* for the costs, under Lord Moira's Act, he cannot get discharged until a search is made at the deputy sheriff's office, Middlesex, though he may even lose his voyage by such detention. No person can doubt the illegality of it, or that the object is to make the defendant pay for the search and discharge, and not merely for the protection of the sheriff. In Surry a man is detained two or three hours more than is necessary, until a search is made, the deputy sheriff choosing to have his office in Middlesex, instead of his own county where it ought to be. The search is made for the protection of the sheriff, though at the expense of the defendant's liberty and pocket. It appears, therefore, but reasonable that his accommodation should in some measure be considered also."

Observe that Mr. Pearce here says, "The system may perhaps have found its way even to the *superiors*" of the high sheriffs. If by the *system*, he means, the practice of drawing profit, like the sheriffs, out of the expenses extorted from the suffering victims of process, he might have spoken a little more confidently. The judges do, and always have extracted great profits out of these expenses; and the greater the height to which the abuses of the process are carried, the greater still are the profits of the judges. Were the abuses of it—and it is all over but one great abuse—cut off, the judges would lose a great source of gain. The most authentic intelligence we have on the interest which the judges still possess in the increase of law charges, was communicated by that highly important committee of the house of commons, of which the late Speaker of the house was chairman, and which reported on finance

in 1798. The result is thus shortly and forcibly expressed by Mr. Bentham. "Fees thus rendered the matter of corruption. Various channels, some open, some more or less disguised, through which this matter has been taught to flow, into the pocket and bosom of the judge. Examples:—Receipt *propiâ manu*;—Sale of a fee-yielding office for full value;—Fine, or *bonus*, on admission;—Fee-yielding office given in lieu, and to the saving of the expense, of other provision, for a son, or other near relation, he doing the duty, or else not doing the duty, but paying a deputy;—Fee-yielding office given, or the profit of it made payable, to persons standing as trustees for a principal, declared, or undeclared; if undeclared, supposed, of course, to be the judge himself*."

In the case supposed of the man arrested at Gravesend, we see a specimen, of the mode in which, in particular instances, business is made for the sake of extorting fees; and for the sake of these mischievous fees, to what hardships individuals are daily exposed.

The spunging-house system is not much carried on in the country, because the officer would not find his account in it. The system of bribery, however, is rather more safe in the country than in town. This is a part of the business of which it is fit the reader should have some conception. It is thus described by Mr. Pearce:

"For instance, where a man is now and then visited by a bailiff, he tells him he had better drop him a line, should any writ come against him. This is what they call doing the business pleasantly and like gentlemen: he does so, and the defendant immediately returns him his fee by letter, saying, that he shall see him soon; or, if he goes to him, they talk the matter over. The defendant says it will suit him better a short time hence: the officer tells him, there is no occasion to hurry it, that he will manage it for him a fortnight or so; and that he supposes all is right: meaning, that the debt and costs are intended to be paid. The defendant replies in the affirmative, and the officer writes to his employer, previous to the return, that he has not been able to arrest the defendant, and desires another writ to be sent with a longer return, as he is rather shy. Another fee is taken, and another and another, doubled, perhaps, each time; and, when the plaintiff's attorney becomes pressing and threatens to put it into the hands of another officer, or complaints come from the sheriff's office, the officer lays hold of the defendant without any notice whatever, and will not suffer him to depart without the debt and costs are paid, or a good bail-bond procured. He begins to think he may get into a scrape, he then takes his regular fee, of two or four guineas, as the case may be, which he has not yet had, and applies for his legal caption fee, one guinea in London. And here I cannot help observing, they are better collected than by an officer in London, Middlesex, or Surry; because they are not so much dependent upon their employers. Many of the attorneys put the officers off from time to time, and, if hard pressed, they tell them

* Scotch Reform, p. 8.

plainly, it is enough for them to give them business, they don't expect to be inconvenienced about fees. The officers, of course, know their customers; but, on an average, they do not get one fee out of three.

"In London and Middlesex, the officers are more nice; for, after being bribed from time to time, they will not arrest the defendant at all: it hurts their feelings. But he is arrested by another officer, and then told by the first, that his employer was so displeased with him, that it was taken out of his hands. Bribery, therefore, is the worst system a man can adopt, unless he means to be off; for the officer is otherwise too deep for him. It ends in an enormous expense and exposure, and comes to the same thing at last. This is the way the officers get their money, by keeping the defendants out of prison, not by putting them in. When they go into confinement, one fee more only remains to be had, and that a very small one in comparison.

"I shall now say a few words about the lock-up houses themselves, in the neighbouring counties.

"It is not worth an officer's while, in counties, to trouble himself with a lock-up house; he therefore takes a couple of rooms, barred, at one of the principal towns, the most central; and in one of the neighbouring counties, it is like the cage in a country town, and the persons in it are stared at by the populace and every stage-coach passenger that passes.

"In another neighbouring county there is a lock-up house, worse still, if possible. One room, under ground, in which the prisoners are locked in, all day, as well as all night, (in their bed-room,) excepting meal times. By ringing the bell, they may get out for a little time, but they are soon locked up again."

It may be of some use to assist in letting the public know that the officers may always be prosecuted for extortion. We shall insert the following passage from Mr. Pearce, which however might have been more satisfactory.

"An action for extortion is the only check that can be kept upon the officer, and if it was more frequently brought than it is, it would be of great service to the public. I mean when they really extort and take exorbitant fees. A man's own feelings, who gives to the officer, can best tell him what is right on such an occasion. There is no risk, certainly, in bringing the action, for the officer always returns the money and pays all costs immediately; he knows he has not the smallest chance to resist it; and, I need not add, there can be nothing dishonourable in so doing."

It would have been desirable, had Mr. Pearce informed us, what is expressly directed by the law, to be paid to the officer;—for *every farthing* beyond that, is extortion, and ought to be punished. In one passage, p. 25, he says "the law allows the officer nothing; no fee at all." But in another passage, p. 67, he speaks of "the legal caption fee of the officer—one guinea in London." If this guinea *be* legal, it appears that nothing more is legal: all besides is extortion, and ought to be punished. But when he recommends to bring an action, he should have mentioned the money which is requisite to bring an action; and how many of those whom the

In truth, no sufferings can be conceived more intolerable than those of many a prisoner confined in former times in the gaols of the Peninsula.* In a moist, miserable and dreary dungeon, oppressed with heavy chains, without a book to console him by day, without even a handful of straw on which to stretch himself at night; supplied with bad and insufficient food; shut out from all notice, from all sympathy, and in the hands of those whose hearts were as cold and as hard as the walls that inclosed him—what situation can be more terrible? The writer once noticed, on the walls of a Spanish prison, an admirable picture, drawn with charcoal, of an old and exhausted victim (pourtayed perhaps by the sufferer himself), his beard unshorn, his body wasted, his countenance betokening despair, his fetters insupportable; and beneath were these lines:—

“O deem not, in a world like this,
That the worst suffering is to die!
No; dying were a privileged bliss
To the tired sons of misery.”†

And to *such* sons of misery, death must have been a blessing.

Immediately after the re-establishment of the Constitutional Government in Spain, the first Cortes occupied themselves in ap-

* An extract from a recent publication on Prisons, by Dr. Jacobo Villanova y Jordan, one of the Spanish Judges, may here be added:

“In 1814, the King, for the first time, visited the prisons of Madrid. At this period those frightful chains were in use, which he ordered to be destroyed. There, also, were to be seen the cells, under ground, destitute of ventilation, where, to the ruin of health and morals, many poor wretches were obliged to sleep together, and respire the most impure and noisome atmosphere; and the courts whence, at the close of day, legions of immense rats issue forth, spreading into every corner, robbing the poor prisoner of his scanty allowance, and disturbing his rest. The criminal, the lover, and the murderer, the debtor and the robber, the forger and the ruffian, were herded indiscriminately together, and he who was guiltless, along with them. Among the keepers, some were found who hardly knew the persons of their prisoners. In the prison called the Town Gaol (which is shortly to be abolished, and the prisoners sent to that termed “De la Corte,”) there was a square room, about eight yards in length, and nine feet high; it was entered by an extremely dark and narrow passage, at each end of which were two doors. The prisoner confined within this space never saw the light of heaven. The pavement was of sandstone, and in the centre there was an iron collar, with a chain to confine the prisoner down to it. Although I have not seen the *grillera* of this gaol, I imagine it was as bad, or even worse than that of the Town Gaol. It was an instrument used for torture, for such prisoners as did not confess, to compel them to do so.”

† “No es verdad que la muerte,
Sea el mas malo de los males;
Es un alivio de los mortales
Que son causados de penar.”

plying remedies to some of the most obvious evils of the prison system. They speedily decreed, that no prisoner whatever should, on any pretence whatever, be confined in any unwholesome or subterraneous dungeon, or in any place not visited by the natural light of day. They also ordered, that no chains or fetters of any sort should, on any occasion, be employed; and it was no small satisfaction to us, in our progress through Spain, to witness the destruction of those dismal cells which had been the scenes of so much calamity. The Cortes proceeded to form a Prison Committee, whose attention is especially directed to the state of the Spanish gaols; and several writers have sprung up, who have been directing the public attention to the subject, and who have excited a spirit of inquiry, and a desire of useful exertion throughout the Peninsula. Several of the public journals have lent themselves cheerfully to the important object; and that anxiety for information, which is the herald of benevolent action, is most remarkable in every quarter. In most of the towns in Spain, the prisons are placed under the inspection of citizens elected by the popular suffrages; and their attention to their charges has greatly tended to stop the arbitrary proceedings which had been sanctioned, as it were, by the habits of centuries.

Don Jacobo Villanova, now a Judge at Valencia, proposed to the Cortes the adoption of Mr. Bentham's Panopticon plan of a prison, with sundry modifications. His scheme was referred to the Prison Committee, who requested a Report from the Royal Society of Madrid. That Report being favourable, the Committee proposed that in all the capitals of the kingdom, and in all the towns in which there resides a Judge of the first rank,—viz. between three and four hundred—prisons shall be constructed on the central inspection plan, of a size suited to the population, in which security, ventilation, salubrity, and an abundance of water, shall be provided for; that these prisons shall be constructed remote from all other buildings, and at the extremity of the towns or cities referred to. They declare that the government of a prison shall be deemed honorary, and be given to military officers—in the provinces, captains—in the capital, colonels—whose salary shall be, in Madrid, 24,000 rials*; in the chief towns, 16,000 rials†; in the small towns, 10,000 rials‡; and that he shall be personally responsible for the security and discipline of the prisoners, and for carrying into effect the prison regulations. The magistrates shall elect all other officers of the prison, and shall form the regulations, which must be submitted to the Government for approval. They propose that all prison fees whatever shall be abolished; that there

* About £240.

† About £160.

‡ About £100.

shall be classification dependent on age, crimes, signs of penitence, &c.; that the untried shall not be confounded with the condemned; that labour shall be introduced, the severity of which shall depend on the character of the crime, and other circumstances connected with the criminal; that a committee be appointed for visiting the prisons, and for seeing that the proposed regulations be carried into effect.

The Committee of the Cortes introduce the subject with the following melancholy details, in which there is no exaggeration, nor attempt to delude.

The prisons of Spain, beginning with those of Madrid, are horrible caverns, in which it is impossible that health should be long preserved. It seems impossible that men should ever have been found so fierce and inhuman as to construct such edifices for their fellow-men. But if this appear incredible, how much more so is it that in the nineteenth century these dwellings should be still kept up—the shame and the execration of humanity? Dark dungeons, without light or air, are found in the two prisons of Madrid, of the *Corte* and of the *Villa*;—nothing but a miserable and insufficient ration provided for human beings;—condemned to live for years in utter darkness;—breathing mephitic air;—hearing nothing but the noise of bolts and fetters;—having no companions but the swarms of vermin which cover the walls of their gloomy abode, which incessantly prey upon their persons;—and condemned to sleep upon a mat, covered with a few filthy rags.

The doom of those who occupy the courts is hardly better. Exposed through the day to the intemperance and inclemency of the seasons; lazy; wearied with their own existence; obliged constantly to listen to oaths and curses, grossness and obscenity—they suffer in an earthly hell—and to them the terrible denunciations of religion can have no anticipated terrors. And if in the day their fate is horrible, by night it is worse. Condemned to subterraneous dungeons, damp and full of vermin, shut out from the common air—these are the scenes of their repose; and the hour which brings to other mortals rest and sleep, prepares for them only mortification, shame, and misery.

Such is the gloom and insalubrity of the prisons of the kingdom. In Andalusia, there is not one which humanity can approve. Of the 1,285 towns of the Chancelleria of Valladolid, only 167 have safe and wholesome prisons*, so that 1,118 towns are without prisons, or possess such as are unhealthy and insecure; and almost all are without sufficient means of subsistence. In Grenada there

* This is said by way of contrast; there is no prison that can be called wholesome.

are but twenty-two prisons which can be called capacious, secure, and tolerably salubrious: there are four hundred and ninety-one small, insecure prisons, dependent on charity. Those of Galicia are in the worse condition. In Asturias, there is not one which is safe, or which possesses the means of serving food to the prisoners. In Estramadura, there are only a few, and those unhealthy. In Arragon, the only secure and healthy prisons are those of Alcaniz, Calatayud, and Zaragoza; the rest are so bad, that it is impossible to say which is the worst among them; and there are 1,280 towns and villages without any prison. In the whole kingdom of Valencia, where there are a million of inhabitants, there is scarcely one secure and wholesome prison. In Catalonia, there are many districts without prisons; the number of tolerably safe and healthy prisons is forty-five; but they have no funds for the maintenance of the criminals: but the prisons of the Balearic Isles are worse than all. They are *mazmorras* (Moorish dungeons), and holes, where the stench, the humidity, and want of air, have caused more mortality than the most virulent pestilence.

The loss of liberty, and the punishment imposed by the law, are surely enough for the unfortunate criminal. What right has society, by its neglect or indifference, to superadd these horrors; to confirm all that is atrocious in vice; to eradicate every thing that is left of virtue; to mingle the swindler with the homicide; the young and timid practitioner with the old and daring and irreclaimable criminal; and in a situation where, to do them any justice, every individual prisoner requires an individual guard?

It is, indeed, high time that such scenes of outrage should exist no longer; that such horrors should be blotted from the very memory of man. It is, indeed, high time that the light of civilization should penetrate those deadly dungeons—dungeons unvisited as yet by the pure light of day, or the beams of the vivifying sun.

For the Cortes this work was reserved, and to them its glory will belong; and it will bear their memory down to future grateful generations. "Is it possible," said some of the prisoners in the Madrid gaol, to one of the committee who visited them, "is it possible that the fathers of the country are already assembled in the sanctuary of the laws, and that they will not meliorate our situation? We ask no pardon for our crimes; * we will suffer with resignation the penalties of the law; but why this unnecessary bitterness

* When the writer was at Seville, the following verses were put into his hands by the prisoners, in which the same sentiments are expressed, but in language less polished:—

V. S. condecorados
A esta carcel an benido
Que asin podran deshalido

Imploran

terness—why these anticipated punishments, worse than death itself? If crimes have made us responsible to the law, if error, if ignorance, if a defective education, have dragged us into crimes, it is just that we should pay the price of our excesses; but it is not just that we should be treated with inhumanity and barbarity. Whatever our crimes have been, we were born men, and ought still to be looked on with the respect due to human nature. We are Spaniards! Our blood is your blood;—we are of one religion with you;—we are part of our country's great family." The committee could not but sympathize with such expressions of misery; they request that Government do immediately meliorate the state of the prisons, giving ventilation to the apartments, abolishing all subterranean dungeons; and they recommend the adoption of the central inspection plan; that the prisoners be always within sight; that no light and air be wanting; that there be a classification of crimes and sexes; that the internal arrangements be simplified; that idleness be succeeded by industry; that food, cleanliness, and clothing be provided for the prisoners; and that every prison contain an apartment for the arrested before committal, a hall of audience, an hospital, and a chapel.

Hitherto, by a barbarous and criminal custom, the prisons of Spain have been a pecuniary possession, let out to the best bidder, who, in the ill-treatment and exactions on the prisoners, made their fortunes by the miseries they created. The taxes on entering, for exemptions from irons, for better or worse apartments, and on leaving the prison, made the criminal the victim of injustice in innumerable forms.

In this spirit of humanity, did the committee discharge their

Imploran Buena piedad.
Buena liberalidad,
Creo no a de permitir,
Dejar los presos salir;
De nuestro bien desairado,
Antes hiran remediado
Los infelices de aqui.

Lo dice un Desgraciado Forastero. Q. S. M. B. G. P.

Ye chosen ones, whose footsteps bend
In mercy toward this prison cell,
Where we, the sons of sorrow, dwell;
Your pity to our accents lend.

We dare not ask for liberty,
However liberal ye may be;
But we will hope your generous care
Will feel our wants, and hear our prayer,
And soothe the prisoner's misery.

Drawn up by an Unfortunate Foreigner.

duty.

duty. Their names deserve to be recorded.—Vargas Ponce, Ramos Arispe, Alvarez Guerra, Villanueva, Priego, Canabal, Navarro, Ugarte, and Isturiz. The multiplicity of business which crowded on the Cortes, prevented the adoption or the discussion of their plan; but the present Cortes will be engaged ere long in carrying into effect the benevolent schemes of their predecessors.

We will now venture to give some details respecting the prisons at Madrid, Cordova, Seville, Cadiz, and Lisbon.

MADRID.

The great prison at Madrid is called *La Carcel de la Corte*. It was originally built by Philip IV. in 1636; but the greater part of the edifice, which was employed as a prison, was destroyed by fire in 1791, and rebuilt in 1792, when the Salvador Convent was added to it. It is situated in the midst of the capital, surrounded by streets, which are composed of very high houses, from whence communication may be held with many of the cells. The form of the prison, which occupies a large space, is wholly irregular, and its internal arrangements are ill adapted to its objects, for which indeed only a part of it was originally intended. The general average of prisoners is about three hundred, though it might be made to contain five hundred. In August, 1821, there were only two hundred and seventy, of whom seventeen were women.

There are two yards, one of which has rather a handsome appearance, being supported by pillars, and having colonnades and arches. It is paved, and occupied by the industrious part of the prisoners. The other yard is damp and unwholesome. In each of the yards there is a cistern of good water. Till very lately, the state of the privies was most intolerable; but arrangements are now being carried into effect for cleaning them, and for their removal from the rooms occupied by the prisoners. The walls and passages are all exceedingly neglected; they are covered with filth and vermin. There is no arrangement made for washing or cleaning the interior of the prison, except an order that it shall be swept weekly: but the state of the apartments is as bad as can be conceived. The situation of every prisoner depends not at all on his crimes, but on his purse. Twenty-five to thirty dollars are paid by every individual to the gaoler for removal to the better apartments, and this sum is exacted, whether the imprisonment be for a day, or for life. In this way all crimes become confounded, and the assassin or the robber, who have retained the profits of their crimes, are blended with individuals confined for misdemeanours or political offences. The chiefs of banditti, for example, imprisoned for ten years or for life, were found in the same apartment with respectable public writers, as yet untried and uncondemned.

The

The prisoners pass the whole of the day in the *patios*, or courts. This is universal in Spain, and accords with the climate and with the habits of the people, who are always accustomed to spend the greater part of the day in the open air. They leave their night-rooms at sun-rise, and return to them at sun-set. The night-rooms are close, even to suffocation. Many of them had formerly no light: windows have been introduced since the decree of the Cortes: the light is, however, very insufficient. There is little ventilation, and the stench is intolerable. Oil is allowed for light till midnight; the daily quantity for the whole prison is 2½ pounds. From thirty to forty individuals sleep in the same apartment. No bedding or straw is provided; but the prisoners sleep on raised places, formed by bricks, about a foot high, two feet wide, and six feet long!

As many of the religious orders in Spain interest themselves particularly in the relief of the infirm and diseased, the sick prisoners seem generally to obtain prompt attention. An apothecary and surgeon are in daily attendance, who make reports to the *Ayuntamiento*, when they deem it necessary. In case of insanity, the prisoner is removed to the lunatic-infirmary.

The salary of the gaoler is 15 rials, = 3s. sterling per day. He has also the money paid for admission into the privileged apartments, and a fee exacted from the prisoners when they leave the prison, which is called the *carceleria*. The abolishment of these perquisites, and an equivalent increase of the gaoler's salary, it is understood, is about to be introduced. Formerly, the gaoler was allowed to claim 30 rials, = 6s. for the privilege of wearing no fetters, and 25 doubloons, = 15*l.* for an admission into the better apartments of the prison. There are no printed regulations for the government of the prison, nor has the gaoler any other than verbal instructions from the *Ayuntamiento**. He visits the prison thrice a day: he is a married man, but his wife takes no part of the duties of his office. The other officers of the prison are:—

Three turnkeys, paid 8½ rials per day, = 20*d.*

One key-keeper 5 12*d.*

Two turnkeys of the passages 3½ 8½*d.*

Three messengers 11 quartos 4*d.*

A water-bearer, himself a prisoner, who is paid 2 rials = 5*d.*
and one sweeper, who receives 1 rial, or 2½*d.* per day.

The number of prisoners who have entered the two prisons of

* The gaols in Spain are now wholly under the direction of the *Ayuntamientos*, or corporate bodies, who are annually chosen by the whole body of the citizens, and of whom the *alcalde*, or mayor, is the president. They choose among themselves a prison committee, who attend weekly at the prison, and sometimes more frequently at Madrid; and the whole *Ayuntamiento* visit the prison four times a-year, at fixed periods.

Madrid in the year 1821 is about 1,400. Of these, only a small part have been confined in the Carcel de la Corona, and it is now intended only to employ the larger prison, or the Carcel de la Corte.

The daily ration of every prisoner is one pound of bread, six ounces of garbanzos (large peas), and a certain allowance of oil, salt, and wood, to the whole prison. The daily cost of every individual is 40 maravedis, = 3*d*.

In the year 1799, a charitable association was formed in Madrid, under the title of "El Buen Pastor," "the Good Shepherd," for alleviating the situation of the prisoners, and for introducing habits of industry. Hitherto all labour is voluntary. The earnings of the prisoners in the two prisons at Madrid amounted to 37,347 Rs.* of which 21,163 Rs. were paid to them in money, and the rest in extra rations, or clothing. For the latter the Ayuntamiento make no provision. The only manufacture introduced hitherto is that of the esparto, or bassweed, which is used in Spain to a great extent for mats, ropes, sandals, &c.

This society's annual accounts state, that the following sums have been received in the year 1821 :—

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Ms.</i>
Voluntary subscriptions	5,693	.. 12
Collected by domiciliary visits	1,954	.. 16
Religious observances (jubileo)	1,133	.. 21
Alms in various churches	3,074	.. 6
Individual donations	61,879	.. 20
Produce of manufactures sold	58,159	.. 4
Previous balance	100,003	.. 21

Rs. 231,888 .. 32†

THEIR EXPENSES.

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Ms.</i>
Purchase of esparto, for manufacturing 4,964 arrobes, = 1,241 cwt.	19,737	.. 10
Paid to prisoners for labour	21,163	.. 32
Extra rations to ditto	7,546	.. 10
Clothing to ditto	8,636	.. 25
Salaries to the clerks and officers of the charity	16,537	.. —
Presents to the officers of the gaols.	1,260	.. —
Extra expenses, warehouses, fumigations, &c.	6,915	.. 21

Rs. 81,796 .. 30†

* *Rs.* 100 = 20*s.* sterling.

† Equal to about £2,319.

† Equal to £818.
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The quantity of manufactures sold to the public, in 1821, is stated to be :—

- 1,167 pieces of matting.
- 119 half pieces of ditto.
- 382 made into coverings for rooms.
- 340 arroyos of waste esparto.

There is no watchman at night, but an armed force is always kept in the prison: escapes are very rare, and almost impracticable without subornation. In 1821, no individual escaped.

On the arrival of a prisoner, he is placed in a solitary apartment of the prison, remote from the rest, where he is kept till his final examination, and the drawing up the bill of indictment, which, by a decree of the Cortes, must be prepared within twenty-four hours after his arrest: his person is searched, and he is allowed, on the payment of a certain sum, to enter the better apartments of the prison. The time of admission of the prisoners' friends is from nine to one, and from four till sun-set. The communication is through two gratings, at the distance of two or three feet, and between them is always posted a guard, or some officer of the prison. No admission is granted to the interior but by order of the Ayuntamiento, or of the prison committee. We could not ascertain the per-centage of those who return to the prisons of Madrid for new offences after being discharged; but it is concluded, from very imperfect data, they amount to from ten to fifteen per cent. There, as in every part of Spain, the state of the prisons has a most baneful effect upon conduct and character. A prison is a moral pest-house, a lazaretto, where no means are used to guard against the ravages of contagion. Gaming, robbery, and bloody disputes, are of constant occurrence. A majority of the prisoners, we were assured, can read and write, though generally very imperfectly.

Classification, and every thing connected with moral discipline, have been almost wholly neglected. There are no means of instruction, few motives to industry, still fewer to reform. Mass is said on Sundays and saints' days. The chapel is handsome and commodious: the ecclesiastic is paid for his service at so much per mass, and is called in when the criminal wishes to confess: but we have no where seen (and yet we are far from denying its existence because we have not seen) any active anxiety to communicate religious counsel, or to administer religious consolation, except when the criminal is doomed to public execution: then, indeed, nothing can be more striking than the unwearied, the sleepless zeal of the Spanish ecclesiastics, and the efforts they make to give the terrible and final scene the most affecting and effective solemnity. It may not be amiss to remark here, that the mode of execution in Spain—the *garrote*, or strangling with an iron collar

—seems

—seems to be almost instantaneous, and consequently humane, and unaccompanied with the horrible associations which connect themselves with the sometimes lingering execution of the gallows, and the dismembering operation of the guillotine. In Spain, executions are happily very rare.

The present construction of the prison at Madrid is very unfavourable to any radically meliorating changes; but the present prison-committee seem honestly and sincerely at work, and are at considerable expense in erecting new apartments, and introducing improvements in the internal arrangements. It is ardently to be desired, especially considering the large space of ground which the prison occupies,—its situation in the capital and centre of the kingdom,—its being immediately under the eye and influence of the Government and the Cortes,—that Madrid should be fixed on as the spot for carrying into immediate effect the benevolent schemes of the Spanish legislature. That legislature is, we believe, inclined to co-operate with the Prison-discipline Society of this country, and with our other philanthropic societies, in every plan of public utility; and how important is it to strengthen inter-national sympathies by all the impulses of humanity and beneficence!

CORDOVA.

This prison has been in many respects improved since the establishment of the Constitution. It is a large and imposing building, situated on the borders of the Guadalete, at a small distance from the city. It is ample in extent and security, possessing a great number of unappropriated apartments, but is unprovided with sufficient attendants.

The building was erected by the Moors during their possession of Spain, and was one of their castles. It afterwards became the seat of the Inquisition, and continued to be employed for this purpose till the overthrow of that horrid tribunal. Only two individuals, very old women, were found in its dungeons when the Constitution was proclaimed. They had been thrown there on some superstitious and idle charges. It was hoped that the records of the Cordova Inquisition would have been preserved as curious historical matter: but, for the security of the Inquisitors, one of the secretaries gathered them together the day before the doors were thrown open, and consumed them in the flames.

The prison is removed from every other building, and contains about 120 prisoners, though sometimes as many as 180 are confined there. There are two yards; one large unpaved *patio*, or court for the men, and a small damp flag-stoned court for the women. Both have fountains, and a sufficient supply of water. The privies are, as they generally are in Spain, in an intolerable

state.

state. A number of new apartments are being prepared, but there does not seem anxiety to fit them up, in consequence of several prisoners having escaped through the roof, from some of them. Around the yards are the night apartments: they contain from thirty to forty prisoners each: neither beds nor straw are provided. They have no windows.

The apartments of the infirmary are tolerably good. There is a medical man who attends daily with a salary of 850 Rs. per month. The *Hermandad del buen pastor* takes care of the sick, and provides medicines for them. All remarkable events are reported to the Ayuntamiento; they appoint a committee for the prison, who visit it every Saturday. The salary of the gaoler is 6,600 Rs. per annum, and the turnkey (there is but one) has 2,200 Rs. The food is insufficient, and is contracted for at the rate of twelve *cuartos*, 3d. per head per day, bread excepted, of which the allowance is, we believe, three quarters of a pound. There is no classification and no species of labour in the prison; and of ten individuals discharged, the gaoler stated, six usually return. There is a chapel in the gaol, but the prisoners are not compelled to attend, and the congregation is often very disorderly: the gaoler and his assistant do not always join in the religious service. The whole time of the prisoners is passed in idleness in the yard, or in the suffocating closeness of the sleeping dungeons. No attention is paid to their cleanliness, to their comfort, or to their behaviour. They are all mingled in a common mass, to learn crime from the hardened, to teach crime to the inexperienced.

The Ayuntamiento of Cordova have been lately awakened to a sense of the absolute necessity of a change in their prison discipline, and Dr. Rafael Mariano Pabín has drawn up new regulations which have been approved. He proposes that all the prisoners be divided into three classes: 1st, those detained for capital crimes, and to these are to be added the unfuly and insubordinate; 2d, those whose crimes merit transportation; 3d, all misdemeanours. To the first, the upper floors are to be applied, and each individual to have a separate cell; to the second, the apartments on one side of the yard; to the third, those in the other: that the third class shall be allowed to exercise themselves in the yard one half of the day, the other two classes one quarter of the day each, varying the hours from week to week; disobedience to be punished by solitary confinement not exceeding eight days, and a diminished ration; and that every prisoner shall be compelled to make good the damage he shall do to the prison, or every inhabitant of the apartment, when the individual cannot be ascertained. That the apartments shall be swept every day in winter, and watered in summer, by the prisoners in turn; that every apartment shall have

have a jar of water and a vessel for ordure, &c. to be cleaned every day; and that four rials, two for cleaning these vessels, and two for light, shall be paid by every prisoner on his entrance.

The imperfections and the hasty compilation of these rules are but too obvious. We have quoted them, however, to show that some attention is paid to the subject, and to prove how little the duties of society to the prisoner are understood, and how important it is to enlighten the minds and direct the course of men really disposed to listen and to profit by the counsels of those who have gone more deeply into the inquiry.

SEVILLE.

Though Seville is the city in Spain in which inquiry was first actually engaged on the subject of prison discipline, little or nothing has hitherto been done for its improvement. Dr. Manuel Maria Marmol, an eminent ecclesiastic, published a tract, about eighteen months ago, insisting on the absolute necessity of some changes, and recommending the adoption of a system of discipline likely to promote reformation. It has been proposed to remove the prisoners to the building lately occupied by the Inquisition; which from its extent would allow of some classification, and of the introduction of employment. Of the dreadful state of disorganization and abandonment of the great prison at Seville, some idea may be formed, from the circumstance that extensive coining was carried on there as lately as 1820, and that it has sometimes been necessary (such was the insubordination or rebellion of the convicts) to call in the soldiery, and fire upon them, in order to reduce the ringleaders. The character of the southern Spaniards—adventurous and romantic, a mingling of native pride and oriental chivalry—has spread, very universally, a contempt of death; and made it an instrument but little effective in the hands of the legislature. During the late discussions in the Cortes on the penal code, several of the most distinguished members proposed, that the punishment of death should be wholly abolished. It was not abolished; but the number of crimes to which it is applied is now very few. And in Spain, as in every country which has fallen under our notice, the diminution of the severity of punishment has universally led to the diminution of crime. That which is taken from the harshness of the penal law is, in a vast number of cases, added to the certainty of its infliction, and in consequence to the salutary dread excited in the mind of the evil-disposed. Spain is a country in which, in the course of half a century, the humanity of the Tuscan code, which abolished capital punishment, will obtain a permanent establishment. In Portugal, the abolition has already taken place.

The great prison of Seville is most inconveniently situated in the Calle de la Serpa, one of the busiest streets of the city. It is close, noisome, and gloomy. It was formerly a nobleman's palace, has no wall to surround it, and from several parts of it the prisoners can communicate with the street. Its form is irregular. The number of prisoners varies from 250 to 400. It has two gravelled yards provided with water. In the yards, the prisoners pass the day wholly unoccupied, and at night are locked up in apartments, whose offensiveness is most intolerable. The walls are covered with the filth of years. The stench of the drains is suffocating. No printed rules exist; and of the written ones the gaoler complained, that it was impossible to carry many of them into effect. There is one, for instance, which directs, that six prisoners shall be chosen to clean the prison: there was an obstinate resistance, and in consequence 15 Rs. (3s.) per month has been paid to an individual for, what is called, performing this duty. Though the first regulation prohibits all mal-treatment, or additional restraint from the gaoler, secret orders exist, enabling him to employ fetters if he should deem them necessary. In summer, the prison is daily sprinkled with vinegar. Some of the apartments are miserably damp; and in the smaller prison, the criminals called our attention to the wet floors, the walls, their own nakedness, no blanket or bed,—in language of pitiable and heart-rending energy. Only a fourth part of the rooms have any ventilation, and this in a climate where from 90 to 95 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer is a common temperature. All sorts of abuses seem sanctioned in the prison. Stalls are kept, where a variety of articles are sold. Smoking is universal. Some individuals have a rug, provided by their friends; others have scarcely a fragment in which to wrap themselves, and the quantity of vermin appeared dreadfully great.

Here, as generally elsewhere, the sick obtain more attention than the situation of the healthy would promise. There is regular attendance on the part of the apothecary, and there were no complaints from the prisoners in the hospital of want of care or kindness. All particular cases are reported to the Ayuntamiento, who appoint two prison-deputies, to have special authority over the prison. The Ayuntamiento never visit in a body. The gaoler has held his situation about two years. The former was discharged for his rapacious exactions. The salary is 20 rials per day, = 4s.; that of his assistant 15 rials. Corporal punishment was formerly inflicted by the gaoler, whose rule was arbitrary, almost without control. It has now ceased to be so. Solitary confinement is sometimes employed; but we imagine that the internal administration of justice requires much attention and restraint.

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The daily allowance to the prisoners is one pound and a half of bread, two ounces of bacon, and one quarter of a pound of *minestra*, the charge for which is 21 *quartos*, or about sixpence half-penny. Of late, no prisoners have escaped. The strong military guard, which is always present, must make this difficult, or almost impossible, unless subornation is employed.

No provision is made for clothing the prisoners, and their situation, in this respect, is often most deplorable. They are allowed to see their friends through the gratings; but access to the interior of the prison can only be obtained through the prison-deputies. There was, on one or two occasions, some difficulty in penetrating some of the Peninsular prisons, and we were obliged to use the threat of publicity, and to express a conviction that something like self-condemnation threw difficulties in the way. We do not imagine that any opposition would be now made to the inquiries of any respectable foreigner, and would recommend, if personal acquaintance be wanting, a direct and formal application to the prison-deputies. In general, we are bound to add, that we experienced every attention; that we were accompanied, on most occasions, by the deputies themselves; that no parts of the prison were concealed; that no question of ours was denied a reply; and that different suggestions which we ventured to make, were listened to with attention and sympathy, and, in many cases, with a promise that reformation should be introduced where its necessity was most glaring.

At Seville, mass is said every Sunday, and on every saint's day, and the masses are paid for out of the general fund. The ecclesiastics appear to take little interest in the moral improvement of the prisoners. They require the criminal to confess at Easter, when they administer the sacrament, and with this their religious duties are supposed to be discharged.

Besides the sale of various articles of food within the prison, the convicts confined for minor offences are allowed, on their parole, and on the gaoler's responsibility, to leave the prison on general errands for the rest. Wine and spirituous liquors are sold by the gaoler, and form one great item of his profits. Though drunkenness is a very rare vice in Spain, yet the exceeding cheapness of fermented liquors makes their introduction a very serious calamity, and often leads to disputes and bloodshed. There is no provision for the cleanliness of the prisoners, who shave only when they can afford to pay a barber. On their discharge, there is an exaction for prison-fees, the amount of which we could not ascertain; but we were assured that no prisoners had ever been detained for their non-payment.

The moral effect of such a system as this can but be fatal. In-

stead of reformation, more confirmed profligacy—virtue itself could hardly resist the contagion of such an atmosphere; and to this atmosphere are to be introduced, and in it are to be confounded, the young and the old, the innocent and the guilty, the public writer and the bandit, those who have erred but once, and those whose lives are but the records of crime. We saw in the same apartment Mejia, an eminent political journalist, confined for a libel, the noted Abuelo, chief of one of the southern hordes of banditti, several assassins, and criminals of every degree, from trifling fraud up to the most atrocious enormities.

CADIZ.

The prison is conveniently situated at one of the extremities of the town, in a high and healthy spot, on an isthmus, and visited by constant sea-breezes. The whole building is not completed; and though the form is regular, the division into courts and apartments is injudicious and unfortunate. The larger court, which has a chapel in the middle, where mass is performed, might be adapted to the principle of central inspection, without much difficulty. The internal arrangements were formerly better than of late; and several trades were carried on within the prison; but every thing good had been allowed to decay, and every thing bad had been allowed to flourish.

The present Committee of the Ayuntamiento seem quite disposed to listen to any plans of improvement, and to carry them into effect. There is no external wall to the prison, and no streets near it. It was intended to hold five hundred prisoners; the usual number confined varies from 150 to 200. On the 1st of January, 1822, there were 199 prisoners, of whom four were women; on the 15th of January, 170, of whom six were women; and on the 31st, 180, among whom only two were women. There are two yards, both paved, each having a fountain of good water. The state of the privies is most offensive, and in the heats of summer must be absolutely intolerable. There is much filth in many of the apartments; and though there is a regulation, ordering the prison to be white-washed twice a-year, it is only partially carried into effect. The rooms which are crowded are most loathsome, with the exception of some in the higher story, which are spacious and comfortable; but the arrangement of the prisoners is altogether arbitrary. In the lesser yard are no less than from 70 to 120 prisoners, and from forty to fifty are crowded into some of the sleeping-rooms, where the stench and filth are abominable; light is allowed throughout the night; the windows are not glazed, nor is this either necessary or common in Spain. Though fire is prohibited by the regulations, yet we observed the prisoners had introduced

duced it. The medical attendant visits every day. The number of sick is generally about sixteen or eighteen. The common disease is the itch, but wounds are often given in the squabbles of the prisoners; and we were surprised at seeing twenty or thirty plaisters prepared, which, we were told, would be sufficient only for a day or two.

The gaoler has occupied his present situation two years; his salary is 12,000 Rs. now; but formerly the profits and extortions were so great, that a considerable sum was given for the office. We saw no severity or injustice, nor did we hear any complaints of him from the prisoners locked up in solitary confinement for misconduct in the prison. He says, he visits the prison once, twice, or thrice a-day; but, from the want of printed rules, the conceptions of the gaolers as to their duties are usually very vague and imperfect. There are eighteen turnkeys and dependants—a strange contrast to the Cordova gaol, where there is only one. In Cadiz, as elsewhere, there is always a military guard, who are relieved, we believe, every four hours. No one prisoner has escaped in the last year, and attempts at escape are rare. The accounts of daily disbursement of the prison, which are paid by the Ayuntamiento, are as follows:—

One loaf of bread per day, weighing three quarters of a pound, and one quarter of a loaf for soup to each prisoner; 12lbs. of coals, 12lbs. of rice, 25lbs. of French-beans, 6lbs. of pease, 1½lb. of pepper, 1lb. of butter, 7lb. of oil per day, for the whole prison; 180 rials' worth of vegetables, 19 measures of salt, and 8 trails of garlic per month. Their food is distributed twice per day. On the 31st of January, there were fifteen prisoners in the hospital, the total being 180. There is no difficulty in conversing with the prisoners through the grating; but their friends are not allowed access to the interior. On application to the Ayuntamiento, strangers may obtain a view of the whole.

Of the prisoners who leave the gaol a great number return. The exact proportion we could not ascertain.

The rewards for good-behaviour consist in the appointments to some of the prison offices. The punishment for offences is solitary confinement, the longest period of which is three or four days. The dark and subterranean dungeons are now destroyed, and fetters are no longer used. In other respects, few improvements have taken place; though we think no committee would be more likely to listen to any hints than that which attends to this prison.

LISBON.

The great prison of the Lincoeiro, at Lisbon, is a horrible place of confinement. It is a representation, on a grander scale, of all
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the filth and misery, the details of which we have given in speaking of the Spanish gaols. Its situation is on one of the mountainous streets in the Portuguese capital, and was formerly the Archbishop's palace. There is nothing to prevent constant communication with the street through the double-iron bars; and, in fact, through these, the meals of the prisoners are served. A great proportion of the crimes committed in Lisbon are plotted between the confined and the unconfined criminals, by whom a constant unchecked and unobserved communication is kept up. Through these bars any thing can be conveyed,—food, raiment, liquors, weapons, tools—whatever, in a word, can pass through a square several inches in extent. The number of prisoners has been as great as 700; the usual number is 400. The state of the apartments in which the prisoners pass their time is horrible. The stench overpowered us; and though we remained in the rooms only a few minutes, we felt seriously indisposed.

The Portuguese Cortes have already taken some steps to reform the intolerable and disgusting state of the prisons of their country. A committee of six individuals has been appointed, with directions from the Cortes to occupy themselves in the immediate improvement of these scenes of shame and sorrow. They have already begun their good work; and a place is nearly completed, in which the prisoners will have the benefit of daily exercise; for hitherto they have been shut up, as it were, in constant suffocation, and as many as a hundred in an apartment;—and this in the climate of Portugal!

The expense of maintaining the prisoners is about 8,000 cruzados, = 1,000*l.* per annum. Of this, one-half is paid by the City, and the other by the *Misericordia*, a benevolent association possessing considerable funds from sundry bequeathed estates. The kitchens, &c. are separate from the prison, and the servants of the *Misericordia* provide and prepare the victuals during one-half of the year, and those of the City (in a different part of the building) through the other half. The food appears insufficient, and little nutritious; it consists principally of a soup made of rice; the allowance of bread being also one pound and a half per day for four persons. The number of sick on the 2d of March last was 48.

The present Minister of Justice Senhor José de Silva Carvalho, has expressed an earnest wish to introduce a wiser system of prison-government. The weight of his authority to any practicable amelioration may be safely reckoned upon. It is fortunate for their country—it is fortunate for the world, when such men, possessed of the wish to do good, and the power to give that wish effect, occupy the exalted stations of society.

Now what an enormous weight of suffering is here to be removed!

moved! What a field for the exertions of benevolence!—a field, in which its labours could not fail to reap a harvest of usefulness. The present state of the Peninsula is such as to invite and to encourage co-operation.

B.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of Mrs. Catherine Cappe, written by Herself. 1822.*

THESE Memoirs of Mrs. Cappe will probably arrest the attention of few beyond those who were acquainted with the author and her connexions. Though not unknown to the world as a useful writer on the management of schools and charitable institutions, we know not that her efforts have been productive of any general or durable effects, which require to be particularly recorded. She was the wife and widow of a dissenting minister, a gentleman of great worth and great learning, and highly respected within the narrow circle of a provincial connexion. Her days were spent in the midst of domestic scenes,—some of them of a very painful, a very trying kind,—but still such as too frequently occur, in the common experience of family calamities, to demand peculiar sympathy, or convey unwonted instruction. Equal, and perhaps more than equal, to whatever she was called upon to perform, she acquitted herself to the entire satisfaction of those who had claims upon her regard, and to the general admiration of those who fell within the range or reach of her influence. This was the sum of her merits—invaluable to those who shared the advantages, and worthy of all imitation; but the detail of which will still be of little public concern. She has, however, told her humble story with so much simplicity, and displayed a temper of so admirable a kind—pure, philanthropic, christian—that we willingly point out these Memoirs to the notice of our readers.

The most prevailing quality in her character is her devout and resigned spirit; a spirit, however, which leads her, not to gather wisdom from experience, by treasuring up its results, and thus, in the truest and most intelligible sense, watching the course of Providence; but such as limits her observation to particular and personal occurrences, producing feeble and fantastic conclusions—bewildering, rather than enlightening, herself and her admirers. We are induced to notice this tendency, as well from the frequent recurrence of corresponding sentiments, as because it is usually believed to be a rare accompaniment of the religion of that party to which she belonged; and because we think it is carried to a degree very far beyond what experience, or sound judgement, or usefulness, will warrant. It is a painful—it is even with numbers an invidious thing, to seem to check expressions of what is called reliance upon

upon the special providence of God ; but these expressions have frequently so strong a tendency to degenerate into *cant*—that is, into unmeaning piety—into habitual phrases, in which neither head nor heart has any share—that we are uncontrollably impelled to enter a protest against them. *We* shall not, assuredly, be supposed to speak lightly or irreverently of the providence of God ; in him, we unfeignedly and humbly acknowledge, we live, and move, and have our being: but so far as we are able to mark the principle, by which events proceed, it is always that of general laws. It appears not, by any irrefragable evidence,—and nothing short of that will subdue or satisfy,—that we are, any of us, withdrawn from the operation of causes, which are steady, permanent, and universal. To suppose it otherwise, is to plunge at once into the supposition, that the sequence of events is the adjustment of judicial appointments. If such a principle be applicable to one individual, it is to another, either penally or remuneratively ; and then this interference with general laws (of the existence of which, after all, no one doubts), by being perpetual, will itself amount to a general law ; and if it be not perpetual, but occasional and particular ; or if it be perpetual, but unrestricted by any rule of procedure ; we lose our pole-star in the voyage of life, and the boldest fanatic will have little difficulty in justifying his wildest aberrations.

If the same principle of conduct be not productive of corresponding results, of what after-use is experience of the past, or what directing clue for the future is left us ? If, again, all and every one of us be under the superintendence and guidance of a particular providence—we mean, of course, in a certain technical and theological sense ; for, in that of *common* sense, it must be the thought of a fool or an idiot to deny so necessary a truth ; what occasion can there be for the adjustments of another life, on which divines are so much accustomed to expatiate, when all moral inequalities, &c. are to be arranged and compensated ? All is, as it is to be. No corrections can be requisite. There appears to be a manifest incompatibility in the customary language on these matters. Divines insist, in the same breath, on the special appointments of Providence, on the miseries of this life, and the compensations of the next, though these things cannot, in their sense of the terms, stand together. God cannot surely be supposed, without the plainest authority for the supposition, to *appoint* here, and *correct* hereafter. Either we are under the operation of general laws here, the occasional oppressions of which may be equitably compensated hereafter ; or we are under a special and impelling protection here, and require no rectifications hereafter. But the indisputable fact is, that *here* are human beings of the highest powers of intellect, with extended means of usefulness, prematurely swept away without
any

any visible distinction ; here are others, stripped of all that makes life enjoyable or serviceable ; here are others, equally possessed, we suppose, of the immortal principle, perishing before their faculties develop or expand ; while others live the full period of life, and bring their powers to all the maturity, perhaps, and activity, of which they are capable. All this occurs intelligibly and consistently enough with the operation of general causes, the effects of which, we confidently hope, may, and probably will, be compensated in another state of existence.

Mrs. Cappe, once, at dinner, swallowed a small piece of gristle, which stuck in her throat, so as to compress the wind-pipe, and prevent the possibility of breathing ; she was miraculously, as we colloquially phrase it, that is, she was unexpectedly, rescued from impending death, by a physician, who happened to be present, and who, by dashing a glass of cold water into her mouth, produced a muscular contraction, which instantly relieved her. On this event she dilates and reasons, in her usual manner, at considerable length. It proves to her the "providence and government of God ;" by which she means, if she mean any thing distinctly, that she was really and truly rescued, by what is termed a particular interference—that is, not in the usual course and consequence of the ordinations of providence. She says, if the accident had happened the day before, or the day after, or if the physician had not happened to call, or if he had not been urged to stay dinner, and yielded to the urgency ; and again, if he had not had presence of mind enough to employ the only "possible" remedy, the termination must have been fatal. In the course of her reasoning, she puts into the mouth of some supposed opponent, that the obvious way, if a special providence must interpose, would have been to prevent the accident altogether. To which she replies, that then the mercy would have been unperceived. The remark was not very pointed ; nor is the solution very satisfactory. The remark which a living opponent would, perhaps, have made, was, that the same providence was necessary to put the bone, as well as the physician, in the way ; and so on, *ab infinito*, to whatever led to the state of things in which the accident occurred ; and then the whole concern (not to speak profanely) must seem a very elaborate contrivance, if the intended effect was merely to show the brittleness of life, or on how slender a thread it is suspended—a conviction, which is the natural and constant effect of events which hourly occur, and all consistently with the ordinary march of general laws. It was as well known to Mrs. Cappe and her friends, that the stoppage of breathing by a bone or any other obstruction would be fatal, before this event occurred to her, as after ; and ample opportunities of making the discovery had existed from the earliest days of the world.

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• If we were required to express ourselves distinctly on these awful points, we should perhaps say, that the Universe appears to be a system of things constructed and conducted according to general laws—the plain result, ordinance and execution of Providence, that is, of the great Creator of all; and that the more we observe the course of events, and the more extended our experience becomes, as well physical as moral, the more we are able to discern the operation of these laws, and to unfold the benevolence and beneficence of their CAUSE.

ART. VII.—*On the Publicity of Courts of Justice*.*

PUBLICITY is the best security for testimony, and the decisions dependent on testimony. It is the soul of justice. It ought to extend to every part of the proceedings of the courts of justice, and to every cause, with the exception of a few, of which we shall by and by take notice.

1. With respect to Witnesses, public examination excites all the mental powers concerned in the production of a faithful statement of facts; and in particular, attention, an indispensable quality in the operations of memory. The solemnity of the scene is a preventive against levity and indolence; the natural timidity which sometimes agitates a witness, is sufficiently understood,—it operates only at the first moment, and announces nothing unfavourable to truth.

2. But the great influence of publicity is on the veracity of the witness. Falsehood may be daring where the examination is secret; it is no easy thing to be so in public; it is indeed in the highest degree improbable, unless the person be utterly depraved. So many eyes fixed upon a witness must disconcert his best prepared

* This article is an extract from an unpublished treatise of considerable extent, on the Organization of Courts of Justice, and on Judicial Evidence. It is the production of M. Dumont, and is as usual constructed out of the valuable materials communicated to that incomparable *redacteur* by Mr. Bentham. In this country, we are in such perfect possession of the right of publicity in judicial matters, that any discussion or consideration of the subject may seem superfluous. We are not precisely of that opinion: we desire to appreciate the rights which we enjoy, convinced it is only by *knowing* their value, that we shall feel an interest in protecting them. The subject, however, in some of its bearings, will not be found altogether undeserving of attention in our own Courts. The article, it will be perceived, was written for the meridian of Switzerland; and is indeed eminently calculated for the benefit of continental Europe, from north to south. We had the good fortune to discover it in a new periodical work of great promise, published at Geneva, under the title of *Annales de Legislation*, &c., of which M. Dumont is one of the able conductors. The ability with which the article is written will be a sufficient excuse, if any were wanting with our readers, for its insertion in THE INQUIRER.

plan of imposture. He feels that falsehood may meet with contradiction in every one who hears him. A face which is known to him, and a thousand others which are not so, alike disquiet him; and in spite of himself he imagines that the truth, which he is attempting to suppress, will issue from the bosom of the audience, and expose him to all the perils of perjury. He feels that there is, at least, one penalty which he cannot escape—shame in the presence of a crowd of spectators. It is true, if he be of an infamous character, he escapes that shame, by his very infamy; but witnesses of this class are not the most numerous, and Courts of Justice are naturally on their guard against such evidence.

3. Publicity has also another general advantage; by drawing more attention towards particular causes, evidence may be discovered, which would have been lost, had the causes remained unknown.

4. Publicity again has a salutary effect, in creating a public spirit relative to evidence, and in promoting, on this essential point, the instruction of individuals. Discussion on judicial matters enters thus into the course of ordinary ideas, and the public learn to take an interest in their results. The nature and rules of evidence, the different species of proofs, and their degrees of convincing force, come to be much better known, even in classes where we might least expect to find them.

5. But the effects of publicity are of the very highest importance, when considered with reference to Judges, both in securing their integrity, and in conciliating the confidence of the public to their judgement.

It is necessary, as a stimulus, in a course of painful duties, where there is a demand for all their powers, and all their activity; where every hour of carelessness is a triumph for injustice, and a prolongation of suffering for the innocent.

It is necessary, as a check, in the exercise of a power so easily abused. There are defects and faults to be provided against. Defects regard character, and that publicity is not calculated to change; but a Judge, in the presence of a numerous audience, will scarcely venture to give way to impatience, to ill humour, to that despotism of conduct, which intimidates counsel and witnesses, to those partialities, which flatter some and humiliate others;—before the eyes of the public, he will aim at dignity without arrogance, and a course of attentive regard without self-degradation. But whatever may be the effect of publicity on the exterior of the Judge, it cannot fail of being salutary to the justice of his decisions. An appeal from his tribunal to public opinion is constant. Every spectator is an interested observer, who watches all his proceedings, and weighs all his words. How can he escape their suspicions and vigilant regards? How can he dare to pervert justice, in a conspicuous

spicuous career, where his every step will be marked? Though he carry injustice in his heart, he must, in spite of himself, be just in a position, where he cannot stir without furnishing evidence against himself.

What substitute can be discovered for publicity? Appeals—severe laws against corruption? Without doubt: but consult experience;—these expedients have every where been prodigally employed, and every where have been inefficient. Of what force are these appeals and these penalties? They are nothing but warnings to the inferior Judge to keep on good terms with his superior; and the way to keep on good terms with him, is not to administer justice well, but to administer it in a manner most agreeable to him. Political complaisance will be his first virtue. But the sole means of satisfying the public is to administer justice well. That is the price of a nation's approbation.

The punishment of a professional brother will be always painful to his superior. The public have a natural sympathy for the oppressed; but official persons are differently affected, and notwithstanding all their personal hatreds, they have always a common sympathy towards each other, when the maintenance of their authority is at stake.

Besides, of what use is an appeal from one Judge, who may be corrupt in secret, to another Judge, who may be the same, in the same way? Make the proceedings of the first public, and you have no occasion for the second; leave the proceedings of the second secret, and he affords you little more security than the first.

And in this appeal, what is it which is brought before the superior court? Nothing but the skeleton of the process. The soul of the trial exists only in the court, where the witnesses and the parties appear. It is there that the inflections of the voice disclose the feelings of the heart, and the workings of the countenance tell the state of the soul. The audience, and the audience alone, is the true court of appeal, where judicial decisions are appreciated at their just value. What the superior court could never do, but with great expense and delay, and in an imperfect manner, this great committee of the public executes without delay, without expense, and with incorruptible integrity; for the integrity of the public, springing from its own interest, presents the greatest security that can possibly be obtained.

Can the superintendence of the Sovereign supply that of the public? You may as well ask whether the Prince could have time to review every cause. We say nothing of the interest of Cabinets, the danger of favouritism, the improbability that a Minister, who has chosen a bad Judge, will acknowledge the error of his choice, and inflict a disgrace, which must recoil upon himself. *Quis*

custodiet

custodiet custodes?—the question which constantly returns, till we finally confide in the Nation itself.

In the last century, we beheld Frederick, in Prussia, and Catherine, in Russia, applying themselves with the most laudable zeal to reform their courts of justice, to banish venality from them, to keep a vigilant eye over the Judges, to oblige them to make regular reports; and to punish their malversations. All their vigilance was of little effect; their good intentions were defeated; their very intervention was not without its inconvenience. And why? Because publicity was wanting in their tribunals; and because without it, all imaginable precautions are only so many spiders-webs.

6. And if publicity be necessary to confirm the integrity of the Judge, it is not less so to secure the confidence of the public. Let us suppose, in the teeth of all probability, that secret justice is always well administered; what is to be gained by it? Scarcely any thing. Integrity might reside in the heart of the Judges; but injustice must be stamped upon their brow. How could the public give the title of Just to men, whom it beheld pursuing a course of conduct, in which injustice alone can gain, and integrity do nothing but lose?

The principal use of real justice, is to produce *apparent* justice. On the above supposition, there could only be the real, the utility of which is limited; and there would not be the apparent, the utility of which is universal. The root would be in the soil, but the tree would bear no fruit. *De non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio.* The scholastic maxim would in this case be completely substantiated.

And facts are universally in accordance with these principles. The more secret tribunals have been, the more odious they have become. The Inquisition, and the Council of Ten, have disgraced the Governments which adopted them. Crimes, a hundred-fold, perhaps, more than they ever committed, have been imputed to them; but the advocates of secrecy are the only persons, who never have any right to complain of calumny: with whatever severity they may be censured, no injustice can be done them. Observe their own maxims; have they before them a prisoner who attempts any concealment, a counsel who wishes to withdraw a plea, or a witness who declines an answer? they never fail to draw the most unfavourable conclusions. Innocence and mystery seldom go together; and he who tries to conceal, is more than half-convicted! This is their principle. Why should it not be retorted upon themselves? Does not their own conduct furnish the same appearances of criminality? If they were innocent, would they be afraid to appear so? If they had nothing to fear from the regard of the public, why should they shut themselves up in the precincts

precincts of darkness? Why should they make of a court of justice a den as secret as that of robbers? And if unjust reproaches be cast upon them, why should they complain? is it not always in their own power to put a stop to them?

We have a difficulty in conceiving how Judges, in a painful service, can resolve to deprive themselves of the strong support of public opinion. We have a difficulty in conceiving how they can venture to express themselves in a manner equivalent to—"Trust blindly to my integrity: I am superior to all temptation, all fallibility, all weakness; I am alone my own security; give me implicit credit for virtues more than human." The true honour of a Judge consists in never demanding such confidence; in refusing it, if it be offered; in placing himself above suspicions, by affording no occasion for them; and in giving to the public the entire guardianship of his virtue and conscience.

What are the objections which can be made to an open jurisdiction? We never met with any that were tolerable, but in a work published in France, by M. Boucher d'Argis. We will give a sketch of them.

1. It might be to deliver up to public scorn a man, who may be unjustly accused.—The case is possible, in imputations of a certain kind. But this is easily obviated, by an exception to the general rule. Except in cases of this sort, as soon as the injustice of an accusation is evident, the accused meets with nothing but compassion and respect.

2. Villains might combine to rescue the guilty from the hands of justice.—This very improbable event would not be prevented by the secrecy of the trial. If his associates banded together to rescue him, it would be between the place of arrest and the prison, or between the prison and the court; but in the court itself, the Judge is too well surrounded to fear any such attempt. Such an attempt is unexampled, even in England, where no military is suffered to be near the courts.

3. This publicity, by warning accomplices, might give them the means of escaping.—Is not this warning already given by the arrest of the culprit, and his subsequent imprisonment? Besides, however frequented the courts may be supposed to be, it is not to be presumed they are much so by rogues and their friends. It is not exactly the place they are most pleased with. The thoughts awakened by such a scene have for them more terror than attraction.

4. An accused thief might avail himself of a public examination, to point out to his associates where the stolen effects were, or other matters capable of furnishing evidence.—This is to suppose that accomplices voluntarily come to a public examination, though

though they know the accused has an interest in impeaching them, and that many circumstances of the procedure may detect them. It is to suppose, that a man, in the hands of constables, would find the opportunity of holding a secret conversation, or of speaking by signs, to these same accomplices. It is to suppose, in short, that, if he speak to them aloud, he confesses himself guilty, for the chance of saving them—a kind of heroism, which may exist among rogues, but the case is so rare, that it can scarcely form any valid objection.

5. Publicity may prevent many persons from appearing as witnesses.—We reply, that if they be prevented, by the fear of exhibiting in an odious character, this fear must be much stronger, with regard to secret testimony, which may expose them more easily to misrepresentation. If they are prevented by fear of the accomplices, or the friends of the accused, this fear must operate equally against secret testimony, since at last the witnesses are known, by their being confronted with the prisoner.

The witnesses, whom publicity intimidates, are precisely those to whom it would be most dangerous to listen—those who would be tempted to prevaricate in secret, and who are afraid their prevarication would not endure a public examination.

6. It is to hazard our respect for the decisions of justice, to submit them to public opinion—a tribunal incompetent in all respects; by its ignorance, its prejudices, and its caprices.—Give us an enlightened public, Judges may say, and we fear not its observation; we demur only to a blind and impassioned multitude, who would be for making the law, instead of receiving it.

We allow that the fact, on which this observation rests, is but too true in the greater part of states: That portion of the public capable of judging is, indeed, very small, compared with that which is not so: but the practical consequence to be deduced from this fact, is precisely the opposite of that which is actually in operation. The public tribunal is too ignorant to reason accurately, and therefore the knowledge of all that might enlighten it is to be withdrawn. This incapacity is the ground of contempt; and this contempt another for perpetuating the incapacity. Such is the circle in which you revolve—as vicious in logic as it is in morals. It is to treat a nation as the villainous governor did his pupil, when, wishing to mount the throne of the youth, he put out his eyes, and alleged that defect as a legitimate ground of exclusion.

This principle, built on the fear of false judgements in the public, does not, after all, lead to the conclusion which is derived from it. This popular tribunal, incapable of judging as it is, does not judge the less on that account: to attempt to prevent it from judging, is to attempt an impossibility; but it may be prevented
from

from judging well; and all that is done to withdraw judicial proceedings from its knowledge, only tends to multiply its erroneous judgements. The errors of the people,—even the false imputations with which it charges the Judges, the unfavourable conceptions which it forms of their tribunals, the favour which it shows to the accused, its hatred of the laws,—all these serious evils are solely the work of those who suppress the publicity of testimony.

If the tribunal of the public cease to form opinions on judicial matters, it is when it has fallen, through excess of ignorance, or discouragement, into a state of absolute indifference. This apathy is, for a nation, a symptom of extreme misery. It is a thousand times better that the people should judge ill, than come to be altogether indifferent about public affairs: each one is absorbed—is wrapt in self;—the national link is broken;—as soon as the public pronounce upon judicial decisions, what is it to us? there are no longer any but masters and slaves.

The publicity of courts of justice has been resisted also under the pretence of a respect for morals, and by alleging the danger of admitting indiscriminately a crowd of auditors to listen to causes; which necessarily involve inquiries contrary to decorum, fitted to corrupt innocence, and feed a depraved curiosity. It is asserted even, that generally this representation of vices, trickeries, and crimes, must be pernicious by its publicity, and encourage those who are ill-disposed, by showing them how many ways there are of eluding justice.

This objection is just in some respects, and ill-founded in others. There are impure cases, to which it might be dangerous to admit either women or young people, or even the public. Of these we shall speak presently. It must, however, be observed, that spectators, at least of a certain age, have very little to learn, in the details of these vices, and that judicial forms do not present them in a point of view, which excites the imagination, or tends to corrupt it. They are beheld, surrounded by all the accessories of shame, which publicity gives them; and we doubt whether the most vicious spectator does not quit the court impressed with the terror of being himself subjected to so disgraceful an inquiry.

With respect to crimes of a different nature, there is nothing to be apprehended from the publicity of judicial proceedings in a moral view. Just the contrary.* As soon as the temple of Justice is thrown open to all the world, it becomes a national school, where the most important lessons are taught with a degree of force and authority not elsewhere to be equalled. There, morals are founded on the law. The progress of vice to crime, and of crime to punishment, is made conspicuous by striking examples. To hope to instruct the people by sermons, is to presume too much talent

talent in the preachers, and too much capacity in the audience. But in a judicial scene, instruction is as obvious as it is interesting; and what is thus learned is not easily forgotten. The precept of the law remains engraven in the mind, strengthened by the event with which it is associated. Even theatrical fictions, encompassed with all that can assist illusion, are feeble and fugitive as shadows, in comparison with these real dramas, in which are beheld, in their saddest truth, the effects of crime, the humiliation of the culprit, the anguish of his remorse, and the catastrophe of his trial.

If there were no discoverable medium, if there were a necessity for deciding between secret or open jurisdiction, every man capable of reflection would decide for absolute publicity. All general advantages are in its favour. The propriety of a secret, or rather of a private, jurisdiction is applicable to certain cases only, and rests upon particular reasons, which constitute only exceptions. We say *private* jurisdiction, and not secret; because, in fact, even in these cases of exception, the object is to limit rather than to exclude publicity: it is to admit auditors with the consent of the parties only, either for their own satisfaction, or that of the Judge. If, in any cause whatever, the seal of secrecy could be made inviolable from beginning to end, without any one being able to break it, there could be no act of oppression, which, under this impenetrable veil, might not be committed with impunity: but if it be in the power of any one of the interested parties to appeal to the tribunal of the public, there can be no abuses to dread. A veil, which the party who believes himself injured, can remove at his pleasure, can never become the mantle of injustice.

1. Among these cases of exception we place first, causes for personal or verbal injuries, where all parties concur in requesting secrecy, and even where only one of the parties makes this demand; provided the right of appeal in a public court be reserved on the requisition of either party.

By this means a court of justice might be converted, on occasion, into a court of honour, where the matter of offence might be discussed without loss of honour.

2. Family causes come next. We speak not here of causes purely civil, of pecuniary demands, or of disputes concerning succession. We are speaking of causes between man and wife, between father and child,—ill treatment on the one side, and misconduct on the other. We speak particularly of causes of adultery, and of the arcana of the marriage-bed. If, on these sad occasions, justice heals one wound, publicity makes another as painful as it is incurable.

The honour of the sex in particular is of so delicate a nature, VOL. II. NO. III. I that

that we cannot too much withdraw from public malignity the imprudences, which throw young well-disposed persons into despair, or degrade them for ever.

With respect to females, where natural sensibility is augmented by a cultivated education, the evils of public inquiry are such, that they would prefer suffering a lasting injustice, before recurring to so violent a remedy. The more delicate are their feelings, the more are they at the mercy of their persecutors.

The publicity of family disputes may be prejudicial in another way. A father, a guardian, a master, may have erred with regard to the object of his care, but not in so serious a manner as to deprive him of his authority. Should a public censure be inflicted,—even a slight reprimand,—it is so great a check to his influence, it is a triumph so complete for his young antagonist that, from that moment, the feelings of respect are annihilated, and one example of this kind strikes a general blow on parental power.

What is to be done? To avoid so great an evil, to respect an authority even more necessary for those who endure it, than for those who exercise it. A court of justice should shut its ears, if possible, to the complaints of the young person, and give to the superior more protection than he deserves. But transfer the cause from the public tribunal to the Judge's chamber, and he may censure abuses of authority without enfeebling the principles of it, may reprimand a father without humbling him in the eyes of his son, and conceal the orders given in secret, under the appearance of voluntary reconciliation.

3. Causes for rapes, incest, attempts at rape, demand the same reserve, as well for the interests of the offended persons, as for those of morals. The avidity of the public for this sort of causes, proves that shameless details and scandalous disclosures excite more curiosity than repugnance. Ought publicity to be extended to what does not concern the public? What interest can it have in rending away the veil, which covers disorders, the notoriety of which constitutes the greatest evil?

If tribunals are to be considered schools of virtue and public morals, women and children at least should be removed in causes, the details of which must wound their sense of shame and decorum.

ART. VIII.—*Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land.* By W. Rae Wilson, Esq. 1823.

THESE travels were undertaken expressly with reference to the Scriptures, to mark the coincidences of ancient and modern usages, to survey and fix the topography of the sacred story, and thence, it should seem, to prove to the sceptic the inspiration of

of the Scriptures. With all the disposition in the world to appreciate truly the views and motives of this very worthy person, we are sorely disappointed at the unskilful manner in which he has executed them. Mr. W. has not *qualified* for the undertaking. If he had previously studied the best of his predecessors, who have traversed the soil of Palestine, and those able compilers who have laboriously worked up the materials gathered by Eastern travellers, and who have indeed faithfully accomplished the only practicable part of his object, he might have gained a distinct conception of what he was about to attempt, and of the manner in which it was most successfully to be promoted. He might at least have reaped useful contributions. As it is, he has overleapt his purpose. He has not gone steadily about his object. The matter with him indeed was rather passion, than conviction. He has put more of the heart than the head, into what peculiarly required a dry and dispassionate observation. With his warm feelings of devotion, with his deep-struck awe and veneration, and a degree of enthusiasm which borders upon vision and rapture, he should have sought no other object than the indulgence of his aspirations; with the Scripture in his hands, he should have given a free and undiverted course to those holy impulses; his enjoyments would have been of the most elevating and delightful kind; and though they might for ever have been incommunicable by writing, they must have furnished a source of grateful and consoling recollections for the remainder of his days. But he has marred his own fruitions by the perpetual, disturbing, and panic thoughts of sceptics and infidels. *They* are to be grappled with by more potent adversaries.

Without any definite notions on the matter of revelation, Mr. W., like the multitude, confounds what is purely historical and devotional with divine communications, and divine communications with the *language* in which they are conveyed. It is as if the distinction were not perfectly obvious, that a subject may be undiscoverable by any other means than immediate inspiration, whilst the oral or written description of it, the mode of representing it, the figures and poetry, may proceed solely from the genius and literary acquirements of the instrument. Apparently with little knowledge, again, of the original language of the Scriptures, with no critical skill, with no power or practice of estimating its Oriental metaphors, and reducing them to the level of intelligible realities, Mr. W. has surrendered his judgement, in matters of questionable interpretation, to the obscure construction of literal and doubtful translations; and with a strange reliance on *verbal inspiration*, is ready to sacrifice his very senses to the most unessential, or casual circumstance (for such, in the multiplicity of topic,

and variety of mental power in the writers, we presume there may be) or remark, or description of the Scriptures. The soil of Palestine Mr. W. *saw* was rocky and hilly; but from the language in which he expresses himself, it would seem, that such evidence was of inferior value, and quite unsatisfactory, till he found the fact confirmed by "revelation," that is, by some incidental description of a lyric or historical writer of the Old Testament. Imbued, indeed, most circumstantially with the contents of the sacred writings, matters the most foreign and irrelevant, by suggesting the phraseology of Scripture, partake, in his mind, of the consecrations with which the original subjects of that phraseology are indelibly and happily invested.

The principle with which he sets out to examine the Holy Land is briefly this—That if any thing be found either in the phases of the country, or the buildings of the towns, or the customs of the inhabitants, similar or analogous to any thing discoverable in the Bible, it forms forthwith a confirmation—not simply, that the Scriptures were written by such as knew the country, and were familiar with its manners,—but that they were divinely inspired. This conclusion surely betrays a sad confusion of intellect. Did it never strike this excellent person, that the same principle will go to prove the inspiration of many other books, which claim to have proceeded from a Divine original? We have no doubt, a Mahometan visiting Arabia, with the Koran in his hand, or a Bramin, or a Bonze, or a Parsee, with their respective Scriptures, in their respective countries, would, in the same manner, find numerous correspondencies; and, according to Mr. W.'s principle, as many confirmations of their respective authority and inspiration.

And again, did another obvious consequence never startle him; that if coincidences confirm, the absence of them, by parity of reasoning, would confute? On the Lake of Tiberias there were no fishing smacks, nor any the smallest appearance of any piscatory apparatus on its shores—what, on his principle, is the consequence?

As an interpreter of Scripture (and the Traveller's powers are very much absorbed in this responsible office), we may turn to almost any page of the volume, to show how utterly incompetent he is for such an undertaking. We open the book at random, and at page 352, speaking of Capernaum, he says—"Revelation has pointed this to us as specially distinguished by the appellation of his own city; and from the observation it had been 'exalted to heaven,' there is every reason to conclude, it must have been one of considerable extent and importance." There is no such reason; the place is evidently spoken of in this magnificent language, as being distinguished by the residence of the Saviour of the world, without any reference to its size or population.

Alluding

Alluding to the "strange idea entertained on the part of the Jews, and even by some Christians, that it is in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the general judgement is to take place, which appears, he says, referring to Joel iii. 1, 2, to be founded on the words of Holy Writ;" he observes very gravely, "If this be the fact, the spot appears to be so very small in compass, that it is difficult to imagine how it could contain all the nations of the earth. I apprehend (he continues with increasing gravity, and a most careful ponderation of probabilities) the allusion to the valley is to be taken in a figurative sense; *for*, unless it be in this point of view, it has no propriety!"

Speaking of pregnant women in the East, he says, he is "led to suppose that Oriental women in general suffer less than those in Europe, and probably require little or no assistance from medical persons, as appears, from Holy Writ, was anciently the case;" and then quotes Ex. i. 19: "And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian (an *Oriental* country, too), for they are lively, and are delivered ere the midwives come unto them". Thus mistaking the palpable evasion of an order, for a general fact. The fact may be as Mr. W. states it; but his familiarity with Scripture language might have reminded him also, that the pain and peril of child-birth is a singularly frequent source of metaphor and illustration with the sacred writers.

In his description of Jerusalem, Mr. W. is exceedingly perplexed, between the prophecy of Christ, relative to the *complete* destruction of Jerusalem; the histories of that destruction; and the minuteness with which the topography of Scripture-incident is to this day traced and pointed out by the inhabitants. In the very teeth of his own statement and belief of the Saviour's prophecy, he comes to the still more perplexing conclusion, that the histories must be exaggerations. We are disposed to lend a helping hand to relieve him from this embarrassment; and shall adopt his conclusion, without involving him in any incompatible or offensive consequence. The main reference of the prophecy, then, is, to the destruction of the *Temple*, and not to that of the city. The probability is very great, that the accounts which we have of the city's ruin are much exaggerated. On this supposition, it follows, without any great difficulty, that some reliance may be placed on traditions relative to the location of events, so sacred and so engrossing, though without doubt they have been plentifully multiplied by interest, or cunning, or illusion.

But we have really no wish to exhibit these failures, respecting, as we do, the writer's zealous and honourable desire to be useful. We turn with pleasure to his interesting account of Mahomed Ali, the Pacha of Egypt. We have heard much of Ali of Albania, and
Mahomed

Mahomed Ali, of Egypt, is not less deserving of attention, for vigour and resistance to the Ottoman Court—of equal influence on the destinies of his country—more humane and European in his sentiments and manners, and more susceptible of the impressions of civilization.

"I had not sufficient time to remain at Alexandria and witness the illuminations, on occasion of the visit which had been made to the city by the Pacha; but I paid my respects to Mahomed Ali, in the suite of Mr. Lee, the present British Consul.

"On this occasion, the Consuls of the different nations established at Alexandria were received by the Governor. The place in which the Pacha gave us an audience was not in the palace, and the reason assigned was, that his *wives* were there; but in a rude building at a short distance from it, and humble enough for the ruler of such a kingdom. It resembled a *granary*, and the walls of the apartment were surrounded with low, coarse, wooden benches, not unlike a tailor's shop-board. A band of music, the sound of which was grating to the ear, played on our entering; and a numerous retinue of Turkish and Arabian slaves were present, who were arranged before the Governor in a semi-circular form.

"His Highness honoured us with a seat next to himself. He sat cross-legged, in a corner, upon a Persian carpet resembling an English hearth-rug, and smoking from a Turkish pipe nearly seven feet in length, the mouth-piece of which was superbly mounted with diamonds; and behind him stood a slave, fanning off the flies, which annoyed him exceedingly. On this occasion, by means of his interpreter, who understood the Italian language, he entered into a long conversation, making many judicious inquiries respecting Great Britain, particularly the extent of population, resources, and the strength of her army and navy. The attachment of Mahomed Ali to the English nation is universally known, of which there could not be conveyed a stronger proof, than when he inquired of Mr. Lee, for Mr. Salt, our Consul at Grand Cairo, who had proceeded to Upper Egypt, in search of antiquities. He desired Mr. Lee, when he had occasion to write to that gentleman, to mention, 'he was welcome to send the Prince Regent of England all the curiosities in Upper Egypt he could collect, provided he only left a few for himself to look at by way of amusement.' As a further proof of his liberality, the Pacha, in the year 1818, transmitted to Sir Sidney Smith a valuable gold plate, which had been discovered by one of his workmen among the ruins of the city of Canopus, with an inscription by one of the Ptolemies, to commemorate the dedication of a temple to Osiris.

"In the course of this interview, he alluded to other topics, such as the Russian force; Bonaparte's activity, and his army; and, in reference to the Embassy of Lord Amherst to China, took occasion to ridicule the idea of his Lordship refusing to conform to the *customs* of the country, to accomplish those objects he had in view. He shifted, in a moment, his conversation, to that of commerce, and the prices of grain, &c.; of which, indeed, he appeared to have as competent a knowledge, from being himself a merchant, as any one in Mark-lane. In short, every sentiment which this man uttered proved him to be possessed of a mind wonderfully acute and discerning; and it was justly observed by some of our party, when he put the questions, that they were

were so important and difficult to answer at the moment, that it would have been requisite we should have been furnished with a list of them some days previous to the interview, in order to consider the proper replies they called for.

"At this time, I was much struck at that awe and fixed attention with which he was served by his officers and slaves; particularly in the act of handing any thing to him, when they appeared under a degree of agitation, in case any accident should occur, or that they did not perform every part of the duty agreeably to his pleasure. They watched steadily, and with a most profound reverence, each word as it dropped from his lips, every turn of his eye, and motion of his body; and evinced a more profound sentiment of respect towards him than I had ever seen shown to any personage of rank, either in or out of a royal court; nay, the Pope of Rome himself. After being presented with coffee and pipes*, &c., in the Oriental mode, we departed under a performance of music; when His Highness laid his right hand across his breast, and gently inclined his head.

"Mahomed Ali is above fifty years of age, and owes his elevation to courage combined with talent; his intrepidity was remarkably conspicuous in the attack of Rahmaineh on the banks of the Nile, in conjunction with a British army. He, however, appeared to me to be further advanced in years, which probably might have arisen from those fatigues inseparable from a life of activity, and the operations of war; yet, 'though old, he still retained his manly sense and energy of mind.' The eye of Mahomet, that great criterion of the mind, was peculiarly piercing, and keen as that of a hawk. When he listened, he appeared to treasure up all responses which had been made by persons to the several questions he had put to them. Notwithstanding he is a stern administrator of justice, he is considered to be naturally humane; and, though tributary to the Porte, perfectly independent; and no Pacha is, perhaps, in existence, of whose power and popularity the Grand Signior entertains a greater degree of jealousy. His knowledge of trade, in every point of view, is spoken of as most remarkable.

"It merits notice here, that the Pacha, in thanking those persons who had been at great expense in illuminating the town, on occasion of his visit, and erecting a superb temple and throne in the Grand Square, where he went in state to view the whole, said to Mr. Lee, who sat near him at the time, which he afterwards wrote to me, 'I knew the attachment the Franks had to my person, but never till this moment did I believe it was to the extent that this demonstrates;' and, in the true language of the merchant, added, 'I would rather have enjoyed this pleasure, than gained 25,000 piastres by a bargain in grain!'

"This Pacha rendered more essential services to the Ottoman Government and Mahomedans in general, by re-capturing, after a vigorous warfare of eight years, in person, the cities of Mecca and Medina, which had been taken by the Wacchabees, a sect, who set at defiance the Turkish power for half a century, and whom he extirpated: their chief he captured, to whom every act of humanity was shown; he passed through Alexandria a

* It is understood to be a proverb, in Persia, that *coffee*, without *tobacco*, may be compared to *meat* without *salt*.

short time before my arrival, on his way to Constantinople, where he had been sent to be disposed of as the Grand Signior thought proper. Although during the absence of the Pacha, the Kiaja Bey or Minister, who acted, might have brought about a revolution, and set himself up in that character, yet so much confidence had been reposed in Mahomed Ali, that an act of this nature was never thought of, and the whole of Egypt was perfectly tranquil during the period he was drawn from it in consequence of these hostilities.

"In every quarter of Egypt, travellers may now proceed and prosecute their inquiries with equal safety as in the most civilized countries, to whom every protection is afforded and respect paid. To promote the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of these vast dominions, has been the grand object of Mahomed Ali; and thus Egypt, formerly a country where disorder and confusion reigned, now ensures personal safety. The traveller is not under any apprehension of danger—the Christian not insulted or trampled upon; and it is now more flourishing than any other in the Levant, where contentment is to be found, abuses removed, and a liberal and most enlightened administration has been established.

"It may be further added, that Mahomed Ali has two sons, one named Ibrahim Pacha, who completed the subjugation of the Wacchabees, and who is understood to have imbibed the principles of his father. The other, Ismail Pacha, is now engaged in penetrating with an expedition into the interior of Africa, who, to this date, has laid the country, to Senaar, at his feet, and detached troops up the Nile to examine some of the great rivers, which promises to afford facility to religious missions, and unfold objects of the highest interest.

"In conclusion, having said so much respecting the present Pacha of Egypt, I may be allowed to express a hope that his growing powers, great resources, and increasing popularity, added to those benevolent and patriotic dispositions by which he is actuated, with the estimation in which he holds the British nation, all this will be duly appreciated by the Government of this country, and that prudence will be exercised to preserve a proper understanding with Mahomed Ali, who governs several millions of people, and in which not only our political and commercial interests, but those of the anti-quarian and traveller, are so deeply interested."

ART. IX.—*On Judicial Presumptions**.

BEFORE the trial of a cause is entered upon, there are certain presumptions against which a Judge neither can nor ought to guard himself. These presumptions, vague and general, have in themselves no considerable force; but they may be guides in an obscurity till particular proofs are obtained, or may incline the balance, when suspended between contradictory evidence.

* For this article we are indebted to the same distinguished person as for the one on Publicity of Courts of Justice.

1. Between a plaintiff and defendant, the presumption ought to be in favour of the first, and against the second.

The probabilities are in favour of the first, because he comes on his own impulse, to submit his right to the decision of justice: the defendant, by compulsion. The cases in which the first may have an interest in instituting a suit against his own conviction, must be rare; but the defendant, whether right or wrong, has always, or almost always, an evident interest in defending it, because the course of judicial proceedings offers the chance of gain; and because, if he lose his cause, he is only just where he would have been, had he surrendered without contesting the claim.

How many infringements on property, how many injuries, and great ones too, do people submit to, before they encounter the hazards of law! How many sacrifices do they make, to spare themselves the embarrassments, the wearisomeness, the loss of time and of expense, which are never compensated! There must be many motives for confidence to surmount this natural repugnance; and these motives constitute a natural presumption in favour of him who appeals to the courts. There is nothing of this kind on the part of the defendant.

To strengthen this presumption, let us look to facts. Let us compare the events of adjudged cases. The causes gained by plaintiffs are in a very superior proportion to that of causes gained by defendants: and yet the first, in our different systems of judicial procedure, are in a far more unfavourable position than their adversaries, because they have against them so many nullities, formalities, and impediments—such, indeed, as could have no existence under a more perfect judicature. We are not ignorant that many lawyers incline towards the contrary presumption. There must be some delusion. A defendant appears in their eyes as a man attacked in his right of possession, and the presumption should be in favour of possessors, because the number of legal is infinitely greater than that of illegal possessors. But that is not the state of the question. The point is to learn, whether, among contested rights, the number of those justly contested be not far superior to those which are unjustly contested: and it is evident that this must be superior; for to undertake to dispute in a court of justice, the legality of a possession, you must discover some flaw which takes the case out of the condition of ordinary possessions.

A prejudice against plaintiffs has prevailed very generally in the world; and the cause is obvious enough. The more vexatious and perverted judicial proceedings have been, the more they are dreaded: and no one can be impelled against his own consent in this thorny career, but by a plaintiff. Thus the terror of legal process, originating in the faults of the system of judicature, has cast
a strong

a strong prejudice, and even a sort of odium, on this character. Instead of complaining of lawyers, who have thrown a hedge of thorns around the approaches of justice, the world, always thoughtless, avenges itself upon those who choose rather to litigate than suffer. The man, who has sustained a first injury, if he attempt redress, runs the risk of incurring a second in the esteem of his fellow-citizens. Public opinion is ever ready to side with the aggressor, who says nothing against the oppressed, who troubles its repose and clamours for justice. This mistaken and cruel prejudice has had but too much influence on legislators themselves. It has given birth to the worst of all possible taxation—to that upon actions-at-law*. The object has been to discourage a litigious spirit; the effect, to favour injustice.

We must not, however, rush from one extreme to the other: all that has been said goes no further than this—that vexation is more frequent on the side of the defendant, than on that of the plaintiff. This conclusion is proved by the nature of things, and by a comparison of causes lost and gained.

2. In penal matters, and particularly in the more serious ones, the presumption ought to be in favour of innocence, or, at least, we ought to act as if this presumption was established.

How is this presumption to be reconciled with the preceding? Where there is an accusation, there is an offence, either on the part of the accuser or the accused: but to speak generally, there is no crime so rare, that a false accusation of that crime is not still more so. We must here make a distinction. If the supposition of innocence on the part of the accused can be reconciled with the supposition of good faith on that of the accuser, the presumption ought to be in favour of the accused. Precipitancy, error, and passion, should more readily be presumed, than crimes, and particularly serious crimes. The presumption against an accusation ought to be still stronger in cases where the facts are connected with a party or sectarian spirit, with religious opinions, or false popular notions. How many imagined offences are there of which thousands have been accused, without the possibility of guilt—witchcraft, for instance!

The presumption would be very strong in favour of the accused party, if a judgement was formed by what occurs in the ordinary course of conversation—where false accusations are much more frequent than true ones. But what a difference is there between these petty tales, which turn upon peccadillos, and judicial accusations, which bear upon the gravest matters! In the one case, facts and conjectures are carelessly advanced, because there is no

* The reader will bear in mind, that this Essay was written in *Switzerland*,
responsibility,

responsibility, and because little importance is attached to them; decisions are thrown out at random, through vanity, or indolence, or levity. But in the case of judicial testimony, if you remove the seductions of interest and passion, the most thoughtless witnesses become scrupulous; they feel their honour to be concerned, and that a false testimony may expose them to serious consequences. But in granting that in the commonest cases, the presumption is not in favour of the prisoner, it is not the less true, that we ought to act as if this presumption was established; and consequently the Judge ought to hold it as a maxim, that it is better to suffer the guilty to escape, than to condemn the innocent; or, in other words, he ought to be much more on his guard against the injustice which condemns, than the injustice which acquits. Either is a great evil; but the greatest evil is, that from which the greatest alarm results: and every one knows there is no comparison to be made between the two cases. To speak generally; a too easy acquittal excites regret and disquietude only among the reflecting; whilst the condemnation of a prisoner, who is afterwards discovered to be innocent, spreads a general terror: all security seems destroyed; there is no protection left, where innocence fails.

This is, perhaps, one of those occasions where the imagination usurps the place of reason; the alarm is superior to the danger; that is, the apparent is greater than the real danger. In fact, the danger resulting from the acquittal of the guilty, is greater than what results from the condemnation of the innocent: but it is not so apparent—not so universally recognised. If a thief be acquitted, the almost certain effect will be, the production of new thefts. If an innocent man, accused of theft, be condemned, it does not follow, that other innocent persons will be condemned for the same cause. If the Judges be supposed the most severe, the condemnation of an innocent person, in such a case, is an insulated misfortune, and has no tendency to produce similar consequences.

But it ought to be considered, on the other side, that the evil of an unjust punishment for a theft, far surpasses the evil which would be sustained, by the renewed thefts of the acquitted thief. Thus the alarm of the punishment is greater than the alarm of the offence; and consequently the danger of the innocent being punished, will always appear greater than the danger of suffering by the acquittal of the guilty. Therefore, though a Judge may have entertained an internal presumption against a prisoner, he ought not to hesitate in acting on the presumption of his innocence; and, when in doubt, to regard the mistake which acquits, as more justifiable,

justifiable, or less adverse to the good of society, than the mistake which condemns.

But all sentimental extremes, which tend to give impunity to crime, under pretence of establishing the security of innocence, must be distrusted. The applause of the public, so to speak, has been offered to the highest bidder. At first, it was said, it is better to save many guilty, than to condemn one innocent person; another, to make the maxim more definite, assigned the number ten; another decupled this ten; and a fourth centupled it. All these candidates for the prize of humanity have been completely distanced by innumerable writers, who would, in no case, have a prisoner condemned, unless his guilt were a matter of mathematical or absolute certainty. On this maxim, no person whatever ought to be punished.

ART. X.—*Fifteen Years in India. By an Officer in His Majesty's Service.* 1822.

IT is impossible to contemplate India, and every thing concerning it, without the deepest interest. A population of more than 80 millions, under the influence, more or less complete, of the British Government; and that population, by the barbarism of its religious creeds and castes, sunk into an almost hopeless state of demoralization, is a subject to awaken the dullest sympathy. With our fast-rooted convictions, that though good or bad sanctions may not always be accompanied by good or bad morals, with the precision, which might have been, perhaps, naturally expected; yet their influence is confessedly so powerful, that our desire to aid the introduction of higher and more holy considerations and motives, grows but the more intense, by the very magnitude and appalling difficulty of the evils which call for reformation. The most striking enormities, which present themselves in the moral world of India, are the tyranny of superstition, the contempt of oaths, the sacrifice of life, and the debasement of the women. The root of all these evils is deep-struck in the religion of the country. It is this which sanctions the distribution of society into castes; and hence have sprung the oppressions of the strong, and the degradation and profligacy of the weak. It is this which entails the spell of that horrible distribution. It is this which degrades the women, and constitutes them the property of the men: and hence are perpetuated the cruelty and contempt with which they are treated—the prostration of their understandings, and the sacrifice of their persons. It is this which consecrates the murder of infants;

sants; the immolations of voluntary victims; and the austerities of Sannyases and Fakiers, their severities and fooleries.

But the still more painful consideration is, that there is no redeeming power in Hindoo institutions; there exists no germ of amendment; there is nothing, which at all tends to rescue the natives from their oppressing and oppressive condition. The governing and sacerdotal castes reciprocally support each others' pretensions, because their combined influence keeps down the inferior castes, bound in the most deplorable ignorance, with scarcely the possibility of escape. To break from the galling fetters, the unhappy wretch, who ventures upon the desperate measure, must sink into still deeper infamy, into hopeless and helpless abandonment.

If then there be no hope of improvement within, it may be asked, what is there without? We reply, British Influence. Its effect, we feel assured, is inevitable, however slowly it may operate. To accelerate its effects is our duty. We almost fear to press the acceleration as far even as actual, though we allow narrow, experience will carry us, lest we should incur the invidious and chilling charge of precipitancy. We would however have our opinion deeply impressed upon the minds of the ruling party, that no opportunities be lost, nor power wasted. It is by British influence alone that the amelioration of India must be promoted. That influence is already powerfully felt, wherever Europeans come into closer contact with the natives; it is felt of late, unluckily, where it is doing no manner of good—in the table, dress, equipage and pleasures of the natives. The principle of immutability, pervading the institutions of India, is, however, shaken by these means; and that shock was plainly indispensable, before any hope could arise of operating upon that source of ignorance, cruelty and corruption—their religion. That influence is felt more extensively and happily “in Malabar, in the Carnatic, in Mysore, in the Koncan, and in every tract long under the controul of Britain, where walled towns and forts are forsaken by the peaceful peasantry, whose cottages begin to clothe vast plains, where desolation and solitude reigned.” For years and years the power of Britain has operated in the East, chiefly in oppression. Happily the necessity for further usurpation—for necessity it may be truly termed, though springing from our own ambition—is now at an end. The path is clearly thrown open for the practice of our virtues, and of these, more especially for our justice, for the due and honourable execution of the laws. It is the exercise of these virtues, if any thing can, which will soften down the force and harshness of power, will cast into oblivion our early iniquities, will strengthen and extend our civilizing qualities, till the tacit effects of imitation, sympathy and intercourse will produce what command and violence could never have accomplished.

Occasions

Occasions will arise, when new laws may be published and enforced without peril and without opposition; and by degrees be accepted with prompt and willing concurrence. The Marquis of Wellesley ventured upon a proclamation, which denounced the penalty of murder upon infanticide at Saugur, with surprising success; and the time is probably not far remote, when the burning of widows may be suppressed by a similar act of authority. In the course of the late year, the present enlightened Governor of India has done something—all we suppose that was thought by the Council prudent to attempt. We should have been strongly inclined to urge that noble person to *go through with the measure*, as it was thought wise to touch it at all, or leave it altogether for a more favourable crisis. Half-measures, we have had good proof, are generally useless things. The police are charged with the execution of a proclamation, which prohibits Suttees, in all cases, where the female is under a certain age, where she is pregnant, where she expresses reluctance, or where she has been drugged with opiates. These are cases expressly excepted in the Vaidams. Unhappily the female, who before this proclamation had availed herself of any of these exemptions, was regarded as dishonored; and this stain will scarcely be forthwith removed. However, the natural love for life must sometimes operate; authority will have some force; more will grasp at the protection; one example will create another; till the custom failing and fading, its cruelty, its uselessness, its *orphanizing* consequences will press upon the understanding, and the practice be at last extinguished for ever.

In like manner, the influence and authority of the Government, aided by the judicious and temperate exertions of Missionaries, may wear out self-immolations. Those zealous persons must still persevere in the wise and cautious course, for which, in India, they have been remarkable. But till some steps are taken to *colonize converts* on the waste lands of India and protect the colonies, their efforts, however wisely conducted, must be cramped and paralysed. Such colonies scattered over the soil might become centres, and circulate their influence on every side, till the extended radiance met, and covered the surface of India.

The volume, which has insensibly led us into these reflections, is evidently the production of a person familiar with Hindoo life. It is however a strange, rambling sort of a book. It professes to give the journal of an Officer, who served in India fifteen years. The chapters are most of them introduced with accurate accounts of the manners and usages of India, accompanied with very sensible remarks; but to every one of them he has chosen to tack fatiguing extracts from his Journal, which contain some stories certainly of somewhat too wonderful a cast. A kind of narrative is kept up; but

but by the adoption of fictitious names, and a boyish selection of incident, the author has contrived to cast an air of romance over the whole, which contributes to lessen his respectability. Why should any man voluntarily mar his own credit in this way? We observe the same sort of perversity, lately, in a very valuable account of Spain, by Leucadio Doblados.

We have a page or two to spare, and the volume before us will easily furnish us with matter to fill up the blank worthily.

SUTTEES.

It is really melancholy to think that a custom should be supported for ages, by millions of men, which deprives children of their mother when it is the will of Providence to call away the father. Can any thing be more affecting than to see a lady in the bloom of life, decked with flowers, arrayed in all her jewels, perfumed and painted, led round the funeral pile of her husband, amidst the exulting shouts of a crowd, to be consumed by blazing faggots, upon which oil is thrown? In some parts of the Carnatic, a pit is made, and the widow leaps into the flames, or is thrown in by the Brahmins. But in most other places she takes the dead body in her arms, kisses it, and places the head on her bosom, as she sits down in a hollow made in the funeral pile. A procession then goes round it, great shouts are raised, and it is set on fire. If the blaze spreads properly, pain is over in a few moments, for the smoke produces suffocation; but the fire is sometimes so bad, that the legs and arms are roasted before life is extinct. But what fortitude it requires on the part of the victim, to see the preparations, to go through the ceremonies, to distribute presents! all which she is expected to do with ease and satisfaction. The Roman lady who showed her husband how to die, and presented him with the dagger reeking from her own heart, exhibited not an example of greater magnanimity than that of a Hindoo wife performing suttee.

The sacrifice of human life in this way is enormous, for sometimes great numbers of concubines perform suttee, in common with the wives of a deceased great man. In the year 1803, it was ascertained that two hundred and seventy-five wives were burned with their dead husbands within thirty miles of Calcutta; and in 1804, one hundred and fifteen suttees were performed near the city. Allowing two millions of Hindoos within the circle of this estimate, and seventy millions for the number of natives in India who observe that ceremony, the annual loss of lives is little short of seven thousand. On the 12th of September 1807, near Barnagore, three miles from Calcutta, the body of a Koolin Brahmin named Kristo Deb Mookergee, who died at the age of ninety-two, was burned. He had left twelve wives, three of whom were burned with him. One was a venerable lady, having white locks. Being unable to walk from age, she was placed upon the pile by the Brahmins. The two others were young, and one of them was very beautiful. The old lady was placed on one side of the body, and the two others on the opposite side, when an old Brahmin, the eldest son of the deceased, set the pile on fire, which was instantly in a blaze, amidst the shout of Brahmins, and din of tom toms and tooterics, which drowned the dying cries of the victims. "The Koolin Brahmins," says Dr. Buchanan, "are the

the purest, and marry as many wives as they please. Hindoos think it an honour to have a Koolin Brahmin for a son-in-law. They sometimes have great numbers of wives. Rajeb Bonnerjee, of Calcutta, has forty, Raj Chunder Bonnerjee forty-two, Ramrajee Bonnerjee fifty, and Birjod Bookeree, of Bismampore, now dead, had ninety."

Many efforts have been indirectly made, by the British authorities in India, to arrest this horrible practice, and no doubt with success in the vicinity of stations; but no public act has hitherto been issued for its prohibition. The Hindoos, knowing however the detestation in which this custom is held by Europeans, now take care to perform suttees in as secret a manner as possible; for, in several instances, ladies have been saved and rescued by force from the flames. A princess was once prevailed upon, by a British officer high in command, to live for the sake of her only son: a considerable time afterwards, in soliciting some advantage for him, she wrote thus: "When you recollect that I am his mother, and that you prevailed upon me to dishonour myself for his sake, you will cease to be offended at my soliciting this favour for him. You forced a duty upon me which does not belong to our sex; if I fail in the execution of it, I shall be the reproach of all who are allied to me; if I succeed, and this country flourish, my offence may be forgotten: my happiness depends upon you; on mine depends that of many. Consider this and determine." But when the Mahomedans were in power, they prevented suttee by an exercise of their authority; and it is said, that if the Marquis of Wellesley had continued in India he would have abolished it altogether, as he did the sacrifice of children at Saugur, where twenty-three persons were drowned in the month of January 1801. His lordship by an order in council declared the practice to be murder, punishable by death. The law entitled "A regulation for preventing the sacrifice of children at Saugur and other places," was instituted on the 20th August 1802.

SELF-DEVOTIONS AND INFANTICIDE.

The pagoda of Juggernaut is situated on the Bay of Bengal, 300 miles S.W. of Calcutta. Such numbers of pilgrims die on their way thither, that for fifty miles round the country is white with human bones. Hundreds of old people travel thousands of miles every year to die there, some of them measuring the whole way with their bodies, others journeying on the broad of their backs, and several tumbling head over heels. Thousands of dogs, jackals, and vultures live on the bodies of the dead, and the adjutants are as tame as to approach and gape with horrid expectation at the living. The shouts raised by the continuous multitude constantly gaining sight of the temple from all quarters are awful. For several miles round it is like a vast encampment, and sometimes great numbers are killed by the rush of the multitude towards the great gates. Seated on a throne, between his brother and sister Boleram and Shubudra, appears the idol, made of a block of wood, having a frightfully large visage painted black, with arms of gold and gorgeous apparel. On the walls and gates of the temple are indecent figures, cut in stone, upon which both sexes look with satisfaction. During the great festivals, the idols are paraded about in pagodas made of wood, ninety feet high, fixed on carriages with sixteen wheels, and drawn by men with cables, while the axletrees are often red with the blood of devotees of both sexes, that throw themselves beneath to be crushed to death; their bodies are carried

ried away by *hurries* and thrown into the Golgotha, to be eaten by obscene animals. The stench of this place is dreadful, and on every side the senses are disgusted by the squalid and ghastly presence of the famished pilgrims. Devotees with clotted hair and painted naked bodies are everywhere seen practising their self-tortures; and the exhalations from human ordure would infect the air, were it not that the filth serves as food to the brahminy bulls, which roam about in great numbers.

One hundred thousand souls are constantly around Juggernaut, and their shouts are appalling when the idol is brought out, at which time the multitude, having green palms in their hands, fall down and worship. Then the procession advances, preceded by elephants and dancing girls and buffoons, while upwards of one hundred Brahmins are writhing their bodies into lascivious contortions in the different virandas belonging to each story of the artificial pagoda, that moves along glittering with tinsel and adorned with hundreds of flags, streamers and ensigns, the air resounding with the noise of tomtoms, tooteries, and bands of music. The priests sing and shout, sometimes telling the people that the god is pleased and smiles; at others, that he will not move, and frowns till he is gratified with more blood; while approbation at their indecent gestures, and their gross contortions of body, is expressed in yells of sensual delight. It takes 200*l.* worth of broad cloth to cover the rutt or carriage, and the expenses of the idol are 8,702*l.* per annum, a large portion of which is for dancing girls, who are prostitutes belonging to the temple. His table costs 4,514*l.* a year. But there are other Juggernauts in several places, and the practices at Ishera near Calcutta, and at the temple of Kalli and elsewhere, are of a similar description. At the former place, which is near Serampore, the Baptist missionaries may be seen preaching in the vicinity of those horrible scenes, while crowds are amusing themselves in laughing at these worthy men.

In some tribes the female children are destroyed, and wives purchased from other casts; and this unnatural custom is supposed to have originated in pride. The Jerajahs, Jaits, and Rajkumars practise infanticide, and the mother herself is commonly the executioner, either by putting some opium into the infant's mouth, or drawing the umbilical cord over the face. Colonel Walker, when political agent in Guzerat, investigated the matter by desire of Governor Duncan, whose humanity prompted him to aim at its abolition. It had been a custom there for 2000 years, and Broach or Barygaza is mentioned by very ancient authors as its chief seat. According to calculation, 300 children were murdered annually in Kattywar and Kuteh. Colonel Walker's correspondence with the chiefs of those countries is extremely interesting, and fully detailed in the records of the times, but particularly in Moore's Hindoo Infanticide. He entreated many of them to let their daughters live, and at first received positive refusals and insulting letters. A curious one from Futteh Mahommed, to whom he wrote, in addressing the Row of Booge-Booge, is all I can insert. "It is notorious that since the avatara of Shri Chrishna, the Jerajahs, who are descended from the Jadoos, have, during a period of 4,900 years, been accustomed to kill their daughters; and it has no doubt come to your knowledge that all of God's creation, even the mighty emperors of Hindostan, besides all others the conductors of the affairs of this world, have preserved friendship with this court, and never acted in this respect unreasonably. But you, who are an *amir* of the great sircar, the

Honourable Company, having written to me on the subject, I have felt much uneasiness, for it does not accord with your good character. This *durbar* has always maintained friendship with the Honourable Company; and notwithstanding this, you have acted so unreasonably in this respect, that I am much distressed. No one has, until this day, wantonly quarrelled with this court, who has not in the end suffered loss. Do not again address me on this subject." Nevertheless Colonel Walker did persevere; and at length by publicly discussing and exposing the enormity of the practice, many of the supporters were led to abhor infanticide; and although Governor Duncan had only received a cold approval from his superiors, he had the satisfaction of saving many thousands of infants by his spirited and benevolent interference through Colonel Walker. The supreme government acknowledged that his plan was worthy of humanity; but added, "the speculative success of it cannot be considered to justify the prosecution of measures which may expose to hazard the essential interests of the state." Yet it is probable that no speculation in India ever raised the British character so high in the estimation of the natives; for many of the mothers came some years afterwards to Colonel Walker's tent in Kattywar, and placed their female children in his hands with all the natural marks of affection, emphatically calling their little ones *his children*. Public opinion, however, was still adverse to the preservation of them, for the little ones in many instances were disguised as boys. The innocent creatures appeared ashamed of acknowledging their sex, and assured Colonel Walker that they were not girls, calling on their fathers with infantine simplicity to corroborate their assertions.

ART. XI.—*Abolition of the African Slave Trade.*

THERE is a passage in a letter of the Poet Cowper, which has always appeared to us to breathe, as every thing which fell from his pen did in general breathe, the soul of practical good sense.

"I wish," says he, to his friend Mr. Unwin, (Lett. lxxviii. in *Haley's Life of Cowper*, vol. iii. 4to. edit. 4. p. 166.) "I wish that, by Mr. ———'s assistance, your purpose in behalf of the prisoners may be effectuated. A pen, so formidable as his, might do much good, if properly directed. The dread of a bold censure is ten times more moving than the most eloquent persuasion. They that cannot feel for others, are the persons of all the world who feel most sensibly for themselves."

There are three things which the press can do towards the attainment of a good end. It can first of all demonstrate—make clear and certain—that the end is actually good. Secondly, it can adduce such considerations as are calculated to persuade men to lend their co-operation,—it can show how much of human misery would be avoided, and how much of happiness would be generated, if the end were attained,—it can endeavour to bring the sense of that happiness and misery home to the bosoms of the parties concerned,

to make them fix their attention upon the individuals who suffer, and who might be made to enjoy, and if possible to work upon them by that conception of the happiness and misery of others, which only the herd of the bad and worthless can easily resist. All this, however, may be performed, and still the progress may be very small toward the attainment of the object we desire. A third office, then, remains for the press, which, according to Cowper, is often the most effectual; namely, that of making "those who cannot feel for others, feel for themselves."

The two former services have been rendered to the great cause of the Abolition of the Slave Trade by the press, in a manner as perfect as it is almost possible to conceive. Of the goodness and importance of the end, the demonstration is so complete, that at least there are no gainsayers. The subject is so well understood; and the unfavourable sentiments of mankind are so competently anticipated, that no man dares to look his company in the face and say that he is a friend to the Slave Trade. This, undoubtedly, is a great step to have gained. That it has been gained, chiefly, through the instrumentality of the press, and could not have been gained without it, seems a proposition that will not be contested. It is one of the most signal proofs which we have yet to record, of the beneficial influence which is excited by the press on the destinies of mankind.

Nor is the demonstration of the goodness and importance of the end, the only service which has been rendered by the same instrument to the same great cause. There is not a mode in which the feelings of humanity could be enlisted on its side, which has not been employed with a skill and perseverance never yet surpassed.

All this, however, unfortunate experience evinces, does not suffice. All this has been done, and the Slave Trade still continues. We do not wish to speak the language of exaggeration; nor can we afford to go into details. We, therefore, must direct the reader, for evidence, to the recent Reports of the African Institution; whence he will draw a conclusion with respect to the extent of the ravage which in this channel is still committed upon humanity, a conclusion which, if he has a human heart in his bosom, must affect him with horror.

Of the men who are responsible for this great mass of human misery, there are two sorts. There are men who are indifferent; and there are men who are interested.

Upon both, it is by censure alone that the press has the chance of producing any effect. The indifferent are in this case a large body, as they almost always are, when it is merely the general interest of humanity that they are called upon to support. The interested are a small but powerful body, as they too are in almost

all cases where much difficulty attends the removal of any of those factitious evils, which form the grand sources of the misery of mankind.

The only way of operating upon such men, is, according to the excellent rule of Cowper, since they cannot feel for others, to make them feel for themselves. Hence is clearly seen the importance of the censorial functions of the press. Hence, also, is seen, the importance of having liberty to employ the severest censure; since to produce any salutary consequence, it must be a censure to make the selfish and worthless part of mankind feel for themselves. Hence, too, is clearly seen the cause of that hatred which is borne to this liberty, by the two classes of the men who deserve it,—by them who care little how it fares with the rest of mankind while they themselves are well, and by them who in some shape or other are making or wish to make a prey of a portion of their species.

The press having employed, and having exhausted its powers, in demonstrating, and persuading, on the subject of the Slave Trade, the time is evidently arrived, when it should employ, and, if need be, employ to the utmost, its censorial powers. And the grand object of the address which we are now presenting to the friends of the abolition is, to convince them, that they must speak out; that they must name the parties to whom both primarily and secondarily the mischief is to be imputed; and must describe their conduct in the terms which it deserves. They must speak of it in terms, according to the excellent rule to which we have already referred; such as will make the guilty feel for themselves. To do this, nothing less will suffice, than to rouse against them the disgust, the abhorrence, and indignation of mankind. This, when raised to the proper height, makes the most powerful, and most unfeeling of men, to feel for themselves; and through the medium of feeling for themselves, to act as if they felt for others. The friends of the abolition have shown so much courage, and have admirably braved so much obloquy, that they must not startle to risk a little more. No question, they will be abused. If they employ the censorial powers of the press with such boldness and severity as is necessary to produce the effect which they desire, they will be stigmatized as libellers. They will be told, that it is not the liberty, but the licentiousness of the press, of which they avail themselves. It will be affirmed, that their conduct is of a horrid tendency,—setting an example, which, if generally pursued, must subvert the order of society, extinguish religion and morality, and reduce human beings to the condition of brutes. All the artillery, in short, which can be played off, when the press is employed to the worst of purposes, will be employed to bring odium upon them and their cause. But this, if they act with the wisdom
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and consistency which hitherto have distinguished them, they will not regard. They will consider that this is a fate, which they who employ the censorial powers of the press, to relieve mankind from any source of evil, by which other men profit, are necessarily exposed to, and which they are sure to incur. They who make the profit, and who are unwilling to part with it, hate, of course, the operation which tends to tear it from them; they wish to put an end to that operation, if possible; and therefore they apply to the censorial function of the press all the epithets of abuse, which they have any hope can be made to stick. They do not distinguish the occasions; and observe that the censorial operations of the press are good or bad, just as the occasion is proper or improper, on which they are applied. They hide from themselves,—or at any rate they endeavour to hide from others,—that praise or blame, in their largest acceptation, and by whatsoever instrument applied, can be called neither good nor bad, in the abstract. They are good or bad, no otherwise than as they are properly or improperly applied. And there are of course occasions, on which the highest praise and the highest blame are appropriate, desirable, and calculated to do good.

On all occasions, therefore, on which men hear abusive epithets heaped on the use of the censorial powers of the press, they should stop from joining in the insidious cry, till they have first asked themselves, and ascertained to what persons or things it is, that the censure has been directed; for, if they are persons or things who deserved the censure, it has been good; and is evil, then, and then only, when applied where it is not deserved. If it is applied to persons, by whose conduct any great good is withheld from mankind, and in respect to whom it may be expected to have a power, when other means of prevailing upon them to conform to the calls of general good, cannot easily be found, it is one of the most important instruments which providence has placed in the hands of man; and they deserve the greatest praise, who employ it with the greatest effect.

We have observed, that there are two classes on whom the censures of the press, when the removal of some of the inveterate evils afflicting humanity is in view, may be employed with advantage, the indifferent, and the interested. The conduct of the indifferent, on such occasions, is worthy of particular attention. They are not less exasperated against the freedom of the press, nor less zealous in the use of the means by which it may be discredited and put down, than those are who profit by the mischief, and who are the principal cause of its prolonged and hateful existence. This, at first sight, may appear a little extraordinary, because it is a truth

truth that, heretofore, on the part of the press, this class of persons has been unduly, and somewhat unthinkingly, spared. The attention of writers has been chiefly engrossed by those who, on each occasion, appeared to have the principal interest, in some mischievous practice or institution, and whose endeavours were positive, not like those of the indifferent, merely negative, to preserve it in existence. As the censures of the press passed over the heads of the indifferent, they might have been expected to be quiet, and to leave the task of crying it down to those who suffered by its exertions. But they have acted otherwise; and their voice is almost uniformly heard swelling earnestly the chorus of those who indiscriminately abuse the use of censure by the press, and utterly disregard the difference of its being justly or unjustly, usefully or hurtfully, bestowed.

Their conduct is not without an adequate motive; and that motive is far too seldom understood. The fact is, that this indifference itself furnishes a motive, as will be clearly seen, when the case is looked into with a little attention; and a motive, which impells them in a direction opposite to the general good.

Every man, of course, the indifferent (who fails not in point of selfishness), as well as others, desires good things of all sorts for himself; among other things, the favourable regards of mankind. But for their favourable regards, those who are willing—which he is not—to take pains to promote the interest of mankind, are rivals; and, as often as they succeed, triumphant rivals. They are, therefore, objects of his hatred. He is the enemy of the philanthropist and the patriot. He does not wish success to their designs; because their lustre will, in that case, obscure his own. He is thus the natural ally of all the more active enemies of mankind; of those who labour to prolong mischievous practices and institutions, on account of the benefit which they derive from them; and on most occasions they obtain his co-operation. In the cause of humanity it is eminently true, that he who is not for it, is almost always against it. The reason, therefore, is apparent, why those who may be held as the indifferent class—those who have little regard for the good of mankind, are almost always ranked among the enemies of the press, that is, of censure by the press; without which its other functions would be an instrument of evil, not of good—the cause of universal and mischievous delusion.

These are considerations, which, in the present stage of the business, they have so faithfully pursued, it behoves the friends of the abolition of the slave trade, in our opinion, most attentively to weigh; and if they are convinced as we think they assuredly ought to be, that loud and unsparing censure is now the principal

principal weapon remaining for them to use, they ought to study carefully and immediately by what method the means which they possess can be most successfully employed.

The means at their command are powerful in the highest degree. Some of the most able and eloquent writers of their age and nation are counted in their number; and they possess, which is perhaps of still more importance, money in abundance, to employ—and to employ perseveringly, the pens of those who cannot afford gratuitous labour. Into a large class of the channels of communication—channels exciting a powerful influence on the sentiments of their age—money would always command the admission of able articles, provided and avowed by them. Of these publications, of which the pages are not open to the admission of things for pay, the principal are already on their side; and they have only to employ well the influence which they possess, to get them warmly to second their endeavours. They possess another most important advantage, in the speeches in Parliament, of those who either belong to their body, or are willing to co-operate with them. It is not necessary to dwell upon the great effect which is capable of being produced by this engine; and the study which ought to be made by those who have the accomplishment of the abolition at heart, of the means by which it may be operated with, in the most effectual manner. Censure, pointedly enforced in Parliament by men of consequence, always falls with great weight, and propagates widely the opinions which it implies. It is ensured of a more extensive circulation and perusal, being reported in all newspapers, and read by every body, than any thing which otherwise drops from the pen or the lips of any man. Not only, therefore, should as many speeches as possible, of the proper description, be pronounced (for it is repetition which produces important effects), but a plan should be matured for that purpose—a plan for their succeeding and supporting one another, in such a manner as to render the effect of them the most irresistible.

There is, we believe, no question, that the French Government is the principal cause of the delay that takes place in combining the means which are necessary for putting an end to the traffic in human flesh, and all the crimes and miseries which are connected with it.

In these circumstances it may be necessary for us to anticipate a question which will very naturally be asked; What advantage can be derived from the censorial powers of the press, when the party upon whom it is necessary that the impression should be produced, are independent of the operation of the instrument employed? In what manner can the French Government be made to feel any apprehension from observations made upon it in printed papers in England? Is there a probability that it will treat with any thing
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but contempt, the strongest terms of disapprobation, which can, through such a medium, be applied to its conduct?

It is undoubtedly true, that the effect of censure in this case will be greatly weakened, by the situation of the party on whom it is intended to operate. There are, nevertheless, considerations which lay a foundation sufficient, at least, to justify the trial; and where the object is one of great importance, every thing which may be counted upon as auxiliary to the end, acquires a corresponding value.

It is interesting to observe, that the progress of knowledge, and of right feeling upon this subject, has brought the minds of those who were averse to the accomplishment of the abolition, and who would prevent it if they could, to a particular point, which is peculiarly worthy of notice. They no longer say that they will endeavour to prevent it. They say that they wish for its accomplishment. They have recourse to subterfuge. They say, and do not. They tell the friends of the abolition, that they accord with their wishes; but those obstacles, the removal of which depends upon them, remain unremoved. They pretend one cause after another. They speak in vague, general phrases. Difficulties—great difficulties, stand in the way. Time must be given. And to this discourse there is no end. They to whom these excuses are made, take them, with some little demonstration, perhaps, of dissatisfaction; but still are constrained to take them; because the laws of soft behaviour will not permit those who receive it, to tell those who give, what they think of them.

But it is undoubtedly expedient that they should be told. It is expedient that this milk-and-water mode of urging a great business should come to a close, when it is found to be utterly inadequate to its purpose. The policy of subterfuge should not be allowed to prevail, when direct opposition no longer dares to show its face. To defeat the policy of subterfuge, little more is, in most cases, required, than to unmask it. The impostor must, to his face, be told what he is. The pretences which he uses must not be received. He must be told what they are. And what are they? They are affirmations which have no foundation in fact: but affirmations deliberately made, with a knowledge that they have no foundation in fact, have an appropriate term in English; and to this epithet the greater part of the affirmations made, directly or indirectly, by those who have the power to put an end to the slave trade, and do not, are incontestably entitled.

Now it appears to us, that a steady practice of receiving false pretences, on the subject of the slave trade, at once and plainly as false; at any rate, if done by persons in authority,—persons whose opinions could not fail to influence other men's opinions generally,—would,

would, of itself, go far to put an end to the use of such pretences, and to that mischievous conduct which they are necessary to cover. What we wish to see, therefore, is declarations boldly and unsparingly put forth, by the most eminent of those who so meritoriously exert themselves in this great concern; declarations, authenticated by their names, of their opinions on the subject of these pretences, by which the accomplishment of their wishes is so cruelly deferred.

There are two classes of persons by whom the policy of subterfuge is adopted on this occasion.

The first of these must be considered the members of the French Government, and the persons by whom it is influenced; because they are the parties most immediately interested in the continuance of the slave trade.

The second are the members of those other Governments, which might in this case exert a sufficient authority over the Government of France; and who, professing all the time to have the strongest desire for the accomplishment of the abolition, abstain from exercising that authority.

The press ought to tell to both of these classes what is the true character of the conduct which they pursue.

The French Government is peculiarly situated; and they who know the circumstances ought to give to them that publicity, from which, in one way or another, good effects are certain to ensue.

It is understood, that among the emigrants who lost their estates in the French revolution, who have returned with the restoration of the Bourbons, and who exercise a great influence over the Government, a considerable number have estates, some of them very large ones, in the West Indies. These estates they are very desirous of turning to advantage; for the sake of this advantage, they are very desirous of continuing the slave trade; and to favour their inclinations and interest, the Government chooses to continue the trade; holding the language, at the same time, of persons who wish its abolition. This game has been playing for a number of years; and till such time as the old noble families, who derive an income from this source, are tired of desiring, or the Government is tired of indulging them, or other Governments are tired of looking on with indifference, there is no end that can be seen to the playing of it.

It is, we think, to be expected, that something may be done by shame, upon parties thus situated; upon men who have been making such appeals to the humanity of the world; upon men who have been crying out so loudly against injustice and oppression, when perpetrated by other Governments, in France; upon men, who have the language of religion so much in their mouths, and profess to be so completely governed by its precepts.

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The trial should most undoubtedly be made. Those friends of the abolition, whose situation and character are such as to give weight to what they say,—whose declarations will be universally read,—whose opinions will be quoted, and will govern the opinions of other men, should express themselves freely. They must tell the French Government, and those by whom it is influenced, what they will be constrained to think of it, and what the world will think of it, if those obstructions, which it occasions to the abolition of the slave trade, and which are the main cause of its continuance, are permitted to exist.

We think it is not necessary for us to enlarge more upon this branch of the subject at present. Those whom we are addressing, cannot but see the importance of the course which we are recommending, and are restrained from pursuing it, only by those habits of respect for the feelings of others, which are exceedingly amiable, when accompanied with just calculations; but than which nothing is more mischievous, when fear to touch the feelings of one set of persons, makes us bring, or continue, sufferings of the greatest magnitude upon a much more numerous class of other persons. Reflection in this case must overcome habit: reflection upon the feelings of the Africans must overcome a misplaced tenderness for the feelings of those who act as their enemies, and as the enemies of mankind.

The Governments which might exert a decisive influence upon that of France in the case before us, are, the Government of Russia, and our own Government. The question is, in what degree they can be made to receive impressions through the instrumentality of the press. There is no doubt that both of them maintain a conduct on this important concern, very little creditable to their humanity, their truth, or indeed their courage; for subterfuge is always the policy of pusillanimity. With respect, however, to the Government of Russia, we are not sanguine in our expectations that shame can be made to do much good upon it. Unhappily, it is very nearly beyond the reach of shame. It is out of the pale of European and civilized society. The disgust which it inspires in the minds of those who inhabit London and Paris, very slightly affects the feelings of the men or women who haunt the court of St. Petersburg. They form a world to themselves; and little understand, as they little regard, the feelings of those who live in what with respect to them is almost another world.

But if shame, on account of inhumanity or bad faith, cannot be made to operate upon those who influence the counsels of Russia, any of those salutary terrors which are made to reach a Government through the medium of public opinion, are if possible still more out of the question. There is little or no public opinion in Russia; none

at least to create any useful fears in the Government. The Government is so strong, and the people so weak, that it would not much regard what they should think; but it remains in a state of still more complete indifference, when it has the assurance that they will hardly think at all upon such subjects.

We confess, therefore, seeing the disposition of the Emperor Alexander to give fair words upon this subject, and then to stop, we are inclined to abandon all hope of co-operation from that quarter, and to relieve this great monarch from the temptation to act the impostor on this subject any longer.

With respect to our own Government and its members, the case is fortunately very different. They are open to the feelings both of shame, and of apprehension, from the operation of public opinion; and the only consideration is, how they can be made to feel the force of it most usefully on the present occasion.

That they are sincere in their declarations when they say they wish for the abolition, we are happy to express our entire conviction. But there is a difference between having a wish, and a wish sufficiently strong to take much trouble, and run any risk.

It is very evident that if our Government have the first sort of wish, they have not the latter sort. It is not to be believed, if they were disposed to do all which it is in their power to do, that the French Government would not yield to their inclinations upon this subject. It is perfectly certain, that the benefits which the French Government derives from ours, and which might be withheld; that the inconveniences which that Government could be made to sustain, by the justifiable use of the powers possessed by ours, far outweigh the paltry interest by which it is governed, rising out of the demands of a few families of old nobles.

If our Government do not use the powers which they possess, they must be treated as accomplices with the French Government; accomplices in upholding, for the sake of these families, the trade in human flesh; in other words, of sacrificing to an increase of the wealth of a few favourites, every thing which makes life worth possessing on the part of a numerous portion of the rest of their fellow creatures.

If our Government, and those who influence it, are not made to feel shame, and apprehension both, from persevering in such a conduct as this, we say confidently that it will be the fault of the abolitionists themselves.

ART. XII.—*On Punishment.*

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

WE hardly know any thing more painful to the English ear than the accusation so frequently made by foreigners of the unnecessary severity of our penal code. Why, it is constantly asked, is a system of punishment persevered in, which shocks the humanity of every one who either sees or hears of its infliction; and which, by the confession of all who are most qualified to decide upon the subject, has totally failed in effecting the prevention of crime? The answer, however, generally given to this question is, That it is inexpedient to lessen the severe penalties of the law, until some secondary punishments are discovered which experience has proved capable of producing the same salutary effect.—This answer appears to us futile and unsatisfactory;—futile, because it presupposes the very question at issue—that the penalty of death is really operative in the prevention of crime;—and unsatisfactory, because, though no steps have been taken by those whose duty it is to watch over the administration of the law, as it regards the protection of the persons and property of the public, this culpable negligence is put forth as a reason why a system should be continued which secures neither the one nor the other. In the mean time, the justice of the country is interrupted; the feelings of the people are arrayed in opposition to the law; and, from the impossibility of executing its enactments, a degree of impunity is given, the direct tendency of which is to augment the number, and increase the turpitude, of offences.—Thus it appears by Parliamentary documents, that in the last seven years, 85,487 persons have been committed to prison in Great Britain, of whom 56,310 were convicted; of this number, 7,683 received sentence of death; (being somewhat more than one-eighth,) and of these 693 were executed—or one in 11. In order to show the rapid increase of crime, and how little in the way of prevention has been effected by severe laws, it is necessary to observe, that in the first year (1815) of the series, 553 persons were sentenced to death, out of whom 57 were executed; and, in the last year (1821), 1,134 were condemned, of whom 114 suffered death. We entreat the attention of our readers to the important fact, of the doubling of crimes under the operation of the law; and we would ask the defenders of the system, By what criterion is the policy of a practice to be tried, except by that of its efficacy?

Now, it may be said in reply, that if there had been no infliction of the penalty of death, crimes would have increased in a greater proportion, and that the augmentation of offences is to be ascribed to other causes, than to the over-severity, and consequent non-execution,

non-execution, by words of the law. It would, indeed, be idle to ascribe all the augmentation in the number of offences to the severity of the penal code, as we are well aware of the effects of a long war, in impoverishing and demoralizing a nation : yet, it is curious to remark, that in the few cases where the punishment of death has been altered to one of a milder character, the offence has been rather on the decline. The crime of stealing goods from bleaching-grounds was formerly punished with death—the law has recently been changed, and the commission of the offence has diminished two-thirds ; and though on that of larceny from the person, there is an increase, yet it is not in a greater proportion than other crimes. Indeed, an increase of convictions might reasonably have been expected ; and that probability formed part of the argument of Sir Samuel Romilly, the enlightened author of the measure—“ Repeal these statutes (said he)—lessen the severity of laws, which deter judges, and juries, and prosecutors, from the execution of their duties, which give impunity and encouragement to criminals, and you will be rewarded by a greater facility in their detection ;—the feelings of the public will be in favour of, and not adverse to, the law ; prosecutors will be found to seek for justice at your tribunals, who heretofore shrunk back with horror from shedding the blood of a fellow-creature for the value of a handkerchief or a pocket-book.”. We are prepared, indeed, to contend, that the whole system of punishment has been radically defective in this country. The infliction of the penalty of death has lost, if it, indeed, ever possessed, any salutary example ; and all the other penalties of the law, have been so constructed, as to become by-words for inefficacy and worthlessness.

Our first proposition is, that the chance of incurring capital punishment deters few from the commission of any offence whatsoever ; and even where such punishment has been carried into effect with the greatest severity, the crime which it was intended to prevent has grown under its infliction. In this part of the argument we remove from our consideration all the difficulties of conviction arising from the scruples of conscience on the part of prosecutors, judges, and juries, all the sad effects of these exhibitions of slaughter on the public heart ; but we limit our reasonings to the mere dry question, *Is, or is not, crime prevented?* In 1815, 119 persons were capitally convicted of burglary, in 1821, 294 ; of horse-stealing in 1815, 65, in 1821, 129 ; of housebreaking in the day time, and of larceny in 1815, 53, in 1821, 167 ; of murder in 1815, 15, in 1821, 23 ; of robbery of the person on the highway, &c. in 1815, 49, in 1821, 160. These are the worst offences that are perpetrated ; and yet in defiance of a liberal, though not excessive execution of the utmost severity of the law, in the short period

period of seven years, the ratio of crime has nearly in all cases doubled, and in some quadrupled.—There is yet another offence upon which we wish to offer a few remarks. We refer to the crime of forgery: for many years the penalty of death for this offence was almost unsparingly inflicted; yet the crime increased to such an extent, that it became impossible to execute all who were convicted; and though the number of executions equalled that for the most atrocious and sanguinary offences, still the crime went on augmenting, and the law became tempered in its practice from this cause alone, that it was not possible, in the state of public manners and feelings, to carry its severities into effect. The executions for this crime were, however, for some time, in the proportion of one in two; yet such was the increase of offenders, that the Bank was compelled to admit the greater number to plead guilty to the minor offence, of having forged notes in their possession, the punishment of which is not capital, but fourteen years' transportation. In order to show that the greatest rigour was exercised, we subjoin the following table, calculated from Parliamentary documents, the returns from which they are constructed not being in existence prior to 1805. From 1805 to 1818, there were capitally convicted of—

Burglary	1874	Executed, 199 or 1 in 9
Counterfeit coin	96	9 or 1 in 10
Forgery and uttering	501	207 or 1 in 2½
Shooting stabbing, and administering poison, with intent to murder	147	49 or 1 in 3
Highway robbery	848	118 or 1 in 8
High treason	32	6 or 1 in 5
Arson, or wilfully burning of property	58	29 or 1 in 2

Yet, notwithstanding the severity of these executions; and the little compunction shown to shedding human blood, in cases of forgery, the crime continued to augment, as the following statement will demonstrate. During the last seven years, there were convicted of forgery, and uttering of forged instruments—

In 1815..	21, of whom were executed	11
1816..	43	18
1817..	62	18
1818..	86	24
1819..	55	14
1820..	101	20
1821..	70	16

For having forged notes in possession, there were convicted,—
In 1815, 50—1816, 80—1817, 100—1818, 155—1819, 164—
1820, 272—1821, 180.

Thus

: Thus it is evident, that capital punishment has entirely failed in affording protection to the public against the crime of forgery: and as transportation has long ceased to be considered any punishment at all, the crime of forgery has advanced in an increased ratio; and the only check given to it has been, not through the medium of punishment, but by the removal of the temptation to commit the crime, viz. by withdrawing, on the part of the Bank, the one-pound notes from circulation. The more, then, this great question is examined into, whether it be discussed upon general principles, or by the history of every particular offence, the more fully do we consider our proposition made out—that capital punishments are not the means by which crimes are to be prevented. The same demand may still be made—Why do not crimes diminish?—Why does this terrible penalty not deter persons from the commission of them?—The answer is, It does not deter, because it has no more effect on the thief than the chance of being killed in battle has upon the soldier in preventing his enlistment: both equally shut their eyes to the consequences of their actions—both are tempted by present advantage to overlook evil contingencies. Mr. Harmer, an evidence of the highest value, declared to the Committee on Criminal Law, that, according to his experience, and he had been counsel to upwards of 2000 felons, the penalty of death had no terror to common thieves, who are, indeed, accustomed to regard a violent death as the natural end of their career, and, in speaking of it, to use the common adage that “players at bowls must expect rubbers.” In nine cases out of ten, until the warrant of execution comes down, the convicts pass their time in amusements, and appear careless of their probable fate: when it at last arrives, the few feverish hours between its arrival and the time of execution are soon passed away, and the greater number of these wretched persons quit life with indifference, or, if they show any interest, it is for those who survive them, and for the credit of gallantry, or “dying game,” as it is termed, on the scaffold. Those, who have had the pain of witnessing these scenes, will agree with us in the opinion that, except in a few cases of strong popular antipathy, the feelings of the public are against the law, and with the sufferers. The criminal is cheered and encouraged to meet his fate with unconcern, and, as he has lived hardened, to die unrepenting: round the scaffold are assembled friends to encourage and console, the idle to gaze, and the wicked to plunder. “How could you be so hardened?” said Mr. Cotton, the Ordinary of Newgate, to a little boy who, having been discharged from prison that very morning, was caught in the act of picking a pocket close to the scaffold, on which two of his former companions were then hanging; “could not the sight of their deaths check your disposition

position to thief?" "Lord, Sir," replied the child, "it was just the moment; for when all eyes were looking at the men hanging, all pockets were unguarded." We have, ourselves, been spectators of these conflicts between human pride and suffering, and of that indifference on the part of those whose day of execution was fixed, and who, having no hope of life, were yet not prepared to die. The most remarkable that we at present remember, was the execution of two persons, a few years back, for murderous assaults, and robberies at West End fair. One of these persons was a regularly confirmed thief, who acknowledged that he deserved his fate—that he knew he should meet it—that, after all, it was soon over,—and that he had forfeited his life an hundred times—"once a thief (he said) it was almost impossible to reform; without character, who would employ me? without food, or money to purchase it, how could I live? I found friends, associates, and the means of existence in crime, and, all I can say is, in the lottery of life I have drawn a blank." The other was a Gipsy boy of sixteen or seventeen years of age, who could neither read nor write—ignorant of every thing; he had never heard of a prayer—he knew not what was meant by religion, nor could he be made to comprehend the meaning of the word: when told he was to die the next day, he cried, and asked for his mother. It is just to those who administered the law to add, that this boy was left for execution on account of an act of ferocity and cruelty which he personally perpetrated in the scuffle;—yet never surely was a poor creature so little prepared for so speedy a termination of his career—a boy in size, and intellect,—but matured in the commission of acts of violence and outrage. When he appeared on the scaffold, cries of "Shame, shame! look at the child!" &c. &c. were heard on all sides; and we will venture to affirm, a greater violence to public feeling has not been offered for some years. We wish to ask now—Who benefited by these executions? We grant, the crimes committed were atrocious—but have these punishments prevented their recurrence? Every year the number of street robberies, attended with acts of cruelty, have increased: true it is, these two human beings have ceased to exist, but has society benefited by their deaths?—have those executions been exemplary? We re-affirm without hesitation, that though the feelings of the public are decidedly against the perpetrators of acts of cruelty, yet the appearance of the child on the scaffold softened every heart,—the sympathy of the multitude was excited in his favour; and, in the place of horror at the offence, and a disposition to approve of the infliction of the severe penalties of the law, the law itself was condemned, and its administration reviled and execrated. These scenes are of common occurrence; hardly one person has lately been executed for forgery without ex-

citing

citing similar feelings. Eight times a year, or oftener, these dreadful exhibitions are made in the heart of the metropolis; they are the jest of the wicked, though the terror of the wise and the good; offences multiply under their infliction, while they afford neither reformation nor example.

But, no doubt, we shall be told, that though these severe penal laws are not strictly executed, yet the chances of their execution operate as a restraint on evil-doers; and, if the penalty were not heavy, the crimes against which it is denounced, would be more frequent. If this argument be good, we ask, Why not apply the principle throughout? Why not inflict the punishment of death on every species of offence; the least as well as the greatest; on stealing a tenpenny nail, as well as on the murder of a father?—for, if the greater crimes are diminished by the menace of severe punishments, those of a minor character will, by the same means, be still more effectually checked. The truth is, this reasoning is unsound. The feelings of mankind mark the true distinction; and though, in the scale of a penal code, the offence of petty larceny might be elevated to the crime of murder, yet no legislature could so blunt the natural good sense of a people, as to make them view the two things in the same light, or prevent them from doing what is done, at the present hour, in every criminal court in the kingdom,—that is, evading by perjury and fraud those legal enactments which are felt to disgust and degrade all who have the misfortune to be called to their execution. Is it not then high time, we ask, to retrace our steps in the science of penal legislation; to accommodate it to the feelings and habits of that people, whose lives and properties it is intended to protect; to carry into our courts of law, the active co-operation of all classes of the community; to make men the willing instruments of penal justice, and to teach them to seek the triumph of the law, in the reformation, and not in the slaughter, of their fellow-creatures?

TRANSPORTATION.—The punishment (in the eye of the law at least) next in severity to that of death, is transportation to New South Wales. That colony was first planted in 1786, and it has cost the people of Great Britain, from that period to 1821, the sum of 4,828,841l.* There have been sent to this colony, in the same period of time, 28,275 criminals. This punishment is awarded for almost all species of offence; for all those crimes which, in the jargon of the law, are denominated felonies. It is the commutation of the penalty of death to the highwayman, the housebreaker, and the incendiary; it comprehends, with the exception of murder, the greatest as well as the least of offences, the invader of your family

* Vide Parliamentary Returns, 1822.

at midnight, the spoiler of a pheasant-preserve or rabbit-warren. We have now before us many examples of that strange apportionment of punishment to crime, which has so long characterized the enactments of British law. A. B. convicted of an aggravated breach of trust, attended with the crime of housebreaking; the sentence, death, commuted to transportation. C. D. the theft of a fowl,—respectable parents, good character, and first offence,—the same punishment. E. F. aged eleven, for stealing two sweetmeat-glasses—first offence—the same punishment. We could cite hundreds of instances of the same kind, all bearing the same distinct character of hurried and confused legislation, all victims to that metaphorical net alluded to by Dr. Paley, and into the meshes of which all offenders are swept, however different in character, in age, in crime, or in station.

It is, however, said, that this punishment is capable of being greater or less, according to the nature and character of the offence; thus partaking of one of the qualities of rational punishment—divisibility. This, we are prepared to contend, is merely nominal. To by far the greater part of the persons subject to its operation, any transportation at all amounts to banishment from home for life: exceptions are, however, to be met with; but, unfortunately, they are generally found to be in precisely that class of persons, against whom the vengeance of this law is more especially directed, and whose character and conduct render them fit objects for its severest penalties. The most hardened and expert thieves complete their education in the academy of New South Wales, and return to their associates at home at the conclusion of their respective terms, while the better class remain in the settlement. Thus the mother country receives again, “seven times more wicked than before,” the very criminals, whom, at an immense expense, she had transported to the penal settlement, planted at the very antipodes, for the express purpose of *reforming* them. Of those who are sent to New South Wales, by far the greater proportion are for limited periods. From January 1816 to January 1821, 13,481 persons have been transported from Great Britain alone*, of whom 4048 were for life, 2128 for fourteen, and 7305 for seven years, averaging 2,626 per annum; being a greater number than all the criminal convictions, for every species of offence throughout the kingdom, in 1806. We forbear to discuss here the original policy of this description of punishment, or the entire failure of the experiment, both abroad and at home. With regard

* From Ireland from Sept. 1817 to Sept. 1822, 3215 have been transported; for life, 751; for fourteen years, 143; for seven ditto, 2311. Vide Parliamentary Papers, 1822.

to New South Wales, we would ask, what has been produced there (as far as the convicts are concerned) but aggravated wickedness, and a depravation of morals hitherto unexampled in the history of mankind? We appeal to the journals of Mr. Collins, whether such has not been the case in all the early period of the settlement; and, for the events of late years, we refer to the Report of the Commissioner, Mr. Bigge, in 1822. We would fain hope that this Report is in the hands of the public at large, as every page of it is crowded with the most important matter; and hideous, as we well knew, were the features of this school of crime and misery, established on the other side of the globe, we were hardly prepared for the reception of such a case of misgovernment as the Report exhibits. In England, there is now but one opinion of its failure as a place of punishment. Offences are committed by some, for the sake of going there; it is hailed by them as a desirable asylum; to the young it is a party of pleasure; while the suffering falls on the innocent alone—on the wretched wives and children of the convicts who are subject to its infliction. Lords Liverpool, Bathurst, and Sidmouth allowed, in the House of Lords, that, as a punishment, transportation had lost its terrors: that is to say, Since diseases on the passage out have ceased to sweep away half the passengers in each ship; since those who escaped pestilence at sea have ceased to be the victims of famine on shore, the sentence of banishment from home has deterred no one from the commission of crime.

This punishment is now, we understand, no longer to be carried into effect. The seven years' transports are not to be sent to New South Wales; and those for fourteen years, or for life, are not to be settled at Sidney or Paramatta; but, in remote places in the settlement, where severity is to be really applied, and the mischievous system abandoned of proclaiming to the convict, that punishment is at an end, when, in fact, it ought but to be beginning. We hope also, that another part of the same practice will cease, namely, the favours which have been shown to thieves who, on their arrival, were known to possess money; such as have been successful, we mean, in making their fortunes at the expense, and sometimes to the total ruin, of those whom they had defrauded. We cannot forget the case mentioned by Mr. Buxton in the House of Commons, last session. It is so remarkable, and at the same time so illustrative of the mode of administering the affairs of *this place of punishment*, that we cannot refrain from again stating the particulars. A person by the name of Love was some years back a clerk in a country bank; he robbed his employers of 20,000*l.*; they declined to prosecute capitally; he was tried upon the minor charge, and sentenced to transportation. Mr. Buxton, aware of the consequences of his being sent to

New South Wales, applied to have him confined either in the Hulks, or in the Penitentiary; but Lord Sidmouth refused his consent, being probably ignorant at that time of the treatment which monied thieves received on their arrival in New South Wales: accordingly, he was sent to the colony: he took with him the greater part, if not all, of the 20,000*l.*, and a man transported from the same county became one of his servants, Mr. Love having, soon after his arrival, procured a ticket of leave, which exempted him from labour, and from all punishment. This servant writes to his friends at home a glowing description of the prosperity of his master, of "Squire Love," as he terms him. We understand the squire has since received His Majesty's pardon, and is now an opulent settler, deriving wealth from the plunder of his late employer in England. We have in our possession several cases of a similar description, detailed in letters from convicts to their families, all setting forth the blessed effects of robbery, and how much better off they are in New South Wales than at home. One of these fortunate thieves thus writes to his wife, alluding to the commission of an act of burglary, for which he was transported, "Oh! it was the best night's work I ever did in my life." Statements such as these have run like wildfire through the working population of the country, and transportation is either derided as a jest, or hailed as a blessing.

We refer generally to Mr. Bigge's Report for minute details, illustrative of the total failure of the experiment as it has been carried into execution. All that has ever been said or written upon it by others, is confirmed in every particular by this official inquirer, and we confess that we view, with some doubt of their ultimate success, the projects of amendment which he has suggested. We are convinced the colony cannot endure much longer the vast influx of criminals, which have been latterly sent there; and that capital and character are the two commodities which the mother country must now study to export. We agree with Mr. Bigge, that the employment of convicts on the part of Government must cease; that they ought to be scattered and spread about through the colony, as the assembling of them in Sidney, or Paramatta, produces the same effect on public morals there, as the concentration of typhus fever in an hospital does to the health of its inmates. Dispersed through the settlement as bonded servants, they may slowly but gradually lose the vices, and cease to perpetrate the crimes, for the commission of which they have become exiles from their native home. With a beautiful climate, and not unfruitful soil, a wise and limited Government, maintained in the true spirit of English liberty, will raise up, even out of the unpromising materials we have been describing, a noble and lasting monument of British industry

industry and perseverance. But the Parliament of Great Britain owes the most watchful attention to the safety of those persons, who have embarked their properties and established their families in these distant regions. One of the fairest portions of the world should surely never be made the permanent abode of misery and crime. If the objects contemplated, at least by the founders of these settlements, cannot be realized; and if banishment to this penal colony neither produces terror in delinquents at home, nor reformation abroad, it will be necessary to abandon, without delay, all schemes for turning this beautiful country into a large gaol,—into another Newgate,—and to leave it to its own natural resources, to that certain, though perhaps remote, prosperity, which these advantages, quickened and encouraged by a wise and paternal Government, will most assuredly secure.

HULKS.—The remainder of the criminals who are sentenced to transportation, but not, however, sent abroad, are detained in the hulks at home. These establishments are of late years much improved. Under the judicious arrangements recommended by a Committee of the House of Commons, and carried into effect by Lord Sidmouth, these places of confinement have ceased to be the deposits of misery, and that academy for every species of vice and crime, which for so many years they are well known to have been. It would be difficult to persuade those, who witness for the first time the order and regularity which at present prevail on board the different ships, that not many years ago robbery and coining were prevailing offences there; and that after dusk, no officer of the ship, without danger of his life, could venture between the decks. Under the able and humane management of Mr. Capper, these scenes of abomination and wickedness are at an end; and, as we have visited all these establishments, we are anxious to praise particularly those at Sheerness, under the care of the Rev. Messrs. Price and Edwards, who, as chaplains on board the two convict-ships on that station, have successfully laboured to conquer the natural difficulties of their situation. Under their fostering care and judicious management, great improvements have taken place; the children are separated from the men; trades are taught; the schools are well attended; moral and religious lessons inculcated; and from our own knowledge, we can speak to many instances of successful reformation attending these pious and laudable exertions.

The four establishments at Portsmouth, Sheerness, Chatham and Woolwich contain altogether about 2,800 convicts. The estimated profits of their labour is 44,117*l.* per annum, and the net cost to the country 35,597*l.*, being at the rate of something more than 12*l.* per head per annum. The objections to these establishments are, in our opinion, many; and notwithstanding all the efforts of the praiseworthy

praiseworthy persons engaged in their management, we fear the greater number of criminals who are discharged, either at the end of their respective terms, or in consequence of the King's pardon, have benefited but little by the punishment they have undergone. As a place of reformation, we apprehend no great success can be boasted of; but with respect to exemplariness, while hard labour, close confinement, and coarse fare, are objects of public dislike, confinement on board the hulks may be considered as a punishment highly calculated to strike beholders. Thus far it is good, and works well. Its leading defects are—1st. That it is the same punishment for all sorts of offenders: hard labour to the husbandman or artisan—the raising of ballast or the driving of piles, are nothing more than that which they have long been accustomed to perform,—they, indeed, have been bred to hardships, and toil, and fatigue, from childhood; but to the merchant's and banker's clerk,—to those who have been brought up tenderly,—to the tradesman, and, we are sorry to add, sometimes to the officer and the gentleman, this mode of punishment is of another character and description.

2d. The exposure of working in a felon's garb, in the public view, is very injurious to the best feelings of the human heart. Even in a prison there are some blushes; but to those who feel that they have been *seen* working in gangs on the public works, shame must be unknown, and all the sensibilities of our nature stifled and destroyed.

By the coarse and vulgar mind,—by the confirmed and hardened thief, this public exposure is probably unheeded; while its severity must be extreme to persons of birth or education. Can we, then, wonder that hundreds, in order to fly from this dreadful publicity of degradation, volunteer to go to New South Wales; selecting, as a lesser evil, that punishment which the law has deemed next in severity to that of death? This system of public exposure has been often tried, and has uniformly produced the same effects. Mr. Howard mentions the evils which it involved when carried into execution at Berne;—and the legislatures in America have been compelled to abandon the practice, from a long and fatal experience, that by thus degrading the objects of punishment, they became savage and cruel; and that criminals, so far from being amended by this torture, were, on the contrary, rendered more daring and desperate by it.

3d. All ages, as well as all descriptions and classes of society, are confounded in this species of punishment, with the exception of children, who are classed together; but the age just beyond childhood, when the heart is flexible, and the character unformed, is here exposed to an almost indiscriminate association with the worst of characters. We know, indeed, that attempts are made

to classify; but these attempts are not, and cannot be, successful: for, though the chaplains on board these vessels may have laboured hard for months, and, step by step, have made a due selection of character,—and, by discriminating the nice shades of guilt, may have placed the child of neglect, the victim of seduction, and the half-accomplished criminal, in separate classes; though they have endeavoured, by moral and religious instruction, unwearied discipline, and constant inspection, gradually to root out their evil dispositions, and to give habits of industry, and a value for character,—yet, twice a year, 1500 convicts are sent on board the hulks, from the different prisons in the kingdom,—the hulks being but a resting-place for New South Wales. Thus the wholesome results of classification are nearly at once annihilated; and under such an arrangement, it is in vain to expect any real amendment in the character and disposition of the larger portion of the criminals. There can, indeed, be hardly any thing more heart-breaking than this overthrow of all the hard labours of the chaplains on board the hulks. They, indeed, do not relax their efforts, but perform in despair all the tasks of hope: yet this deluge of new crimes, which is poured from the gaols of the kingdom twice a year, produces the most lamentable effects, and is a source of perpetual vexation, and of constant remonstrance and complaint. If the present system of the hulks is to be continued, this degrading punishment ought to be inflicted only on confirmed thieves, or on those who, having been punished before, are convicted a second time of some felonious offence. Separate ships ought to be provided—1st. For the class above named: 2d. For the boys and youths, where all association with persons older than themselves may be prevented: 3d. For the convicts who are to be sent to New South Wales; so that those whose crimes are not of such a nature as to warrant the infliction of that punishment, may be kept apart from the greater offenders.

GAOLS.—Having discussed, as shortly as we have been enabled to do, the different modes of punishment in practice in this country—1st, The penalty of death: 2d, Transportation to New South Wales: and, 3d, Confinement on board the hulks: there yet remains another branch of the administration of criminal law—Imprisonment in Gaols—on which we cannot refrain from offering a few observations. We propose to speak particularly of the state of the prisons and houses of correction.

There exists, fortunately, an official document upon this subject, which enables us to decide with accuracy on the nature of these establishments.

In the year 1819, a Return was laid before Parliament, of the amount of gaols and houses of correction in the United Kingdom, specifying

specifying their capacity, and the number of prisoners which had been committed to them in 1818.

Now, in order to understand the great value of this return, it is fit to premise, that the Legislature of this country had, nearly half a century before, passed some excellent laws for the better management of places of confinement.

By the act of the 24th of Geo. III. ch. 54. certain rules were laid down with respect to the classification of prisoners, for the express purpose of preventing contamination, by the promiscuous assemblage of young and old,—the new beginner, and the veteran offender. Yet so little attention had, in fact, been practically paid to the administration of the law (and we must speak the truth, however painful to our feelings), that this salutary statute was little better than a dead letter. Out of 518 prisons in the United Kingdom, to which no less than 107,000 persons were committed in 1818,—23 prisons only were classed and divided according to law; 59 had no division to separate the males from the females; 136 had only one division for that purpose. In like manner, the law directs that materials for labour shall be provided, and the prisoners constantly employed; but in 445 prisons no work of any description had been introduced. In addition to these two remarkable deviations from the salutary enactments of this statute, the want of sufficient room was considered to be a grievous evil; yet, in 100 gaols, capable only of containing 8545 prisoners, 13,075 had been at one time confined. Thus, then, in all those things which alone make imprisonment otherwise than moral and physical torture, nearly all the gaols in the kingdom were lamentably deficient. The want of room compelled all descriptions of prisoners to be confined together; and the pain of great bodily suffering was thus aggravated by the certainty of moral degradation. The want of labour not only altered the nature and character of the punishment inflicted under the law, but confirmed and strengthened those habits of idleness which, in nine cases out of ten, were the parents of the very crimes which the law meant to punish. The prisoners had no other employment than the farther corruption of each other. The legitimate objects of rational punishment, viz. reformation and example, were forgotten; and every gaol-delivery turned loose into society multitudes, whom the letter of the law meant to be reformed, but who, under its practice, became more expert in crime, and more hardened in guilt. We rejoice, however, in being able to state, that the great work of reformation in these important subjects is rapidly going forward. Since the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons has been published, and these real public grievances made manifest, there have been incessant exertions, on the part of a
large

large proportion of the magistracy of the kingdom, to remedy the evils complained of. Great improvements have taken place in the old gaols; new ones have been built, or are in progress; and the attention of the intelligent, the enlightened, and the good, are so directed to this salutary work, that the most favourable results may be anticipated. Besides, the House of Commons has been for two years engaged in framing an act of parliament for the better management of prisons; and a wise and rational system has been laid down for the direction and guidance of those who are intrusted with the administration of them. This Act passed the House of Commons last year, but was rejected by the Lords. We confess we have not at present learnt the grounds upon which their lordships refused even to attempt to modify so salutary a measure. Yet we do not despair: experience has taught us that the public voice is sometimes heard in that assembly; and though a hatred to all change in the administration of the law, is strongly felt by some leading personages of that body, yet we are convinced that reform is at hand,—and that all prejudices will give way before the light of reason, and the determined opinion of the British people.

It is, however, worth our while to pause, and look at the state of this momentous question, as it is now presented to the public attention, compared to what it was but a few years back. We, who remember the commencement of the institution, known by the name of the “*Prison-discipline Society*,” and who have, in a manner, sat by its cradle, may perhaps be allowed to express some feelings of exultation:—First, at the triumph of so just and good a cause, over prejudice, idleness, and error; and, secondly, at this additional proof of the active philanthropy of our countrymen, and at the certain success which attends an appeal to sound heads and warm hearts. It is not many years since a few individuals were accustomed to hold a weekly meeting at the house of William Allen, whose time and labours are, on all occasions, steadily and disinterestedly employed for the benefit of mankind. At these meetings were discussed the subjects, of which, in this paper, we have attempted to treat. Inquiries were set on foot, to ascertain the condition of the London prisons, and the extent of crime in the metropolis. By degrees fresh labourers were called to the harvest; and we had the satisfaction of being present at, we believe, the fourth meeting of the society, when the Duke of Gloucester presided in the chair; and persons of the highest rank—in station, character, benevolence, and public usefulness,—assembled together, to further, by their eloquence, their precepts, and their liberality, the objects of this rational and praiseworthy institution.

As far, then, as prison-discipline is concerned, we consider the
Society

Society to have eminently prospered. Whatever may be the ultimate result of other questions of great national import, this, at least for the present, is secure; and we trust the success gained by the people in this instance, will stimulate them to be active and zealous in procuring the reform of the penal code. We know of no better method to be pursued, than by constant petitions to Parliament,—and we earnestly call the attention of the public to this important subject. It surely becomes them to endeavour to procure the alteration of a system of law, which, while it has utterly failed in all the purposes which it professes to obtain, has the most unbounded success in degrading and debasing the public mind. It surely is not now to be endured, that among all the nations of Europe, we alone should possess the melancholy privilege of a criminal code, which the humanity of the people will not permit to be carried into practical execution.

Having thus shortly examined the various means established in this country, for the purpose of punishing the commission of crime, we cannot conclude these observations without stating, with some precision, our own views upon these subjects. In the first place, we are willing to leave certain crimes to be visited by capital punishments; not, however, that we have made up our minds to their being at all times, and in all countries, necessary for the prevention of those specific offences; but because in this country, the public feeling seems to require that they should be so punished. These crimes are—murder, attempts to commit murder, poisoning, rape, arson, robbery attended with cruelty, and housebreaking in the night with arms. We know of no other crimes that, with a due regard to the necessity of proportioning punishment to offences, and of securing the co-operation of public opinion with the provisions of the law, a rational legislature can, with propriety, attempt to repress, by the infliction of the penalty of death. In this view of the case, we need not add, that a large proportion of the capital punishments, at present in force, would be swept from the statute book.

Secondly.—We would transport no criminal to Botany Bay, except for his or her natural life. The statute book should be carefully inspected and weeded; and as this is the punishment next to death, and considered to be the most severe, it should be inflicted only for crimes of an atrocious character, or on confirmed thieves after repeated convictions. Except in cases where it is a commutation for capital punishment, no one should suffer transportation who had not been before convicted, and whom the milder sentence of the law had not deterred from a repetition of crime.

Thirdly.—Compulsory labour at the hulks might be reserved for those who were old offenders, and confirmed thieves; but who, however,

however, were not convicted of such offences as had the penalty of transportation for life annexed.

Fourthly.—For all other offences, we would have imprisonment with hard labour inflicted; and when the term of imprisonment was long, would supply instruction in some useful trade, and in moral and religious truths; we would mingle strict discipline with uniform kindness; we would appoint food of a wholesome but coarse quality; we would exact, on the part of the officers, unremitting attention to the habits and manners of the prisoners; and on that of the magistrates, we would urge their jealous and vigilant inspection; and, finally, would secure the controul of public opinion by a general circulation of the details of every prison.

By a confinement thus close and rigorous, we do not say that all crime would be repressed, but we feel convinced that there would be less impunity than exists at present, and that the criminal who had once suffered such a penalty for his offence would be slow in incurring it a second time.

It is no fair objection to urge the expense which a large increase of places of confinement would occasion. That cost is already incurred; the 300,000*l.* which is now annually voted to the colony of New South Wales, would, in a short time, supply the means of constructing as many additional houses of correction as might be required. That money is now expended for a purpose which no man living can contend has ever had the smallest salutary effect in repressing the commission of crime. Ask any thief, if the choice were given him, whether he would prefer transportation to six months at the stepping-mill, and we will venture to affirm that nine out of ten would choose to go to New South Wales, rather than pass even that short period in continued bodily labour. No one, who has ever learnt the ways of thinking among persons of that mode of life, can doubt the correctness of this statement.

With this knowledge, then, of the feelings of criminals, is it not plainly to further the commission of crime, to continue a code of laws which corrects no evil propensity; which reforms no bad habit; which deters no man from the criminal indulgence of his passions, or his avarice, or his vice, but which affords by its severities protection and impunity? Let us then labour in the pious hope of reaping the fruits of our own exertions, and, advancing in wisdom as we advance in knowledge, retrace our steps, review our laws, adapting them to the feelings and character of the age in which we live; and while we reject, not hastily, that which has been bequeathed to us by our ancestors, yet let us so use their bequest as to turn that experience which we alone could gain, to the amelioration of those laws themselves which can only be successful in governing

governing mankind, when they rest on the foundations of reason and justice.

"Blessed shall he be," says Lord Coke, "that layeth the first stone of the building, more blessed that proceeds in it, most of all that finisheth it, to the glory of God, and the honour of our King and Nation."

ART. XIII.—*Society for the Relief of the Peasantry of Ireland.*

WHATEVER tends to bring together the extremes of society, must eventually prove beneficial to the moral qualities of the community. The late sufferings of the Irish peasantry awakened a degree of sympathy in this country, never before felt for that degraded cast. All classes were forward to pour in their contributions to supply the exigencies of existing famine. The famishing sufferers were rescued by ample supplies in the most critical season of their affliction, and were thus irresistibly impelled to respect their benefactors. So prompt and abundant were these supplies, that those who administered them were enabled not only to relieve the more obvious distress, but encouraged to search for the misery, which, though more retired, was to the full as deep. Scenes of poverty of unbounded extent were discovered by *new* ministers of benevolence, and relief was thrown in where and whence it perhaps never came before. Sympathy on the one side, and grateful recollections on the other, have broken through the obstructions to a mutual understanding. The desire is strong on the part of the good and wealthy to promote the *permanent* benefit of this miserable people, and they in return to listen to the suggestions of their superiors, and to yield them a willing acquiescence. An opening like this must not be suffered to close again—an acquaintance thus fortunately begun must be ripened into a more durable connexion. The exertions of individuals, extending to the interior of the cottage, acting in conjunction, or at least simultaneously, with the efforts of the Government, and the remissions of the landlords, and the forbearance of the clergy, may work together to the conversion of a neglected and thoughtless population into a race of careful and comfortable labourers. What is the state of the Irish poor? One at once of oppression and of abandonment! Subject to the iron rule of inferior agents—the man without occupation, or with scarcely half an employment—his wife without any—and his children without education or discipline. He has no bond of connexion with a master, nor tie of kindness with a landlord; he has neither the encouragement of protection, nor the stimulus of labour. Ignorant alike

alike of the common principles of economy, neither he nor his wife sees the virtues and advantages of cleanliness, or regularity, or parental authority. They have none to teach these *first* of virtues. We use the term advisedly—till comfort pervades the cottage, neither will the mind be awakened nor the temper be influenced by higher considerations. In the present state of things, they have none to please, they have no pride in appearance, they abandon themselves to sloth and filth; the sum of their cares is food and a brutal enjoyment of animal life.

To rescue a million of human beings from this horrible condition, is surely a worthy and an engrossing object for philanthropy; and seems, indeed, to cast a shade of reproach upon exertions, which, though so promptly and laudably, are sometimes so doubtfully, spent, in uncertain projects in the remotest corners of the world; whilst within our own country, there seems enough, and more than enough, to occupy the whole—a capaciousness that would absorb the full streams of the most unbounded benevolence. This million is steeped in misery and ignorance:—misery and ignorance are the great evils of life, which it is the very object of philanthropy to remove; and here they are close at home—a rich and a promising harvest. *We* shall not be thought to depreciate the labours of Christians, in what part of the world soever they may be exerted; but we cannot forbear giving vent to convictions which press upon us, that to expend our efforts upon our fellow countrymen is, after all, the “weightier matter,” and that this is what we ought to do—and not to leave the other undone.

A society of English and Irish ladies, including some of illustrious name and influence, and others equally distinguished for benevolence and activity, are at this moment engaged in the warm pursuit of this great object—the improvement of the Irish Peasantry. We are happy to give to their views all the publicity in our power, and present to our readers their Prospectus, and the Resolutions adopted at their first meeting; which are already, we believe, in a state of assiduous and vigilant execution.

“PROSPECTUS.—In considering the intercourse which has lately taken place between Great Britain and Ireland, it is apparent that the events of the last six months are of the greatest importance to both countries. It is to be hoped that the two parts of the empire are bound together by the strongest and most affectionate ties—the pleasure of relieving, and the gratitude with which relief has been received. Nor is it too much to say, that the acknowledgements of the Irish people have been as warm and as sincere as the British subscription has been freely afforded. Correspondence has been opened between the charitable and benevolent on both sides of the channel; the nations have been made better known to each other, prejudices have been forgotten, new sources of sympathy are opened, enlarged powers of usefulness are created. This kind spirit of benevolence will, it may be hoped,
long

long survive the calamity which gave it birth, and Ireland may perhaps find, in her season of adversity, not only lessons of virtue, but the spring of permanent improvement. Indeed, the present opportunity is one so peculiarly suited to the commencement of the great work, of improving the condition of the Irish poor, that it would be lamentable if it were to be lost. The hearts of the peasantry are now opened by kindness, and their minds are now softened, to receive any impression made upon them by intelligence and experience. A moral impulse may now be given; advice and assistance may now be offered; and the beneficial effects produced on the peasantry may be rendered both strong and permanent.

"All classes in the community have cordially united in this work of Christian affection. The Government and the Legislature have lent their aid,—the rich out of their abundance, the poor out of their poverty, have contributed towards the relief of Irish distress. Nor have the ladies of England beheld without sympathy, sufferings, which, pressing upon the destitute of their own sex, as wives, as daughters, and as mothers, entitled the afflicted, in a peculiar manner, to their compassion. They have been endeavouring, by providing supplies of clothing, to mitigate the misery, which to a peasantry, forced to sacrifice clothes and bedding for food, the approaching winter cannot fail to produce.

"But the ladies of England do not wish to confine their efforts to this temporary benefit. Without overstepping those bounds of reserve, which duty and inclination prescribe to their sex, or without undertaking a task which belongs to the more powerful part of society, it has appeared to them, that if they can unite with the countrywomen of the unhappy sufferers, they may assist in the great work of general improvement in Ireland, so desirable in the opinion of every one acquainted with the condition of the people of Ireland, and awake to the feelings of humanity. In promoting the comforts of the poor,—in giving an useful excitement to their industry,—in endeavouring to remove the difficulties, which at present dispirit and discourage the Irish cottager,—in suggesting plans of domestic economy, of industry, of cleanliness, and of good order,—it is conceived that much may be effected in the minds of the female peasantry, by the advice of persons of their own sex. These minor, though important, sources of improvement are peculiarly within the province of female benevolence; and in the extensive correspondence, lately received from Ireland, it is clearly demonstrated, that through these various channels the greatest possible benefits may be made to flow. Among the female peasantry of Ireland is to be found the greatest anxiety for occupation, combined with almost a total want of employment; hundreds and thousands of hands are idle for want of means of working; poor females, who, if possessed of a spinning-wheel, would be enabled to clothe their children, and even to contribute to the maintenance of their families, are without the means of procuring the implements required for their domestic manufacture of linen. In some instances, spinning-wheels are hired by the poor, to enable them to prosecute their industry; and wherever the experiment has been tried, of assisting the female poor, by instruction in useful labour, it appears to have been successful.

"It is for the purpose of creating, and gradually diffusing improved habits among the female peasantry of Ireland, for the purpose of rendering their habitations more healthful, and of assisting them in the prosecution of domestic

mestic industry, that it is proposed to the ladies of Great Britain and Ireland to form a permanent association of benevolence in both countries. That the object is one of the greatest importance, cannot be denied; that it falls within the range of female duty, appears unquestionable; that it is an object within the reach of performance, if undertaken, and persevered in, with active zeal, and with calm good sense, would seem almost equally certain.

"Such are the principles, on which it is proposed to institute the British and Irish Ladies Society; and on those principles its promoters make their appeal to the public for countenance and support. The Society is not founded upon any sudden impulse of enthusiasm, or of overwrought sensibility. It is simple, practical, and supported by experience; and when among its effects may be anticipated the improved habits of the mothers of families, and the consequent improvement of the young, it will be seen that few subjects of greater importance have been presented to public attention. Great as are the advantages of education of the male population, in morals, industry, and necessary information, there are circumstances which may render the instruction of the females still more important. The instruction of the sons of an Irish peasant too often extends no further than the individuals themselves; but the improvement of females in industry and intelligence, is handed down by them, as mothers of families, to their offspring, and becomes interwoven and co-extensive with the frame of society itself."

In conformity with this Prospectus, a society was formed, at a Meeting held at Downing-street, on the 11th October, 1822, at which the following Resolutions were passed, and Rules adopted for the management of the Society:—

"1st Resolution,—That the principles of the Prospectus, which has been read, being entirely approved by this Meeting, a society be now formed, for the purposes therein stated, and that it be designated 'The British and Irish Ladies Society, for improving the condition, and promoting the industry and welfare, of the female peasantry in Ireland.'

"2d Resolution,—That this society shall consist of a Central Society in London; of County and District Associations in Ireland; and of Local Associations in Great Britain, formed for the purpose of collecting funds, and increasing the general interest in the designs of the society.

"3d Resolution,—That the following be the rules of the Central Society:

"1. The society shall consist of persons of all religious denominations. Every annual subscriber of one pound or upwards, and all persons who shall collect weekly in its behalf, one shilling or upwards, shall be considered as members.

"2. Benefactors of ten pounds or upwards shall be deemed members for life.

"3. The business of the society shall be conducted by patronesses, a president, vice-patronesses, a vice-president, a treasurer, two or more secretaries, and a committee of 24 ladies, resident in and about London. The committee shall meet on the second Tuesday in every month, five members being competent to act, or oftener if necessary.

"4. The purpose of the committee shall be to correspond with the ladies in Ireland, inviting them to form county and district associations, and thus to draw into combined exertion the benevolence of the respective districts, and secure its operation upon the poor; to communicate any information which

which may appear to them calculated to assist the beneficent efforts of the ladies in Ireland; and to use means to procure subscriptions and donations, as well as to encourage the formation of local associations in Great Britain, in aid of the funds of the society.

"5. The funds so obtained shall, after deducting incidental expenses, be employed at the discretion of the committee, in furthering the object of the society, by the circulation of useful information; by occasional co-operation with the county associations in Ireland, in affording the necessary materials of work, both for domestic purposes and for simple and easy manufactures; by encouraging the cleansing and white-washing the habitations of the poor, and by supplying means for distributing presents among such as may distinguish themselves by the clean, orderly, and decent appearance of their children.

"6. The assistance rendered by this society to the associations in Ireland, shall, as far as possible, be suited to the wants and situation of the different districts, and be placed at the disposal of the county committees for distribution; and the correspondence of the society shall be confined to such county committees, as far as circumstances admit.

"7. The committee shall be authorized to add to the number of vice-patronesses; to fill up annually such vacancies as may occur in the committee; to replace the treasurer and secretaries as occasion may require; to employ such subordinate officers as may be found necessary; and to prepare before the meeting in June, an annual report of their proceedings, and a statement of the receipts and expenditure of the society, which shall be printed for the general information of the members.

"4th Resolution.—That the ladies resident in Ireland shall be solicited to assist in carrying the design of this society into effect, by forming county and district associations, whose objects shall be—

"1. To visit the families of the poor, and obtain a knowledge of their situation under certain heads of inquiry*.

"2. To excite to a sense of virtue and piety, to habits of industry, cleanliness, and attention to domestic duty.

"3. To endeavour to procure employment for poor women at their own dwellings.

"4. To visit the sick, and provide temporary assistance in the loan of linen, &c.: also to procure medical advice where necessary.

"5. To encourage the poor to send their children to schools.

"6. To promote the industry and improvement of the poor in any other way which local circumstances appear to require.

"5th Resolution.—That this society, duly appreciating the benevolence of such ladies as have contributed to the general subscription for the relief of the distressed districts in Ireland, solicit their concurrence in support of this institution. Subscriptions from such ladies will not be required till Midsummer, 1823."

* The following heads (placed in ruled columns) varying according to local circumstances, are respectfully suggested, as likely to be useful:—

Name—Residence—Number in family—Employment, and means of subsistence—Children from 6 to 14 years of age—Whether educated or not—Occasional remarks.

OBITUARY.

OBITUARY.

THE REV. JOHN OWEN, M.A.

Late one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

WE quote the following character of this gentleman from a minute prepared by Lord Teignmouth, and recorded in the Monthly Extracts of Correspondence published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The President stated, that he had now to discharge the melancholy duty, of reporting to the Committee the death of their Secretary, the Rev. John Owen, which took place on Thursday, the 26th of September, at Ramsgate.

In adverting to the afflicting dispensation, which has deprived the British and Foreign Bible Society of the invaluable services of its late Secretary, the Committee cannot resist the impulse of duty and affection, thus to record their grateful testimony to his zeal and unwearied exertions.

As no one was more deeply impressed with a sense of the great importance of the Institution to the best interests of mankind, no one laboured more strenuously and effectually to promote its influence and prosperity. To this object, which was ever near to his heart, his time, his talents, and his personal labours, were unremittingly devoted. The correspondence which his official situation imposed on him, was alone sufficient to occupy the time which he could spare from his professional duties; but the energies of a superior mind enabled him to extend his care and attention to every branch of the multifarious concerns of the Society, and to accomplish more than could have been expected from individual efforts. His pen and his voice were incessantly employed in its cause. The former was frequently and vigorously exercised in elucidating the principles of the Institution, or in defending its character and conduct against misrepresentation or aggression. To his pen the world is indebted for a luminous and authentic History of the Origin of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of its progress during the first fifteen years of its existence; in which the characters of truth and impartiality are throughout conspicuous: while his eloquence, so often and successfully displayed in advocating the cause of the Institution, impressed on his audiences that conviction of its utility, which he himself so strongly felt, and which the progressive experience of eighteen years has now so amply confirmed.

But his eloquence was entitled to a higher praise: it was the effusion of a heart in which candour and liberality ever predominated: it was characterised by that suavity of disposition, which had endeared him to the affectionate esteem, not only of his colleagues and the Committee, but of all who were in any way associated with him in transacting the business of the Society; while his great and diversified talents commanded general respect and admiration, and never failed to produce in public meetings

meetings an harmonious feeling of mutual regard among all who had the privilege of attending them.

In the year 1818, Mr. Owen, at the suggestion of the Committee, undertook a journey to the Continent, principally with a view to the recovery of his health, which had materially suffered in the cause of the Institution ; but also, for the purpose of visiting the Bible Societies in France and Switzerland.

Of his conduct during this excursion, it is sufficient to say, that it tended to raise the reputation of the Institution of which he was the representative, and to cement that happy union which had so long subsisted between the British and Foreign Bible Society and its Continental associates ; and that his advice and experience were eminently useful, in forming arrangements for the establishment of new Societies, or, for rendering those already existing more active and efficient.

The Committee, while they deeply lament, individually and collectively, the loss which the Society has sustained, cannot but devoutly express their gratitude to Almighty God, for having so long granted it the benefit of the zeal and talents of their beloved associate : to the indefatigable exertion of that zeal and those talents, the British and Foreign Bible Society, so far as regards human instrumentality, is essentially indebted for its present prosperous state : while to the same cause must, in great measure, be ascribed that indisposition, which has so fatally terminated.

REV. THOMAS FANSHAW MIDDLETON, D.D. F.R.S. BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

July 8. At the Presidency of Calcutta, after a short but severe illness, in the 53d year of his age, the Rev. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D. F.R.S. His lordship was in the full possession of his health on the preceding Tuesday, when he visited the college. On the day of his death, he was considered to have passed the crisis of his disorder, and to be out of danger ; at half-past seven he was thought much better than before, but at eight he was seized with a violent paroxysm of fever, and at eleven o'clock he expired, to the great grief of all who had the honour of his acquaintance.

Dr. Middleton was born in Jan. 1769, at Kedleston in Derbyshire, and was the only child of the Rev. Thomas Middleton of that place. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, under the rigid discipline of the Rev. James Bowyer, who has been not inaptly termed the Busby of that establishment. Here he was contemporary with Sir Edward Thornton, our present ambassador to the court of Sweden ; the Rev. George Richards, D.D. F.R.S. author of the *Aboriginal Britons*, and *Bampton Lectures* ; and Mr. Coleridge the poet, from whose fertile pen has issued a just tribute of gratitude to the zeal and ability of their tutor.

From Christ's Hospital he proceeded, upon one of the school exhibitions, to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he took the degrees of B.A. 1792 ; M.A. 1795 ; and B. and D.D. in 1808.

In March 1792, after taking the degree of B.A. and being ordained Deacon by the then Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Pretyman), he entered upon his

his clerical duties at Gainsborough. In 1794 he was selected by Dr. John Pretymann, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and brother of the Bishop, to be tutor to his two sons; and it was probably to this circumstance that he was indebted for the future patronage of the Bishop, who presented him, in 1795, to the rectory of Tansor in Northamptonshire, vacant by the promotion of Dr. John Potter to the see of Killala in Ireland. About this time he published a periodical essay without his name, entitled "The Country Spectator."

In 1797, Dr. Middleton married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Maddison, esq. of Gainsborough, and of Alvingham in Lincolnshire.

In 1798 he published "The Blessing and the Curse; a Thanksgiving on occasion of Lord Nelson's and other Victories;" and in 1802 obtained from his former patron the consolidated rectory of Little Bytham, with Castle Bytham annexed, which he held with Tansor by dispensation.

In 1808 Dr. Middleton established his reputation as a scholar by the publication of his celebrated "Treatise on the Doctrine of the Greek Article, applied to the Criticism and the Illustration of the New Testament;" and the following year, "Christ divided; a Sermon preached at the Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln."

In 1810 he began to act as a magistrate for the county of Northampton; but in 1811 resigned his livings in that county, upon being presented, by the same generous patron, to the Vicarage of St. Pancras, Middlesex, and Puttenham, Herts; and shortly after took up his residence at the Vicarage-house, Kentish Town.

In April 1812, he was collated by the Bishop of Lincoln to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon; and in the autumn of the same year he directed his attention to the deplorable condition of the parish of St. Pancras, in which he found a population of upwards of 50,000 persons, with only the ancient very small village church, which could not accommodate a congregation of more than 300. On this occasion he published "An Address to the Parishioners of St. Pancras, Middlesex, on the intended Application to Parliament for a new Church." Dr. Middleton's influence and perseverance caused a bill to be brought into Parliament, for powers to erect a new church; but the bill was lost in the debate upon the second reading.

In 1813, the Rev. C. A. Jacobi, a German divine, having been appointed one of the missionaries to India, Dr. Middleton was requested to deliver, before a special meeting of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, a Charge to the new missionary, previous to his departure.

About this time the friends of the establishment of Christianity in our Eastern dominions, were very active in prevailing upon Government to establish an episcopacy in those vast regions; and Lord Castlereagh, in a debate on the renewal of the East India Company's charter, adverted to the expediency of such an establishment. It was subsequently enacted, that the Company should be chargeable with certain salaries, to be paid to a bishop and three archdeacons, if it should please His Majesty, by his letters patent, to constitute and appoint the same. In the autumn of 1813, Dr. Middleton received an order to wait upon the Earl of Bucking-

hamshire,

hamshire, President of the Board of Controul, by whom he was recommended to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent as the new Bishop of Calcutta. He was consecrated on the 8th of May, 1814, at Lambeth Palace, the Archdeacon of Winchester having preached the consecration sermon. On the 17th of the same month he attended a special meeting of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, to receive their valedictory address, delivered by the Bishop of Chester; on the 19th he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and on the 8th of June took his departure for Bengal.

Upon his arrival in India, Dr. Middleton was mainly instrumental in founding the Mission College at Calcutta, for the following purposes: 1. For instructing Native and other Christian youth in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, or school-masters; 2. For teaching the elements of useful knowledge, and the English language, to Mussulmans and Hindoos having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage; 3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and Moral and Religious Tracts; 4. For the reception of English missionaries on their first arrival in India, for the purpose of acquiring the languages.—Towards the erection and endowment of this college, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, have each contributed 5,000*l*.

Under any circumstances, the death of such a man as Dr. Middleton would be a great loss to the profession of which he was so distinguished an ornament, and has caused a chasm that will with great difficulty be filled up worthily.

INTELLIGENCE.

I. SCHOOLS.

CHELSEA.—At a public Meeting held in the Moravian Chapel at Chelsea, October 30, 1822; Joseph Butterworth, Esq. in the chair: the Chairman opened the Meeting by calling on Mr. Millar, Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society, to read a brief statement of the plan and object of the Meeting, as proposed by the Committee.

From the Report, it appeared, that there are about 3000 children in Chelsea, of suitable age to attend public schools, exclusive of those whose circumstances place them above the necessity of receiving aid from the benevolent: that in the existing day-schools there is not room for quite 1000; and that although instruction is afforded on Sundays to a large number, yet it is probable the actual number of children who are without any means of education is not less than 1500.

There is a good school for girls in the room where the Meeting was held, in which 170 children receive instruction, which has hitherto been supported

supported by the Parent Society; and the object of the Meeting was to provide education for 300 boys, as well as to procure support from the inhabitants of Chelsea for the girls' school.

The Report was favourably received, and a few of the children were examined in reading; on which they were questioned, and the answers they gave afforded great satisfaction. The Meeting was afterwards addressed by several Ministers and Gentlemen, who, on moving the necessary Resolutions for the new Association, warmly advocated the general instruction of the poor.

SOCIETY FOR THE GENERAL EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN THE HIGHLANDS.—The General Meeting of this Society was held in the Town Hall, Inverness, October 30. J. A. Stewart Mackenzie, Esq. in the Chair.

The following is an extract from a Report by the Rev. D. Fraser, of Kirkhill, one of the Secretaries of this Society, who examined fifteen schools in Kintail, Lochalsh, Skye, Strathspey, Strathdearn, and Strathglass.

"In regard to these it may be said, in general, that the teachers appeared to observe the regulations of the Society pretty closely, though in some cases they had much difficulty to encounter from the prejudices of the people; they seemed to discharge their duty faithfully, and in some cases most zealously and successfully. The progress of the children was very gratifying in the great majority of cases. All who have come the length of reading at all, read the Gaelic with ease, and are most intelligent in giving an account of what they read in that language. Many testimonies were given of the beneficial effect on children and parents, produced by the diffusion of the Scriptures through the schools. Several intelligent persons, both Clergymen and others, expressed their warmest approbation of the plan of teaching Gaelic first in all the Schools of the Highlands. One respectable Clergyman mentioned, that in a certain district of his parish, out of a population of 600, only eight persons could read any thing some years ago, and that now 240 can read the Gaelic with ease, and that there is no family without a Bible—that a wonderful change in the character of many individuals has been the consequence; and all this arose from the introduction of a Gaelic school into the district. He further stated, that he holds these schools to be the means best adapted for the religious instruction of the Highlands. Even in those districts where the people are Roman Catholics, these schools can be introduced without any opposition on the part of the people, or their spiritual guides. The teacher in one of the schools, mentioned, on being interrogated as to the feeling of the Catholics towards the schools, that the Priest who lives next door to the school, made no objection to the Roman Catholic children reading the Gaelic Scriptures. In another instance the Catholic Priest was present at the examination, and seemed much pleased to hear the children questioned as to the meaning of the Scripture passages they read. The children were all Catholics but one family.

"If any thing occurring in the course of this near local inspection could be

be said to be painful, it was the manifest proof before one's eyes, of the existence of extreme poverty and wretchedness. The immediate sources of it were the failure of the crop last year, and of the herring fishing this season ; but it was supposed to have a more permanent source in the excess of the population over the means of subsistence. Since the finishing of the roads there is no stated labour, and the fishing is so precarious that the people are often liable to be entirely thrown out of employment, and consequently deprived of the means of subsistence. In one district just before the potatoe crop of this season was ready, and a few weeks before it was visited, hundreds of the inhabitants had no other subsistence than shell-fish, called lampreys, which they collected from the rocky shore. In another district where the school was unusually numerous attended, very few were present ; the cause was inquired into, and it was found that a fever raged in the district, by which a great many were confined, and there was little doubt this was brought on by extreme poverty and want of food. It was mentioned by several intelligent persons of the country, that they believed that the state of some districts in Skye, and the neighbouring coasts, was just as wretched as Ireland was represented to be during the late scarcity, although the people bore it quietly, and made shift to exist. The effect of this poverty was manifest, in the pallid looks and tattered garments of the poor children in the schools : and it was supposed to produce a degree of apathy, which was observable in some parts, in regard to education—The pressing wants of the body did not seem to allow of their taking any interest in the cultivation of the mind."

FRANCE.—In the year 1821, there were 1,070,500 boys from five to fifteen years of age, that attended the primary schools in France ; there were 27,528 schools under the care of 28,945 masters, situated in 24,124 communes. About 500,000 girls attended the public schools. From the old method of teaching, and the little assiduity of the pupils, two-thirds of the people of France could neither read nor write.

INDIA.—At the Anniversary Meeting of the Calcutta Female School Society, an Examination of the Scholars took place, in the " Juvenile School," which afforded very pleasing and satisfactory proofs of their improvement in reading, writing, arithmetic, &c. The Committee remark, in their Report, that as to the *Castes* of the pupils, it is pleasing to observe, that there is a just proportion of all ranks. Thus there are two Brahmins, four Kaynsthuss, and seven Virshnubers, which are considered highest in rank ; while there are four Bagdees, and four Chundals, which are reckoned the lowest, and the others are of the intermediate classes. By this means the injurious distinction of *Caste* is little felt in this Institution, and all in common are receiving that education, the blessings of which they may communicate to their respective connexions. The " Liverpool School" is also stated to be in a prosperous state. A third school, " Salem," has been lately established, for children and adults ; and a fourth, to be called " the Birmingham School," was in progress. At Dinapore, an Auxiliary Society has been formed among the females, to promote the progress of Native female education,

education, the importance of which daily rises in the public estimation. A learned native had offered to the Committee a manuscript of a small pamphlet in Bengalee, on the subject of Female Education. The author's design is to prove that it was formerly customary among the Hindoos, especially the higher classes, to educate their females; that many women (whose names have been handed down even to the present time) were in former ages celebrated for their acquirements; and that female education is not, as is generally supposed, disgraceful or injurious; but, if encouraged, will be productive of the most beneficial effects. Convinced that such a tract is at this time greatly needed, and that its distribution may be exceedingly beneficial, especially among the higher classes of Hindoos, the Committee have engaged to print an edition of this work. The total number of indigenous schools within the precincts of Calcutta is about 200, and the number of children educating in them about 5000, which are either partially or entirely connected with the Calcutta School Society.

In South Travancore, at Quilon, the principal town, where the ignorance of the population is deplorably distressing, measures have been taken for the establishment of several schools. Subscriptions have been raised, and a convenient house has been purchased for 1000 rupees, into which several boys have been admitted for instruction. In the capital of Travanderum, a school has been established, which will be followed by others in that district. There are four schools at Nagurcoil; viz.—The South Travancore Seminary,* the Girls' School, the School of Industry, and the Bazar School, all of which are stated to be in prosperity. The School of Industry has been formed to give the means of subsistence, and the advantages of a Christian education, to some of the children who are likely to be brought up in ignorance and vice. Some are orphans, some have been redeemed from slavery, and others are the children of industrious parents. They learn in school part of the day, and are taught to work the other part. They will be taught by natives, most of whom are Hindoos of *Caste*, who have been engaged to instruct all descriptions of *Castes*.

At Bellary, the number of schools is seventeen, containing about 800 children. The Scriptures are read in them, and many of the scholars have committed to memory fourteen or fifteen chapters of the Gospels. There are numerous applications for establishing additional Native schools, which the want of adequate funds prevents from being carried into effect.

CEYLON.—Many of the schools here have been established for about three years, in which time about 2000 children, from among the mass of the population, have been instructed in Christian principles. A considerable number of young men of superior abilities are rising up among the pupils, whose views and dispositions fit them for the situation of school-masters among the natives. The advantages of education begin

* The languages taught in this Seminary are the English, Sanscrit, Tamul, and Malayali.

to be duly appreciated, especially when the course of instruction embraces the English language; as several who have been instructed in these schools, and under the superintendence of the Missionaries, have been qualified for Government situations, which they now fill with credit to themselves and their instructors.

The total number of schools in the different stations is 86, the number of teachers 133, and the number of children taught in them about 5000. In some of the schools, the elder boys are employed in translating tracts which have been sent out from England as rewards for the children; and these little useful books, which are read with so much interest and profit by children and others in England, are now getting into general circulation in the Singhalese language. The children read and write both English and Singhalese, and commit to memory large portions of the Scriptures in both languages.

NORTH AMERICA.—In the city of Philadelphia, schools on the British system have been established for about four years, during which period about 8000 children have partaken of the benefits of this mode of instruction. The last Report of the Directors states the number of children to be 1624 boys, and 1345 girls, distributed in seven distinct schools. The sum expended for the support of the school, during the past year, was 11,714 dollars; which, as it includes every expense, keeps the cost of education within the maximum limit of four dollars per annum, for each child taught, as originally proposed to be accomplished. The whole amount drawn by the Controllers from the County Treasury, during the year, was 19,264 dollars; which has been applied to the support of the schools, and to education in other branches.

At New York, the number of children belonging to the different Free Schools of the Society, admitted during the year, is 2607; and of those discharged within the same period, 2323. These are contained in four distinct schools. A new brick building, 90 feet by 45 feet, for the accommodation of 1000 children, was in progress, and expected to be opened for the reception of scholars before the close of the year. The Trustees have lately published an edition of "Scripture Lessons," selected from the Old and New Testaments, embracing the most important precepts and injunctions. In order to render this permanently valuable as a school book, and for general circulation, a set of stereotype plates have been prepared for the work, by means of which they will be enabled to publish editions of any number, at the moderate expense of about twenty cents a copy, half bound, for a duodecimo volume of 237 pages.

A school for girls has been established at Newark (New Jersey), and two large schools for the youth of both sexes will speedily be organized there.

A new school house has been built at Halifax (Nova Scotia), which contains upwards of 400 children of both sexes, under the sanction of the council and members of the House of Assembly, who voted 600*l.* towards defraying the expenses. The necessary measures have also been adopted for introducing the system into the city of St. John (New Brunswick).

SOUTH

SOUTH AMERICA.—At Buenos Ayres, the central School for boys contains upwards of 400, and that for girls above 100 scholars.

At Santiago, Chili, a central school is established in a large building, being part of the University. The system is also to be introduced among the military in the barracks, as it was the desire of the commander that every soldier should be taught to read.

Extract from the Chili Gazette, 19th January, 1822.

“The surest method of promoting the happiness of any country, is to make all the people in it well informed and industrious. An end has at length been put to the obstacles which prevented the natives of Chili from enjoying those blessings which are enjoyed by other nations less favoured by nature, but who have preceded us in the cultivation of literature and the arts. It is hence necessary now to strain every nerve to regain that time which idleness and darkness have thrown away. We begin, then, by offering an opportunity of acquiring knowledge to all classes of the community, without respect of rank or fortune, or sex or age.

“The Lancasterian system of mutual instruction, now introduced in most parts of the civilized world, and to which many places already owe an improvement in their habits, has been established among us, and in such a manner as prognosticates its beneficial effects. The propagation of this system holds out the surest means of extirpating those principles formed among us during the time of darkness. The Government has resolved zealously to protect this establishment, and, as the best way of fulfilling its intention, has resolved to unite with it in this object those persons who have the same sentiments on the subject, and who at the same time possess that activity, zeal and energy, which this important matter demands. In all places this system of instruction prospers, and extends itself under the fostering care of societies. This circumstance at once determined me to follow the example thus set before us, and immediately to establish a society for this object. Of this society I shall be the protector and a member. My first minister of state will be president. The solicitor-general of the city, the protector of the city schools, and the rector of the national institute, shall be ex-officio members of the committee of management. The other members of the committee will, in future, be chosen by the society; but, for the present, I nominate to this charge—Brigadier General Don Joaquin Prieto; the Vicar General of the Army, Dr. Don Casimiro Albano; the Chaplain to the General Staff, Don Camilo Henriquez; Prebendary Dr. Don José Maria Argandoña; the Rev. Father, Ex-Provincial of the Order of Saint Francis, Friar Francisco Xavier Guzman; the Prefect Don Francisco Ruiz Tagle; Dr. Don Mariano Egaña; Don Juan Parish Robertson; Don Felisse del Solar; Don Diego Thompson; Don Manuel Salas; Don Domingo Eyzaguirre; Don Joaquin Canissino; Don Francisco Huydobro.

“The committee will hold its meetings in the room belonging to the central school, on such days as shall be agreed on at the first meeting, with no other formality than what is dictated by good order. The committee shall form rules for the society, and present them to the Government

ment for approbation, and shall name a secretary, accountant, and treasurer, either from their own number or otherwise. The object of this institution is to extend, in every direction throughout Chili, the benefits of education ; to promote the instruction of all classes, but especially of the poor ; to seize all the advantages which this new system of education holds out ; and to open us resources by which it may be adapted to the circumstances and necessities of the country. In short, this institution will be considered a good of the greatest magnitude, and whose efficacies will, we trust, in some measure correspond to that great extension of which it is susceptible.

(Signed) " O'HIGGINS,
" Torres. pro Secretary."

II. MISSIONS, BIBLE SOCIETIES, &c.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.—This venerable Society has published a Report of its Proceedings to April 1822. Its concerns, we rejoice to perceive, are in a thriving state, and its exertions re-actively vigorous. The subscribers amount to more than 14,000 ; its income to nearly 60,000*l.* ; and the distributions to considerably more than a million articles. Its labours extend to the whole of our ecclesiastical establishments in the East, in North America, and the West Indies. At home, in addition to parochial libraries, which it institutes or assists, and a shop lately opened in Fleet Street for the sale of its publications at cost prices, diocesan and district committees are rapidly forming throughout the kingdom, in the manner of the auxiliaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with something less of celebration and speech-making. We shall not suppose this adoption to spring from a spirit of rivalry—emulation is a word better suited to the solemnity of the occasion ;—besides, *fas est ab hoste doceri*. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has at least the merit of having set the example of societies for the distribution of bibles and religious books. But the popular activities of the junior societies have long sunk the worthy parent and her usefulness into comparative insignificance. It is natural for unstimulated industry to slacken its pace, and as natural for laziness to be again pricked into new efforts by the advances of successful competition. This is said to represent pretty correctly the condition of the Bartlett's Buildings Society. Of any union between the conflicting parties, there is neither hope nor prospect ; and therefore it is happy that each points its efforts to the same useful object, and differs only in the *modus operandi*. More is doubtless effected by the operations of each, thus mutually accelerated, than either would singly or spontaneously accomplish ; though less, perhaps, than a cordial coalescence might produce with none of the drawbacks of hostility. The breach, which unhappily seems every day widening, adds nothing, by the scandal of contention, to the respectability or the influence of either society ; while an intelligent and observing world are closely watching and weighing all their proceedings. Friends and foes respectively exclaim—" some out of love and some of contention,"

tion,"—we *would* willingly, but we dare not, take up the phrase, and proceed with "What then? Every way Christ is preached!"

COMPENDIUM OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.—A Compendium, or brief Abstract of the Society's Proceedings is issued annually. We shall here state the chief points of difference between the Compendiums of 1821 and 1822.

Number of Societies.—From 270 auxiliaries and 412 branches, making a total of 682, the number is now increased to 291 auxiliaries (including 13 which contribute only a portion of their funds to the Society) and 438 branches, forming a total of 729.

The Continental European Societies are 56, with a great number of auxiliaries and branches: of these, the Hanover Society has 23, the Prussian 38, the Würtemberg 44, the Paris and the Netherlands each upward of 50, the Sleswig Holstein 118, and the Russian 196.

Issues of the Scriptures.—The Foreign Societies, aided by the British and Foreign Bible Society, have increased their issues, from 739,045 Bibles to 880,955, and from 721,376 Testaments to 861,377: these make a total of 1,742,332; and show an increase, in the course of the year, of 141,910 Bibles, and 140,001 Testaments.

An addition of more than 20,000 copies of the German New Testament has been made to the 480,000 copies before issued by two Roman Catholic clergymen on the Continent.

The total number issued on account of the Society, at home and abroad, has increased from 1,307,044 Bibles to 1,433,823; and from 1,963,118 Testaments to 2,130,151—making an increase during the year of 126,779 Bibles and 167,033 Testaments, and a total of 3,563,974 copies.

In addition to the foregoing, the Society has granted about 38,0007. for distributing by societies and confidential agents, in various parts of the Continent, Bibles and Testaments in French, German, Swedish, and Danish, the number of which cannot be ascertained exactly, but may be fairly estimated at upward of 250,000 Bibles and Testaments.

From these data, it will be found that the issues of the year, at home and abroad, in connexion with the Society, have amounted to 610,723 copies; being 268,689 Bibles, and 342,034 Testaments: and that the total issue from the beginning has been no less than six million fifty-six thousand three hundred and six copies.

Total Expenditure.—The expenditure of the eighteenth year has been 90,445*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, and that of the preceding years 908,248*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; the total up to the end of the eighteenth has been 998,693*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*

SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.—The recent intelligence from these islands has been very satisfactory, both in respect to the success of the missionaries in imparting the knowledge of Christianity, as well as the progress which the inhabitants are making in civilization. A deputation from the London Missionary Society have lately visited the islands, and the following extracts are from their letters received in London:

"On the 25th of September, 1821, we reached Tahiti, and landed in safety in Matavia Bay, where we met with a most cordial and affectionate reception, both from the missionaries and the natives. I am exceedingly delighted

delighted with the islands of Tahiti and Eimeo, both which I have seen. They are novel, romantic, and sublime beyond description. The climate is that of Paradise, though sometimes rather too warm. At noon, in the shade, the thermometer is generally about 84°. I have seen it as high as 89°, and in the sun 117°. The spontaneous luxuriance of the soil is astonishing. The people are most hospitable and affable. Their persons in general are equal to those of the best-grown English; and the most agreeable of any foreigners, not of English extraction, that I have seen. Wherever we go, we are received with all possible hospitality and friendship. The king and all his chiefs, as well as the people, have showed us every kindness; but the change which has taken place among these people, is what most of all delights me, and fills me with astonishment. What you have read is all true; and far more is true. There are four missionary stations at Tahiti, and one at Eimeo, and three more in the Leeward Islands, about 100 miles distant. All the stations that we have seen are in the most flourishing circumstances. All the congregations are large. The profession of Christianity is universal; scarcely is the individual known who does not attend three times every Lord's day at public worship. Every family in these islands has morning and evening prayer every day. No doubt, much of this profession is nothing but profession; but that there is a great deal of vital piety I doubt not. Yesterday I partook of the Lord's Supper with a church consisting of 106 consistent members. The behaviour of the Tahitian congregations is not excelled by that of any in England. All is solemn, all is apparently devotion. I have not seen every thing yet; but I fear no contradiction when I assert, that it is the most entirely and consistently Christian country on the face of the earth, excepting only the other eleven or twelve islands in these seas, which have embraced Christianity; and which bear, I understand, a strict resemblance to Tahiti; nay, some say that many of them are even superior to it. Civilization is making rapid progress—crimes of all kinds are almost unknown. Encourage missionary exertions. If any are relaxing in these respects, or are unbelievers in the importance of missionary exertions, send them hither. I should not have thought the sufferings and inconvenience of going ten times round the world too much to be endured, for the sake of seeing what God has wrought in these idolatrous countries. We hope to see all the islands, which have embraced Christianity, before we return. Thirteen are known, where the people have abandoned their idols and received the truth. What is astonishing is, that all the people of the islands who do so, tread in the same steps, attend regularly three times on public worship on the Lord's days, adopt the same regulations on other days, and become immediately moral and decent in their behaviour. Other islands are petitioning for missionaries; indeed, if missionaries could be found, there is every reason to hope that all the islands in this vast ocean would immediately embrace the truth. If we are able to obtain a suitable vessel, we intend to visit several of the islands yet heathen, as well as the others which have become Christian. My duties are arduous and responsible. But the affectionate kindness of the missionaries greatly relieves my anxieties. They are men of good talents and of good information. They are

are zealously devoted to their Master's work, and worthy of that confidence which the Christian world has reposed in them."

"*Eimeo, Dec. 3, 1821.* A nation of pilferers have become eminently trustworthy. A people formerly universally addicted to lasciviousness in all its forms, have become modest and virtuous; those who a few years ago despised all forms of religion except their own horrid and cruel superstitions, have universally declared their approbation of Christianity; study diligently those parts of the Christian Scriptures which have been translated for them,—ask earnestly for more, and appear conscientiously to regulate themselves by those sacred oracles, under the direction of their kind teachers; whose self-denying zeal and perseverance have been almost as remarkable as their success.

"You have learned, we trust, from letters sent home before we reached Taheite, that the translations and printing are going on well. Matthew and John are printed in the Taheitan language, and are in innumerable hands. The books of Genesis, Joshua, the Psalms, Isaiah, the Acts, the Epistle to the Romans, and the other Epistles, are in course of translation, and are waiting the mutual corrections of the brethren. The grammar and dictionary are not in so forward a state; but both these are so important, that we hope to make a more encouraging report of their progress at no distant period.

"It is found unadvisable, and, in part, impracticable, to attempt at present any manufactory on a large scale; but the king and chiefs have approved of setting up the little cotton work, and Messrs. Blossom and Armitage are just now getting into their houses, which the chiefs have provided for them, close to the stream in Tahiti, where the mill is immediately to be erected.

"The principal articles in request among the natives are cloth, and clothing of all the lighter descriptions. Cheap printed cottons of showy patterns, as well as whites and blues, are much sought after; and we rejoice in this, because their desire for these articles is, that they may be able to dress in the English mode; and it is truly delightful, on the Lord's days especially, to see so many of the natives with parts of English dresses; almost all the females having bonnets of the English form, made by their own hands: and those of them who can obtain a neat slip of printed calico, or a riband to put round their bonnets, are greatly pleased.

"We are gratified in observing, almost every where, many marks of improvement; better houses and chapels having been built, or in preparation for being built, at nearly every station—rapid improvement in reading and writing; European dresses partially superseding the Taheitan, the chiefs ingeniously and diligently building their own boats in European form, with European tools; many cultivating tobacco and sugar, and nearly all manufacturing cocoa-nut oil.—[The people of these islands have sent to London a donation of cocoa-nut oil to the London Missionary Society, which has netted the sum of 1877*l.*]

"Among other marks of improvement, we must mention a road, which is already made to a considerable extent, and which is intended to go round the whole island. This is of very great and obvious importance.

It

It has been formed by persons who were punished, according to the new laws, for evil-doing; and the intention is, that it shall be completed by persons of that description. It is remarkable that these persons have no need to be superintended in their labour, but they uniformly perform the portion of work allotted to them. Before this, there was no road in any part of the island, except the narrow winding tracks by which the natives found their way from one place to another.

"*Huaheine, Dec. 11, 1821.*—Every thing around bears the marks of great improvement among the natives, their inclosures, their plastered houses, their manners, and especially their dress, which is as much European as they can obtain, by purchase, the means of making it. Indeed on Sabbath day, in the noble place of worship, (which is well built and plastered, well floored with timber, and of which considerable part is neatly pewed,) the chiefs, and great numbers of the principal people, were dressed quite in the English manner, from head to foot. We spent a delightful Sabbath here;—there were not fewer than 1200 persons present at each of the services, conducted after the English mode, but of course in the Taheitan language. At noon, we had the pleasure to meet 7 or 800 persons in one of the school-rooms; 400 of these were children of the most interesting appearance, of from six years old to fifteen or sixteen; the others consisted of adults, who attend, it seems, with remarkable diligence on the Sabbath-day for religious instruction, and every other day of the week, except Saturday, for instruction in reading and writing, and for instruction also in religion. On Monday, we were invited to meet the King and Queen—the Chiefs—the Communicants—the Baptized—and others in the chapel. There were about 1000 persons present; and when each of us had spoken to them, and our kind friends had interpreted our speeches, we were addressed by four of their orators; one of these was the King (Mahine), two other chiefs, and the fourth was a deacon of the church, and a teacher in the schools,—a man of exemplary piety and amiable deportment. Indeed we cannot conceive of countenances expressive of more benevolence, even in our own favoured country, than those of two of these speakers; and they all spoke so evidently from the heart, that we felt moved by their speeches even before they were interpreted to us; and when they were explained, we found, they were highly creditable both to their heads and hearts."

COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE.—Sir Chas. MacCarthy, the governor, arrived at Freetown, on his return from his visit home, on the 28th of November, and resumed without delay his active attention to the Colony, in all its departments. On the Monday after his arrival, he rode to the negro towns of Kissey and Wellington; and on Tuesday, to those of Gloucester, Regent, Bathurst, Leopold, and Charlotte. On these visits many gentlemen of the Colony accompanied the Governor, who was every where received with the warmest affection. Of his reception at Gloucester and at Regent's Town, the following account is given in the Colonial Gazette:—

"As the Governor approached Gloucester, the inhabitants, with their rector the Rev. H. During at their head, greeted His Excellency on entering

tering the town. As he advanced, he was met by the most affectionate cheers of welcome, and in a moment was surrounded by hundreds eagerly striving to shake the hand of their common father and benefactor. The worthy rector afterwards collected his flock in the church, where they all joined in the national anthem of 'God save the King,' in a manner truly affecting to every one present.

"Sir Charles and the party next moved on towards Regent's Town. On His Excellency's crossing the large stone bridge adjoining the town, he was met by a band of young school girls, modestly and neatly attired, and decorated with flowers.

"His Excellency remained among his affectionate Negroes for a considerable time, when their excellent rector and superintendant, the Rev. W. Johnson, led them in a body to the church, where they joined in hymns of thanksgiving to the Almighty."

Sir Chas. MacCarthy afterwards inspected the various establishments in the Peninsula: the following is an account of his reception at Waterloo.

"As the path lay through a thick wood, the party had to grope their way in the dark: indeed so impenetrable was the barrier against light, that they could not discern one another, much less observe a small pocket compass with which one of the gentlemen was furnished. Led on by a Negro child six years old, the party moved forward through woods and wilds; and what was worse, through mangrove swamps, which occasionally taking them above the middle, made them think seriously of swimming, till about nine o'clock, when the noise of distant voices indicated their approach to Waterloo. A shout or two from the party soon set the inhabitants in motion; and in a few seconds the village and its environs were entirely illuminated with torches. His Excellency was actually borne on the shoulders of the crowd, from the point where he was met, to the house of the Rev. Mr. Wilhelm, the rector of Waterloo. Firing, shouting, huzzaing, singing, and clapping their hands (their strong demonstrations of joy), did not cease for many hours.

"What a scene for the philanthropist to contemplate! In the midst of woods, in which, scarcely more than two years ago, existed the dens of the leopard, are now to be found the peaceful habitations of man—where, instead of the growl of the tiger, and the howl of the hyæna, the ear is saluted by the hum of the busy cottage and the solemn peal of the missionary bell, summoning to the praise of their omnipotent Creator whole flocks of beings, on whom the light of the Gospel has lately been shed; and who, from a conviction of the spiritual change which has been wrought within them, are to be heard rending the air with acclamations of gratitude to those generous individuals by whose agency they have been thus fostered and taught."

CIVILIZATION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.—By a Report which has been laid before Congress, of the expenditure made under the Act to provide for the civilization of the Indian tribes, it appears that the aggregate sum paid to different societies, to assist in promoting this important object, was 16,605 dollars. Of this sum 14,000 have been applied through the different missionary establishments of the Moravians, the

the American Board for Foreign Missions, the United Foreign Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Societies, and the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia. The sum of 14,338 dollars was paid for the instruction of Indian youth at the mission school in Cornwall; to the Baptist Mission School at Great Crossings, Kentucky, 400; and the further sum of 780 for the Rev. Dr. Morse's visit of observation and inspection.

MORAL REFORM IN INDIA.—It must gratify every friend to the progress of human reason to learn, that notwithstanding the difficulties so long considered insuperable, a glorious change is effecting in British India. The free press of Calcutta has operated powerfully in reforming the most inveterate and revolting abuses. The effect of seven native presses at work in that great city, has been to triumph over Hindoo superstition in its strong hold. During the last festival of Juggernaut, there were so few pilgrims present, that they were unable to drag the car. The Brahmins called in other aid, but no devotee could be persuaded to sacrifice himself to the idol. They now talk of removing the Rath to a more central situation. The wily priesthood have sagacity enough to perceive, that they must remove the theatre of their sanguinary superstition beyond the sphere of a free press, or that the bigotry of thirty centuries will disappear. To the glory of our Indian Administration, a large portion of the population of Bengal are receiving the rudiments of an improved system of education, while thousands of elementary works are circulating throughout our empire. Even Hindoo women, against whom widowhood, and consequent burning alive, are denounced for learning the alphabet, and who must not read the Veda, under pain of death, have placed their daughters at the public schools.

SUTTERS.—An order has been issued, dated Feb. 22, to the police officers of India, to prevent the burning of women, in all cases where the Shasters forbid it; as for example, where the victim is under 16 years of age, or does not give her full assent, or has had any intoxicating potion administered to her. It is to be hoped, by the vigilance of the officers, who are enjoined to attend on those occasions, some one or more of the prohibited circumstances will in every case be found to exist.

III. BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

REFUGE FOR THE DESTITUTE.—On Thursday July 25, 1822, a general court of the Governors of this extensive and useful Institution was held at the City of London Tavern, Edward Forster, Esq. the Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Report was read by the Treasurer, and it stated, that 289 persons had been under the protection of the Committee in the various branches of the Institution, during the last six months; and that of these, 140 had been provided for, by sending them to sea; by placing them under the care of their relatives or friends; by apprenticing them out to respectable trades, or by providing for them suitable situations.

It proceeded to enumerate many cases of persons of both sexes, who have been recommended as servants and apprentices, who conduct themselves in a most exemplary and creditable manner. And the Committee conceive it to be one of the most favourable testimonials that can be adduced in behalf of the Institution, that its objects are in succession readily received into respectable families.

It seems to be usual, especially at the Female Establishment, to hold an annual festival, to which all the young women who have received the benefits of the Institution and have been restored to virtuous Society, are invited. This entertainment was held in the beginning of the present month; when *thirty-six* young women visited the Refuge, the whole of whom acknowledged that Asylum as the sole instrument of their present well-being, and of their future expectations. The whole of them were known to be living in honest and industrious habits: and as a proof of their gratitude for benefits received, they made a subscription among themselves upon the occasion, and presented to the Treasurer the sum of £10 5s.

An interesting account was also given of the benefits conferred on many of the other sex, some of whom have been taught useful trades and placed out in the world, wherein they are now earning an honest subsistence; and several sent into foreign countries: to the West Indies, to the Cape of Good Hope, to Algoa Bay, and to Van Diemen's Land: concerning the whole of whom a very favourable account was read.

In reviewing the general result of their endeavours to carry into effect the salutary provisions of the Institution, the Committee congratulated the general court upon its success. They still, however, lamented a deficiency of pecuniary resources, appealing to a humane and discerning public for that generous aid which may enable them—if not to open wider the path of restoration to the penitent criminal—to save them at least from the mortification of contracting the present compass of their efforts.

MARINE SOCIETY.—Quarterly Account of Receipts and Disbursements, from the 30th of June to the 30th of September.

Balance, 30th of June	£589	14	10
Annual Subscriptions, Donations, Dividends, &c. received in the Quarter	1,517	1	4
Disbursements on	£2,106	16	2
30 Boys sent to Sea—4 in the Royal Navy; 4 in the Hon. East India Company's, and 22 in the Merchants' Service; and Maintenance of Officers and Boys on board the Society's ship; Salaries, and other expenses	£1,300	1	0
Apprentice fees to Girls, agreeably to Will of late W. Hicks, Esq.	49	7	0
	—1,349	8	0
Balance in Banker's hands, Sept. 30th	£757	8	2

SEAMEN'S HOSPITAL.—The following is a statement of the benefits conferred by this Institution since its opening in March 1821.

Cured, and discharged at the request of the parties	292
Ditto, having obtained Ships	266
Ditto, Ships found them by the Committee	88
Ditto, conveyed to their homes	12
Ditto, absented themselves	27
Ditto, expelled, after being cured, for misconduct	17
Died	32
Under cure, and convalescent	92

Total received	826
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Completely clothed, after being cured	40
Supplied with shoes and stockings only	81

BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.—At the Annual Meeting of the Governors of this Hospital, held on the 4th of July last, Lord Robert Seymour delivered the following interesting speech on the state of the Institution.

I have always thought it an important part of my duty, as a Governor of Bethlehem Hospital, to go through the wards of it, and see every patient in them, whenever the opportunity has occurred. The visitation of a lunatic is always highly agreeable to him, as proving that he is not forgotten and abandoned by society. It is also a strong incentive to the person who has the care of him, in the discharge of his duty. Humanity has lately made great advances in the care of insanity : we live in times which are much more favourable than those which have passed to persons afflicted with insanity. A man now talks to his friends, without repugnance, of his near relation being disturbed in mind, and he thinks it his duty to see such relative frequently in his confinement : whereas, till within the last few years, when a person was sent to a mad-house, his family made as much a point of putting him out of their minds, as if he had been consigned to the grave: I have been all my life in the practice of visiting the asylums of lunatics, as well upon the Continent as at home ; formerly, perhaps, from motives of curiosity only, but, I trust, latterly from some desire to serve my fellow-creatures ; and I am sure that I have not on ten occasions witnessed a lunatic visited by either a relative or a friend, till within the few last years.

Whenever I have of late years gone through the wards of our hospital, I have been much pleased with every thing I have observed in them. Very little personal restraint is now imposed upon the patients, and when it has been unavoidably applied, it has been only for a short time. No unfortunate sufferers are now chained without clothes to our walls as formerly : no wretched patient is encaged in iron ; and the strait waistcoat is now so much out of use in our hospital, that there was this day no one of the 223 patients in the house so confined. I think it my duty upon every occasion to deprecate this horrible instrument of restraint, as being highly unfavourable to respiration and health, indenting

ing the chest, and therefore especially injurious in the case of females, and equally hurtful by its pressure on the stomach ; to say nothing of its being a very heating dress. I have also a further and most substantial objection to the use of the waistcoat, being quite sure that, where it is used as an instrument of personal restraint, it will sometimes be brought into action as an instrument of punishment : a harmless patient, when kept under great excitement, will sometimes give a slap to the face of his keeper ; the keeper angrily applies the strait waistcoat to him, and is naturally governed in the tightness with which he applies it, by the degree of resentment which he bears to the offending lunatic.

I must here mention a circumstance which I am sure will prove agreeable to you, which is, that much as I have conversed with the more rational of our patients, as well as with persons who have been discharged from the hospital, I have never heard one word of complaint offered against either of the physicians or surgeons, those patients having always, on the contrary, spoken to me with respect of the skill of those officers, and with gratitude of their tenderness and affection—a fact which has always surprised me, as every patient knows that his physician is the only person who stands in the way of his enlargement. I never passed through the female galleries of the hospital without being struck with the marked calmness, tranquillity, and cheerfulness which prevail among the patients, and which are greatly attributable to the needle-work which is put into their hands by our humane and valuable matron.

To employ the hands, is to relieve the mind of a lunatic, and it certainly is to increase the chance of recovery. Hence it must be a matter of deep regret, that means have not yet been devised of giving, with safety, work to our male patients, as is the practice of several well-regulated country asylums. Bodily labour engages and consumes that power which gives activity to the mind, and experience has proved that it is a powerful mean of checking and abating that unnatural activity of the mind, which is the usual characteristic of insanity. This principle is strongly illustrated in the case of a very interesting young woman, now in the hospital, whom I saw some months ago quite unemployed, talking rapidly and incessantly, and much confused in her ideas ; when I naturally asked the matron why she had not given to her needlework, who told me that she never attempted to force any work on a patient, and that this woman had repeatedly objected to all work when offered to her. Soon after this the young woman, complaining much of her confinement, earnestly requested that I would obtain her enlargement, which I undertook to endeavour to do, on two conditions :—the first was, that she should talk less ; and second, that she should do more work :—to these she immediately agreed, and some coarse linen was put into her hands, which was done by her with manifest indifference and carelessness ; but it did not abate her incessant talking, or produce the slightest difference in her manner. It was then judged expedient by the matron, that some more nice and difficult work should be given to her ; which was done, and this employed her for some weeks, at the end of which time I again saw her, and was much struck by her composure and reserve. I then asked her whether she

was not much better? She answered that she did not know how it was, but the difficult work she had lately done had certainly done good to her head. This passed last week, and I was much pleased to see her this day brought up by the physician, who recommended her going out on trial for a month; and I have no doubt that the improvement of her mind was produced by the co-exertion of the hands and eyes, required by the very difficult work she last performed. Mental disease, I believe, is very seldom traceable to merely physical causes: if this be so, we must have recourse to a moral agency for its correction and cure, and I know none that is so likely to succeed as the constant employment of the hands in such works as will somewhat occupy the mind. I well recollect that, in answer to the circular letter which your Committee wrote some years ago to all the country asylums, to learn their practice and success, several of them told us that they had effected many cures among those of their patients who were of the labouring class, and who were therefore prone to work. Now, the greater part of our patients are of this description, and I should recommend their being employed in our garden if it were inclosed with walls: our funds, however, do not now enable us to wall in the garden to prevent the escape of the patients: and I fear that there would be some difficulty in finding such garden tools as might be safely placed in their hands. We might, however, easily contrive to employ them in the house in platting straw, in making matting, paper bags for the shops, list shoes and carpets, and various other articles. Work is now done by only two male patients, one of whom makes shoes, and the other straw baskets; both these patients are very properly allowed to sell their work, and I cannot see why others should not be encouraged to work in the same way.

His Lordship again congratulated the Governors on the remarkable improvement which had been of late effected, both in the moral and medical management of the insane (laying particular stress upon the former); he adverted to the numerous testimonies of approbation which were constantly offered in the visiting book, by persons of every rank and profession, and by natives of every country; and he concluded by urging upon all the Governors the duty of more frequent personal inspection and attention to the important institution over which they presided.

An Institution, to be called *The Institution for the Cure of various Diseases by Bandages and Compression*, is in course of establishment in London, under a body of respectable patronage, which ensures its success and permanence. At a public meeting the following, among other resolutions, was passed:—"That it appears from the Report of the Medical Committee, that the principle and practice of compression is particularly applicable, and will afford relief, in cases of tumours, either of a common or malignant character; some forms of diseases of the skin, and others connected with the bones or joints; as well as long protracted and obstinate sores of the extremities, to which many of the lower and labouring class of people are peculiarly liable: and that, when applied scientifically and attentively, it will also mitigate the painful sufferings

sufferings of diseases hitherto incurable, even changing, in cases of cancer of the female breast, a state of the most complicated distress and suffering to one of comparative ease and comfort."

MONASTERY OF ST. BERNARD.—By a Report lately published at Geneva, it appears that the Subscriptions for the benevolent purposes of this Institution have been 14,641 francs, of which the sum of 4275 francs had been collected by the worthy brothers of the monastery, and the remainder deposited by various benefactors in the hands of the bankers, Messrs. Candolle, Turretini, and Co. The Council of State of Geneva has contributed 1200 francs. This year it is intended to apply the *Système Calorifère* to the spacious kitchen of the Monastery, which, by means of pipes, will heat the upper apartments; and next year it is proposed, as the subscriptions afford means, to augment the habitable part of the building, which at present is often insufficient for the accommodation of the number of travellers.

The following particulars are from a recent visit to this singular establishment. The common reproaches of monkish ease and indulgence would be very ill indeed applied to the little community of St. Bernard. This is no place where "abbots slumber purple as their vines." The climate is so severe, that none but young men can support its rigour. Of the thirty or thirty-five monks of the establishment, we found about fifteen resident: scarcely three of these were above the age of thirty. The superior, who is a venerable and dignified old man, ordinarily resides at Martigny, in the valley. Even the young men are frequently afflicted with cramps, rheumatisms, and other disorders: the superintendence of the temporal affairs and duties of the establishment finds ample employment for a large number—their rents are to be received—provisions laid in—wood fetched from the forests in the valley:—twenty or thirty horses are generally employed in these labours—strangers are to be lodged and provided for according to their rank and appearance. Seven or eight thousand persons are computed to pass the St. Bernard in a year, the greater part of whom spend the night at the Convent; and above all, during seven or eight months in the year, several of the monks and servants of the establishment are employed in the humane and perilous office of exploring the most dangerous and difficult passages among the glaciers and snows in quest of distressed travellers. The celebrated dogs, which they use on these expeditions, are indeed noble animals; they are large, strong, and muscular, short-haired, and of a dull sandy colour, with black muzzles and thick heads, resembling both a Newfoundland dog and an English mastiff, with a character of great strength and sagacity. They carry in their perambulations a basket furnished with provisions and woollen clothes, which seasonable comforts have often been the means of saving the lives of half-frozen and famished sufferers. They have a quick scent, and are easily attracted to the spot where a human being lies. Their natural sagacity is improved by training; and they either lead their masters to the place, or, where its situation has been inaccessible to the monks themselves, they have frequently dragged frozen persons over the snows to their masters,
by

by whose timely care they have been restored to life. A magnificent dog, from the St. Bernard, is preserved stuffed in the Museum at Berne, who is said to have been the means of saving the lives of twenty-eight individuals.

The revenues of the convent are now lamentably reduced, which is much to be regretted, as ecclesiastical revenues have seldom been applied to more pure or benevolent purposes. In the fifteenth century the convent had possessed estates in Sicily, Naples, the Low Countries, and in England. Of these it has from time to time been despoiled. The King of Sardinia was the last to strip the establishment of all its funds in his dominions; and some small property in the Vallais and the Pays de Vaud is all that now remains to support its benevolent objects and its general hospitality. The monks described their sufferings during the constant passage of the French armies, as beyond all conception. For one year, a garrison of one hundred and eighty men was constantly stationed in the convent; and sometimes not less than eight hundred men were crammed into the cells and chambers for several days together. The monks are now frequently reduced to the necessity of making *quêtes*, for the support of the establishment, through different parts of Italy and Switzerland.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR COLONIZING THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.
—The first efforts of the American Society for colonizing the Free People of Colour was attended with unfavourable and discouraging circumstances. The great importance of the objects they had in view has, however, induced them to persevere with a most laudable spirit; and now their prospects begin to brighten, and a reasonable hope is afforded that they will ultimately overcome all difficulties, and that they will succeed in their truly patriotic endeavours.

This Society have purchased an extensive and valuable tract of country at Mesurado Bay, on the coast of Africa, situated between five and six degrees of north latitude, consisting of an island in the mouth of the river, which extends a considerable distance, and occupies the whole cape. The Mesurado empties into the Atlantic, and is stated to be about three hundred miles long; its head waters being near those of the Niger and the Gambia, and take their rise on the north-east side of a chain of mountains, called the Long Mountains. This situation is represented as being high and healthy, and it is supposed will be an important station to us—that it will afford relief and refreshment to our vessels of war cruising on the African coast, and to our merchantmen engaged in the East India trade.

Believing, as we do, that the future peace and prosperity of a large portion of the Union is intimately connected with the success of this undertaking, we sincerely hope that the favourable prospects which begin to dawn upon the labours of this Society will continue, and rapidly increase.

The people of colour, while they remain among us, must of necessity continue to be a degraded race. To colonize them, as is contemplated, will be highly advantageous to them, and will moreover be a most effectual means of putting a final end to that odious traffic which has so long disgraced the Christian world.

BOSTON,

Boston, U. S. Sept. 7.—The adjourned meeting on the subject of an Auxiliary Colonization Society, and of a Society to aid in the suppression of the Slave Trade, was held on Wednesday evening, George Blake, Esq. in the Chair: Lewis Toppan, Secretary, in the absence of the Rev. Mr. Frothingham, who acted as Secretary at the previous meeting. The following Report was presented by the Committee and read, and, after an interesting discussion of the whole subject, was unanimously accepted:—

The Committee appointed to consider the expediency of forming a Society for the purpose of aiding the funds of the American Colonization Society, or of assisting in the suppression of the slave trade, have paid such attention to the subject referred to them as the time and their opportunities would permit, and respectfully submit the following Report:—

“The importance of providing some remedy for the evils arising from the rapid relative increase of the black population in some portions of our country, is becoming every year more serious. It is now well known that where a slave population abounds, their ratio of increase is much greater than that of the people among whom they live. Hence the time cannot be far distant, when their numbers in some of the states, and their power, will predominate over that of those who hold them in servitude, unless some mode is devised of diminishing their numbers, or some provision made for removing the surplus portion of them.

“It was in the expectation of furnishing in some measure a remedy for these evils, or at least of diminishing their danger, that the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States was established. This Society has been in operation nearly six years, and its affairs appear to have been conducted with much enterprize and zeal, and, as your Committee believe, in a spirit of enlightened christian benevolence.

“Were the object of the Society extended no further than to the colonization of such people of colour in our country as are already free, or will become free in the ordinary course of events, they would not, in the view of the Committee, be such as to excite that deep interest among us which is necessary to secure a very active co-operation. It might indeed afford some advantages to that unhappy people to remove them from their present degraded state, to a condition more free from temptations to vice, and more favourable to moral and intellectual improvement; and it would doubtless confer a benefit upon the community from which they are taken. And if through the medium of a colony thus established, the arts of civilized life and the blessings of Christianity can be introduced among a people who are ignorant of both, the good that may be done may be greatly increased. But the accomplishment of the objects, valuable as they are, appears too remote and of too difficult attainment to admit of their enlisting our feelings very ardently in the cause. Other objects of benevolence press upon us with more urgent solicitations and more immediate prospects of usefulness.

“But if, while these purposes are accomplished, the colonization of the free people of colour will aid effectually in the suppression of the slave trade, so as to lead to the entire abolition of that detestable traffic,
and

and at the same time afford such encouragement to the emancipation of slaves as to prepare the way for the gradual extermination of slavery, it would become an object worthy the attention and assistance of the whole christian world.

“ That such are the designs and expectations of those who are most active in managing the concerns of the American Colonization Society ; but the Committee are not prepared to give an opinion how far these expectations are likely to be realized. If a colony decidedly and actively hostile to the slave trade can be maintained on the coast of Africa, and especially if several could be supported on different parts of that coast, much might doubtless be done to aid cruisers in the pursuit of slave ships, by furnishing supplies, and by giving information of their places of rendezvous. We are also assured that there are proprietors of slaves who are desirous of emancipating them, and that many will be thus emancipated as soon as an asylum shall be suitably prepared for them, and the means provided for transporting them to it.

“ We have no means of ascertaining how extensively such a disposition prevails among the holders of slaves ; but there is reason to apprehend that it is at present limited to a very small proportion of them. The events of the last two or three years have furnished melancholy proof that the great body of the people in the slave-holding States are very little disposed to relinquish any of the advantages which their slaves afford them. That there are exceptions to this feeling, we are fully persuaded, and we hope there are many. It is only from the belief, which the Committee very cordially entertain, that the members of the American Colonization Society are perfectly disposed to frame their measures with reference to the entire suppression of the slave trade, and to a gradual and prudent, but complete, emancipation of those now held in slavery, that we can regard the Society as having any claim upon the sympathy or assistance of the people of New England.

“ At the same time there are other modes by which assistance can be given towards suppressing the slave trade, without losing sight of the objects which have been mentioned.

“ A society is particularly needed to aid in prosecuting those who are concerned in carrying on this trade. By combining the influence and exertions of its members, this purpose may be accomplished much more effectually than it can be by individuals alone.

“ The Committee would therefore respectfully recommend, that a society be formed for the general purpose of assisting in the suppression of the slave trade : that a subscription be opened to provide funds for the proposed society : and that the government of the society be fully authorized to make such a disposal of the funds as they shall judge most conducive to the object of its institution. If on further attention to the subject the managers of the society shall be satisfied that the operations of the American Colonization Society are favourable to the suppression of the slave trade, they will be disposed to aid them as far as their funds will permit : while they will not neglect any other means that may present themselves of accomplishing that object. As, however, there may be some who are prepared to contribute at once to the funds of the
American

American Colonization Society, the Committee would propose that the subscription should be so arranged as to leave it to the option of each subscriber, either to appropriate the amount of his subscription directly or indirectly to that object, or commit it to the disposal of the government of the society.

IV. SLAVE TRADE.

An Address from His Excellency the Governor to the Inhabitants of the Island of Mauritius.

Inhabitants of Mauritius !—Among the numerous duties which the office intrusted to my care imposes upon me, I have not found any more pleasing than having it in my power, in the account transmitted by me to His Majesty's minister for the colony, again to state that no attempt has been made on our coasts to import slaves. I feel peculiar satisfaction in giving you this information.

The zeal, activity, and talents displayed by His Majesty's marine in its unremitted endeavours for the rigid execution of the laws against the trade, and the ready co-operation which the measures taken by Government daily receive from the colony, render me especially desirous to transmit to the minister this fresh assurance of your obedience to the laws against the slave trade; and to assure him of the confidence which I have in the sentiments that you solemnly and unanimously avowed in your declaration in the month of September, 1820, respecting those despicable enemies of the colony, who endeavoured to sully our coast by this odious and criminal traffic, which we have destroyed at this place, (and which there is good reason to hope will soon be exterminated in the whole of this hemisphere,) even to every vestige of this unlawful commerce, which has been the means of drawing upon the whole colony that dishonourable reproach mentioned in the documents published in London, "that the Isle of France was the only English colony, where the laws for the prohibition of the slave trade had not succeeded in effecting its abolition."

Nevertheless, in order to promote the tranquillity and happiness of this country, I shall ever consider it as my duty unceasingly to stimulate and encourage the strictest vigilance of the respectable inhabitants over their truest interests. These interests will always depend upon a firm, continued, and united exertion against any attempt to renew this iniquitous traffic, which has been practised with condemnable audacity by unsubjected, unprincipled, selfish men, connected to this country neither by relationship nor any other of those sacred ties which unite man in social life.

Inhabitants of Mauritius ! I feel confident of your inviolable integrity, I have every reason to believe the slave trade is wholly extirpated from this colony; the renewal of so shameful a traffic would doubtless bring with it fresh misfortunes by which your tranquillity would be disturbed. It is therefore to avoid so deplorable a calamity, it is in order to preserve the honour of your country, that I entreat persons of every rank in life to ex-

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ert that vigilance and zeal which have already been the means of removing this stigma.

I will not lose this opportunity, though I am not induced to it by any particular motives, to urge your especial attention to that part of the population which is so valuable to the cultivators. Your own interest imposes this duty upon you. The measures which the Government has taken for supplying food and clothing at cost price, ought to convince the inhabitants of its earnest solicitude, by every possible means, to promote their real interest. Those would be inexcusable who should neglect to perform those duties towards the individuals dependent upon them, which humanity, the laws, and their own private interests, equally require.

R. T. FARQUHAR.

Port Louis, Feb. 13, 1822.

V. DOCUMENTS.

Receipts of Religious Institutions, 1821-22.

	£.
British and Foreign Bible Society	103,803
Society for promoting Christian Knowledge	53,729
Church Missionary Society	32,975
London ditto	40,000
Methodist ditto	30,925
Baptist ditto	11,600
Moravian ditto	9,432
Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts	19,514
Society for propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands	5,000
Society for Conversion of the Jews	10,690
Religious Tract Society	9,261
Prayer Book and Homily Society	2,056
Hibernian Society	6,863
Hibernian Bible Society	5,680
Naval and Military Bible Society	2,040
National School Society	4,500
British and Foreign School Society	2,140
Sunday School Union	1,762
Sunday School Society for Ireland	3,193
Religious Book and Tract Society for Ireland	2,943
Continental Society	1,075
Society for Relief of poor Clergymen	2,219
London Female Penitentiary	4,076
Refuge for the Destitute	5,030

£370,505

POOR RATES.

An Account showing the Amount of Moneys assessed and levied in England and Wales, at the several periods for which Returns have been required by Parliament; distinguishing the Payments made thereout, for other purposes than the Relief of the Poor; the Sums expended in Law, Removals, &c. and the Sums expended for the Relief of the Poor: also, the Average Price of Wheat in each Year for which it can be ascertained.

Years.	Total Sums assessed and levied.	Payments thereout for other purposes than the Relief of the Poor.	Sums expended in Law, Removals, &c.	Sums expended for the Relief of the Poor.	Total Sums expended.	Average Price of Wheat.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£. s.
Average of } 1748-49-50	730,135	40,164 *	— —	689,971 †	— —	— —
1776	1,720,316	137,655	35,071	1,521,732	1,694,458	— —
Average of } 1783-4-5	2,167,748	163,511	91,996	1,912,241	2,167,148	— —
1803	5,348,204	1,034,105	190,072	4,077,891	5,302,070	63 2
1812-13	8,640,842	1,861,073	325,107	6,656,105	8,865,838	128 8
1813-14	8,388,974	1,881,565	332,966	6,294,584	8,511,863	98 —
1814-15	7,457,676	1,763,020	324,664	5,418,845	7,508,853	70 6
1815-16	6,937,425	1,212,918 *	— —	5,724,506 †	— —	61 10
1816-17	8,128,418	1,210,200 *	— —	6,918,217 †	— —	87 4
1817-18	9,320,440	1,430,292 *	— —	7,890,148 †	— —	90 7
1818-19	8,932,185	1,300,534 *	— —	7,531,650 †	— —	82 9
1819-20	8,719,655	1,342,658 *	— —	7,329,594	8,672,252	69 5
1820-21 ‡	8,411,893	1,375,868 *	— —	6,958,445	8,334,313	62 5

* For these periods there is no particular account of the sums expended in Law, or in Removals.

† For these periods there is no account of the sums expended, as distinguished from those assessed and levied.

‡ For this year (1820-21), the Order required a Return, not of the sum assessed and levied, but of the sum levied.

An Account showing Money expended for the Maintenance of the Poor in England and Wales, in the Years ending 25th March 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821, respectively; and stating the Number of Parishes in each County in which Select Vestries have been formed, or Assistant Overseers appointed, pursuant to Act 59 Geo. 3, c. 12.

COUNTIES.	1. Year ending 25 March 1813.	2. Year ending 25 March 1814.	3. Year ending 25 March 1815.	4. Year ending 25 March 1816.	5. Year ending 25 March 1817.	6. Year ending 25 March 1818.	7. Year ending 25 March 1819.	8. Year ending 25 March 1820.	9. Year ending 25 March 1821.	10. Select Vestries.	11. Assistant Overseers.
ENGLAND.											
Bedford.....	£. 61,272 15	£. 57,360 2	£. 59,370 11	£. 53,709 12	£. 63,811 16	£. 74,726 10*	£. 77,380 7	£. 73,465 12	£. 69,236 12	12	13
Berks.....	• 160,872 10	129,668 3	100,296 11	106,200 16	142,256 6	158,345 1	143,628 15	123,280 1	112,659 1	18	44
Buckingham.....	133,948 11	122,347 5	101,814 8	109,800 17	130,099 14*	148,387 1	144,919 10	133,163 16	129,107 11	40	39
Cambridge.....	85,883 13	77,110 17	65,950 14	73,893 10	94,708 13*	102,995 8	97,441 4	91,163 10	89,924 4	41	35
Chester.....	114,369 11	110,983 4	100,689 4	98,047 8	119,195 17*	127,090 6	117,511 5	121,169 16	113,239 10	76	56
Cornwall.....	103,735 11	88,976 5	78,090 1	85,176 15	103,133 6*	127,380 6	122,369 14	115,254 5	111,779 0	44	22
Cumberland.....	44,985 4	43,616 0	40,915 13	43,982 6	48,217 14	56,862 17	58,089 5*	59,064 15	55,637 15	49	50
Derby.....	93,963 4	89,035 17	72,179 1	76,866 14	97,734 2	106,570 3	103,660 0	103,764 0	97,374 14	58	50
Devon.....	217,757 10	203,480 18	183,645 18	198,462 10	215,430 5	248,346 9*	260,893 3	249,968 1	234,096 19	76	55
Dorset.....	109,304 3	93,770 7	75,677 18	79,449 2	96,054 4	118,998 1	108,716 2	104,825 7	95,857 1	37	41
Durham.....	81,751 17	84,825 12	78,725 19	83,714 2	90,770 9*	101,908 18	101,184 8	112,087 14	97,618 12	56	39
Essex.....	312,229 18	276,045 15	236,252 9	252,908 2	312,947 18*	330,194 17	320,173 3	312,087 14	288,921 5	47	67
Gloucester.....	165,575 11	159,973 15	135,579 18	141,868 19	162,549 19	189,332 6*	190,168 17	182,791 18	164,913 15	47	54
Hereford.....	82,981 6	79,116 12	67,063 7	66,959 11	78,589 16*	95,159 7	89,308 9	81,108 3	72,244 6	42	56
Hertford.....	76,700 13	92,164 17	77,991 4	81,651 2	90,694 7	101,146 15	101,133 2	100,667 9	98,001 8	19	22
Huntingdon.....	35,413 1	34,997 5	31,469 17	33,054 11	37,288 4	40,514 15*	41,729 1	38,798 2	39,192 10	13	12
Kent.....	317,990 4	329,318 18	295,280 8	309,190 7	345,123 16*	399,201 2	396,635 4	394,619 6	392,059 1	48	71
Lancaster.....	306,797 3	265,247 5	213,046 13	220,883 3	337,417 17*	375,412 9	323,825 18	317,057 19	288,688 16	126	99
Leicester.....	110,560 8	113,621 1	95,199 12	103,210 18	143,618 13	154,196 13	146,455 9*	159,678 10	143,535 4	57	30
Lincoln.....	129,343 7	130,183 14	128,359 13	145,022 12	157,793 1	169,716 2	172,606 10*	172,971 18	172,879 18	100	83
Middlesex.....	502,966 13	543,333 5	505,601 5	519,164 12	540,235 1	634,703 0*	634,746 13	625,665 10	615,494 19	11	27
Monmouth.....	28,246 17	28,508 5	27,049 15	27,616 9	30,766 14*	35,741 4	35,069 4	33,022 19	29,261 0	16	28
Norfolk.....	291,500 17	247,427 10	199,191 16	199,191 16	291,078 19	328,945 8	278,401 16	272,939 19	267,869 9	57	52
Northampton.....	139,674 13	134,923 13	123,038 1	133,609 18	147,713 11	162,904 15*	166,127 18	162,546 9	156,021 0	40	41
Northumberland.....	72,821 5	74,229 6	69,235 15	77,294 14	83,777 10*	94,437 16	92,740 0	82,030 14	84,185 2	32	36
Nottingham.....	88,013 1	81,354 7	71,419 9	77,875 5*	108,588 12	101,762 18	94,964 10	105,348 10	87,573 11	24	41

Oxford.....	143,108	71	128,198	18	106,494	14	117,590	14	139,198	18	157,188	13	151,655	19	143,230	9	131,845	13	42	30
Rutland.....	11,167	19	12,373	19	10,843	3	11,505	17	12,753	14	13,077	3	13,884	2	12,425	9	11,295	18	28	9
Salop.....	106,317	14	106,749	9	90,839	7	92,470	16	122,859	1	138,062	4	118,409	3	111,617	8	101,656	7	32	52
Somerset.....	185,407	0	180,188	10	150,258	0	159,532	17	180,375	12	200,311	17	196,706	3	191,887	11	176,773	12	97	76
Southampton.....	225,600	15	198,135	2	163,149	11	170,932	15	231,422	3	281,674	5	252,441	9	229,566	12	210,523	8	42	48
Stafford.....	124,764	16	122,101	9	111,642	6	117,000	4	148,690	4	211,163	11	155,586	4	153,132	7	151,177	17	46	48
Suffolk.....	225,713	17	197,415	8	155,289	6	170,634	18	258,020	2	291,871	0	248,765	19	245,075	8	244,807	14	50	69
Surrey.....	217,757	2	225,733	10	201,645	19	217,943	16	248,883	16	272,516	17	289,141	14	277,271	10	277,602	4	14	20
Sussex.....	314,470	9	282,152	4	230,865	11	235,988	5	281,010	3	330,980	19	315,086	4	286,066	11	276,409	0	53	47
Warwick.....	157,932	7	147,699	18	127,684	10	124,483	10	169,831	10	194,458	1	175,079	18	181,984	18	164,799	12	38	40
Westmorland.....	22,338	8	22,330	19	20,319	11	21,547	10	26,531	13	29,879	12	29,913	19	29,412	9	28,228	16	14	4
Wiltshire.....	234,352	1	199,064	14	137,626	9	143,354	16	202,508	10	234,134	16	200,600	8	188,808	12	172,400	10	29	41
Worcester.....	101,109	3	97,595	5	83,539	18	84,993	14	110,745	1	124,390	3	112,041	14	107,260	17	98,172	12	38	44
York { E. Riding.....	83,752	8	83,539	5	75,437	16	81,047	15	89,814	5	111,865	2	114,327	18	105,867	19	100,870	7	55	21
York { N. Riding.....	70,860	13	71,489	4	65,536	7	70,718	15	79,638	10	92,071	16	93,450	8	91,666	14	89,483	3	71	26
York { W. Riding.....	328,112	16	302,525	19	257,623	13	258,707	3	300,432	11	337,133	1	310,515	18	346,814	0	330,510	14	104	100
WALES																				
Anglesey.....	9,277	14	9,390	4	8,446	15	11,324	10	12,709	9	15,019	10	16,339	19	14,836	19	14,245	6	13	9
Brecon.....	14,976	7	15,479	19	13,840	9	15,363	12	18,104	6	22,701	19	22,289	10	20,270	0	18,664	13	11	7
Cardigan.....	12,385	13	11,621	0	11,292	13	11,268	18	13,288	8	18,643	15	20,416	3	18,213	19	16,326	16	13	12
Carmarthen.....	23,547	19	24,177	19	22,204	8	23,598	8	25,135	8	34,414	4	38,124	0	35,942	9	30,184	3	50	3
Carnarvon.....	12,492	19	12,370	7	12,041	5	13,277	1	13,900	1	18,603	2	20,513	18	18,030	10	17,370	9	22	13
Denbigh.....	32,426	18	32,660	9	29,767	18	32,539	3	33,645	18	41,529	5	41,490	15	39,920	15	36,361	14	13	12
Flint.....	19,453	12	19,454	7	18,588	19	19,831	19	21,401	15	23,060	0	23,563	8	23,181	13	22,185	16	12	12
Glamorgan.....	33,287	5	33,853	19	30,022	9	34,725	5	43,286	15	51,314	3	49,015	5	43,558	9	39,487	9	29	44
Merioneth.....	12,280	2	12,527	16	12,096	4	11,419	8	11,947	2	16,385	6	17,150	6	16,290	16	15,385	11	4	3
Montgomery.....	32,297	3	31,520	17	28,830	17	29,498	11	39,584	8	41,057	7	42,388	2	38,402	19	36,878	4	16	10
Pembroke.....	20,389	14	20,060	8	18,024	5	18,626	8	19,099	19	23,894	19	26,687	17	25,466	17	23,715	16	32	13
Radnor.....	12,065	1	12,560	5	10,758	13	10,810	15	12,210	3	15,792	5	16,185	8	15,180	2	13,701	3	11	3
Total of Eng- land & Wales }	6,656,105	66	6,294,584	1	5,418,845	16	5,724,506	16	6,619,217	10	7,890,148	2	7,531,650	18	7,329,594	7	6,958,445	2	2,145	1,979

Note.—The sums marked with a (*) show the amount of the Expenditure of each County when it appears at its highest Rate.

A Statement of the Moneys expended on the Poor only, in England and Wales, in the several Periods commencing the middle of last Century, and reaching to the 25th March 1821; with a Table of the Number of People in each County, according to the Enumerations of 1811 and 1821; and an Account of the Property assessed under Schedule (A) in 1815.

COUNTIES.	MONEY EXPENDED FOR THE RELIEF OF THE POOR.								9. Population in 1821.	10. Property Assessed under Schedule (A) in 1815.
	1. Average of Three Years ending Easter 1780.	2. Year ending Easter 1776.	3. Average of Three Years ending Easter 1785.	4. Year ending Easter 1803.	5. Population in 1811.	6. Average of Three Years ending 25 March 1815.	7. Average of Three Years ending 25 March 1818.	8. Average of Three Years ending 25 March 1821.		
ENGLAND.										
Bedford ...	£. 8,276	16,310	20,326	36,894	N ^o 72,600	£. 56,334	64,082	73,360	N ^o 85,400	£. 343,692
Berks ...	15,971	35,989	45,384	81,994	122,300	130,278	135,600	126,522	134,700	652,082
Bucks ...	17,139	31,130	43,598	86,151	121,600	117,650	129,429	135,730	136,800	644,129
Cambridge ...	9,171	17,729	25,130	54,484	104,500	76,315	90,532	92,842	124,400	655,220
Chester ...	14,741	28,922	37,361	66,627	234,600	108,681	114,777	117,306	275,500	1,083,083
Cornwall ...	9,660	21,997	27,027	54,648	223,900	90,266	105,229	116,467	262,600	916,060
Cumberland ...	2,450	7,402	10,812	27,603	138,300	43,171	49,687	57,930	159,300	705,445
Derby ...	7,677	16,771	20,978	54,459	191,700	88,059	94,387	101,599	217,600	887,659
Devon ...	34,953	61,027	76,862	124,022	396,100	201,628	221,746	248,319	447,900	1,897,515
Dorset ...	12,226	24,045	29,826	64,771	128,900	92,917	98,167	103,466	147,400	698,395
Durham ...	7,143	14,057	18,478	51,966	183,600	81,767	92,131	100,186	211,900	791,359
Essex ...	38,233	72,568	90,611	137,140	260,900	271,525	298,683	307,060	295,300	1,556,836
Gloucester ...	25,687	52,873	62,665	109,045	295,100	153,709	164,583	179,291	342,600	1,463,259
Hertford ...	5,056	9,921	15,669	46,471	97,300	76,386	80,236	86,886	105,300	604,614
Huntingdon ...	16,452	25,241	35,512	56,380	115,400	88,952	91,164	99,934	132,400	571,107
Kent ...	3,306	7,514	11,729	23,867	43,700	33,960	36,949	39,906	49,800	320,187
Lancaster ...	41,997	78,830	102,645	206,508	385,600	314,196	351,171	394,437	434,600	1,644,179
Leicester ...	21,236	50,985	69,118	148,282	856,000	261,730	311,237	309,857	1,074,000	3,087,774
Lincoln ...	7,549	23,581	29,209	79,911	155,100	106,427	133,675	149,889	178,100	902,217
Middlesex ...	14,790	31,267	40,856	95,575	245,900	129,296	157,510	172,819	288,800	2,061,830
Monmouth ...	81,030	79,090	89,383	349,200	985,100	517,300	564,701	625,302	1,167,500	5,595,536
Norfolk ...	2,898	5,433	7,341	18,283	64,200	27,934	31,365	32,451	72,300	295,997
Northampton ...	30,464	63,171	91,776	169,733	301,800	245,428	277,823	273,070	351,300	1,540,952
Northumberland ...	12,367	34,632	44,271	94,607	146,100	132,554	148,075	161,565	165,800	942,161
Nottingham ...	3,796	14,085	19,922	52,416	177,900	72,095	85,403	86,318	203,000	1,240,594
Nottingham ...	4,375	11,605	16,420	44,222	168,400	86,262	96,075	95,962	190,700	737,229

Oxford	12,831	28,131	34,613	88,689	123,200	125,933	131,325	142,243	139,800	713,147
Rutland	862	2,641	3,443	8,376	17,000	11,461	12,445	12,435	18,900	133,487
Salop	7,925	21,549	32,313	66,747	200,800	101,299	117,464	110,560	210,300	1,037,988
Somerset	25,596	49,181	62,248	121,790	313,300	171,950	180,273	188,455	362,500	1,900,651
Southampton	20,521	48,598	55,400	124,019	253,300	194,971	224,083	230,843	289,000	1,130,951
Stafford	9,812	31,089	38,535	83,411	304,000	119,503	145,618	153,298	347,900	1,150,284
Suffolk	28,063	55,839	67,294	119,963	242,900	192,806	240,175	246,216	276,000	1,274,404
Surrey	26,598	48,510	62,945	133,874	334,700	215,045	246,447	281,338	406,700	1,579,177
Sussex	24,343	53,499	70,136	179,858	190,500	275,762	282,659	292,540	237,700	915,346
Warwick	10,445	42,586	56,677	117,353	236,400	144,439	163,257	173,954	280,000	1,236,726
Westmorland	1,802	2,767	5,320	13,836	47,500	21,662	25,653	29,185	52,400	298,198
Wills	22,938	52,714	60,392	128,635	200,300	187,014	193,332	187,272	226,600	1,155,458
Worcester	9,134	26,156	33,009	71,235	165,900	94,081	106,709	105,845	188,200	799,605
Worcester { E. Riding	4,110	10,804	14,569	41,368	173,000	80,909	94,242	107,021	194,300	1,190,325
York { N. Riding	5,581	12,155	17,993	48,702	171,100	69,295	80,809	91,513	187,400	1,145,252
York { W. Riding	20,218	48,749	63,207	186,469	675,100	296,087	298,754	329,280	815,400	2,292,405
WALES.										
Anglesey	—	—	—	—	38,300	9,038	13,017	15,140	46,000	92,589
Brecon	1,032	—	—	—	39,000	14,765	18,723	20,408	44,500	146,539
Cardigan	302	—	—	—	52,000	11,766	14,399	18,318	59,000	141,889
Carmarthen	1,279	—	—	—	79,800	23,309	27,713	34,750	92,000	277,455
Carmarvon	—	—	—	—	51,000	12,301	15,260	18,638	59,100	125,198
Denbigh	1,139	32,504	57,223	148,367	66,400	31,684	35,905	39,257	78,000	243,976
Flint	873	—	—	—	48,100	19,165	21,431	22,976	54,900	153,930
Glamorgan	2,224	—	—	—	88,000	32,387	43,109	44,090	103,800	334,192
Merioneth	311	—	—	—	32,000	12,301	13,251	16,275	35,100	111,436
Montgomery	1,383	—	—	—	53,700	30,883	33,713	39,223	61,100	207,286
Pembroke	1,009	—	—	—	62,700	19,491	20,539	24,956	75,500	219,599
Radnor	957	—	—	—	21,600	11,794	12,938	15,022	23,500	99,717
Total	689,971	1,521,732	1,912,241	4,077,891	10,502,500*	6,129,844	6,844,290	7,273,535	12,218,500*	51,998,423

* These numbers are taken from the Preliminary Observations to the Population Abstract presented to the House on the 2d of July 1892, and include a proportion of the Army, Navy, and others not enumerated in the several Counties: in like manner, the Numbers here stated for 1811 are taken from the Preliminary Observations to the Population Abstract of that year, and include a proportion of the Army, Navy, &c. In the Report of the Poor Rate Return Committees of 1821, the *Resident Population*, as enumerated in the several Counties in 1811, is stated, and is less by a thirtieth part than the Numbers above assigned. See page xxxviii of the Observations prefixed to the Population Abstract of 1821.

An Account showing the Amount of Moneys levied in each County in England and Wales, in the Year ending the 25th March 1821; distinguishing the Payments made thereout for other Purposes than the Relief of the Poor, and the Sums expended for the Relief of the Poor.

COUNTIES.	Total Sum levied.		Payments thereout for other Purposes than the Relief of the Poor.		Sums expended for the Relief of the Poor.		Total Sums expended.	
	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.	£.	s.
ENGLAND.								
Bedford ...	85,693	7	13,764	4	69,236	12	83,000	16
Berks ...	136,593	2	17,148	15	112,659	1	129,807	16
Bucks ...	155,268	7	24,080	19	129,107	11	153,188	10
Cambridge ...	108,706	17	17,055	19	89,924	4	106,980	3
Chester ...	143,226	12	32,804	0	113,239	10	146,043	10
Cornwall ...	132,540	15	18,206	8	111,779	0	129,985	8
Cumberland ...	68,740	4	11,321	18	56,637	15	67,959	13
Derby ...	122,920	0	25,398	15	97,374	14	122,773	9
Devon ...	272,939	5	27,873	6	234,096	19	261,970	5
Dorset ...	110,630	15	11,310	0	95,857	1	107,167	1
Durham ...	120,605	5	20,708	17	97,618	12	118,327	9
Essex ...	331,775	4	39,594	13	288,921	5	328,515	18
Gloucester ...	195,159	7	29,676	7	164,913	15	194,590	2
Hereford ...	85,078	9	13,299	6	72,244	6	85,543	12
Hertford ...	111,313	3	12,537	1	98,001	8	110,538	9
Huntingdon ...	47,105	9	7,504	8	39,192	10	46,696	18
Kent ...	447,131	16	60,375	8	392,059	1	452,434	9
Lancaster ...	443,591	3	153,932	8	288,688	16	442,621	4
Leicester ...	168,990	19	25,219	2	143,535	4	168,754	6
Lincoln ...	229,768	15	54,013	13	172,879	18	226,893	11
Middlesex ...	754,800	12	142,637	9	615,494	19	758,132	8
Monmouth ...	35,854	11	6,928	17	29,261	0	36,189	17
Norfolk ...	309,963	8	40,368	17	267,869	1	308,237	18
Northampton ...	180,382	14	22,307	10	156,021	0	178,328	10
Northumberland ...	94,673	2	10,956	8	84,185	2	95,141	10
Nottingham ...	117,729	10	30,580	8	87,573	11	118,153	19
Oxford ...	156,659	9	21,648	16	131,845	13	153,494	9
Rutland ...	15,521	19	4,126	7	11,295	18	15,422	8
Salop ...	122,191	1	17,645	17	101,656	7	119,302	4
Somerset ...	221,781	7	37,068	17	176,773	12	213,862	9
Southampton ...	245,292	18	31,101	16	210,523	8	241,685	4
Stafford ...	197,035	6	40,565	11	151,177	17	191,743	8
Suffolk ...	283,757	15	37,944	3	244,807	14	282,751	17
Surrey ...	315,451	2	40,951	17	277,602	4	318,554	1
Sussex ...	311,071	0	29,235	17	276,469	0	305,704	17
Warwick ...	209,790	5	43,846	1	164,799	12	208,645	13
Westmorland ...	32,190	19	3,527	7	28,228	16	31,756	3
Wilts ...	201,442	11	23,771	7	172,409	10	196,180	17
Worcester ...	115,262	11	14,079	5	98,172	12	112,251	17
York { E. Riding	117,152	9	17,796	12	100,870	7	118,666	19
York { N. Riding	107,228	3	15,989	17	89,423	3	105,413	0
York { W. Riding	416,026	2	80,648	7	330,510	14	411,159	1
WALES.								
Anglesey ...	16,531	8	1,960	17	14,245	6	16,206	3
Brecon ...	21,856	15	3,091	5	18,664	13	21,755	18
Cardigan ...	20,526	7	3,858	4	16,326	16	20,185	0
Carmarthen ...	36,331	19	5,590	0	30,184	3	35,774	3
Carmarvon ...	19,826	16	2,210	9	17,370	9	19,580	18
Denbigh ...	43,642	12	6,517	0	36,361	14	42,878	14
Flint ...	26,245	15	3,926	10	22,185	16	26,112	6
Glamorgan ...	44,160	0	5,398	1	39,487	9	44,885	10
Merioneth ...	17,363	5	1,640	5	15,385	11	17,025	16
Montgomery ...	41,614	18	4,450	16	36,878	4	41,329	0
Pembroke ...	28,764	16	5,539	1	22,715	16	28,254	17
Radnor ...	16,001	5	2,113	0	13,701	3	15,814	3
Total ...	8,411,893	4	1,375,868	1	6,958,445	2	8,334,313	3

THE INQUIRER.

APRIL 1823.

ART. XIV.—*Thoughts on the Necessity of ameliorating the Condition of the Negro Slaves, (in the British Colonies and elsewhere,) with a view ultimately to their Emancipation.*

(Continued from page 21.)

THE fifth case may comprehend the slaves of St. Domingo, as they were made free at different intervals in the course of the French Revolution.

To do justice to this case we must give a history of the different circumstances connected with it. It may be remembered, then, that when the French Revolution, which decreed equality of rights to all citizens, had taken place, the *free People of Colour* of St. Domingo, many of whom were persons of large property and liberal education, petitioned the National Assembly, that they might enjoy the same political privileges as the *Whites* there. At length the subject of the petition was discussed, but not till the 8th of March 1790, when the Assembly agreed upon a decree concerning it. The decree, however, was worded so ambiguously, that the two parties in St. Domingo, the *Whites* and the *People of Colour*, interpreted it each of them in its own favour. This difference of interpretation gave rise to animosities between them, and these animosities were augmented by political party-spirit, according as they were royalists or partizans of the French Revolution, so that disturbances took place and blood was shed.

In the year 1791, the *People of Colour* petitioned the Assembly again, but principally for an explanation of the decree in question. On the 15th of May, the subject was taken into consideration, and the result was another decree in explicit terms, which determined, that the *People of Colour* in all the French islands were entitled to all the rights of citizenship, provided *they were born of free parents on both sides*. The news of this decree had no sooner arrived at the Cape, than it produced an indignation almost amounting to phrensy among the *Whites*. They directly trampled under foot the national cockade, and with difficulty were prevented from seizing all the French merchant ships in the roads. After this the two parties armed against each other. Even camps began to be formed. Horrible massacres and conflagrations followed, the reports of which, when brought to the mother-country, were so terrible,

rible, that the Assembly abolished the decree in favour of *the free People of Colour* in the same year.

In the year 1792, the news of the rescinding of the decree as now stated, produced, when it reached St. Domingo, as much irritation among the People of Colour, as the news of the passing of it had done among the Whites, and hostilities were renewed between them, so that new battles, massacres, and burnings, took place. Suffice it to say, that as soon as these events became known in France, the Conventional Assembly, which had then succeeded the Legislative, took them into consideration. Seeing, however, nothing but difficulties and no hope of reconciliation on either side, they knew not what other course to take than to do justice, whatever the consequences might be. They resolved, accordingly, in the month of April, that the decree of 1791, which had been both made and reversed by the preceding Assembly in the same year, should stand good. They restored therefore the People of Colour to the privileges which had been before voted to them, and appointed Santhonax, Polverel, and another, to repair in person to St. Domingo, with a large body of troops, and to act there as commissioners, and, among other things, to enforce the decree and to keep the peace.

In the year 1793, the same divisions and the same bad blood continuing, notwithstanding the arrival of the commissioners, a very trivial matter, viz. a quarrel between a *Mulatto* and a *White man* (an officer in the French marine), gave rise to new disasters. This quarrel took place on the 20th of June. On the same day the seamen left their ships in the roads, and came on shore, and made common cause of the affair with the white inhabitants of the town. On the other side were opposed the Mulattos and other People of Colour, and these were afterwards joined by some insurgent Blacks. The battle lasted nearly two days. During this time, the arsenal was taken and plundered; and some thousands were killed in the streets, and more than half the town was burnt. The commissioners, who were spectators of this horrible scene, and who had done all they could to restore peace, escaped unhurt, but they were left upon a heap of ruins, and with but little more power than the authority which their commission gave them. They had only about a thousand troops left in the place. They determined, therefore, under these circumstances, to call in the Negro Slaves in the neighbourhood to their assistance. They issued a proclamation in consequence, by which *they promised to give freedom to all the Blacks who were willing to range themselves under the banners of the Republic*. This was the first proclamation made by public authority for emancipating slaves in St. Domingo. It is usually called the Proclamation of Santhonax, though both
commis-

commissioners had a hand in it; and sometimes, in allusion to the place where it was issued (the Cape) the Proclamation of the North. The result of it was, that a considerable number of slaves came in and were enfranchised.

Soon after this transaction Polverel left his colleague Santhonax at the Cape, and went in his capacity of commissioner to Port au Prince, the capital of the West. Here he found every thing quiet, and cultivation in a flourishing state. From Port au Prince he visited Les Cayes, the capital of the South. He had not, however, been long there, before he found that the minds of the slaves began to be in an unsettled state. They had become acquainted with what had taken place in the north, not only with the riots at the Cape, but the proclamation of Santhonax. Now this proclamation, though it sanctioned freedom only for a particular or temporary purpose, did not exclude it from any particular quarter. The terms therefore appeared to be open to all who would accept them. Polverel therefore, seeing the impression which it had begun to make upon the minds of the slaves in these parts, was convinced that emancipation could be neither stopped nor retarded, and that it was absolutely necessary for *the personal safety of the white planters*, that it should be extended *to the whole island*. He was so convinced of the necessity of this, *that he drew up a proclamation without further delay to that effect, and put it into circulation*. He dated it from Les Cayes. He exhorted the planters to patronize it. He advised them, if they wished to avoid the most serious calamities, to concur themselves in the proposition of giving freedom to their slaves. He then caused a register to be opened at the Government house to receive the signatures of all those who should approve of his advice. It was remarkable that all the proprietors in these parts inscribed their names in the book. He then caused a similar register to be opened at Port au Prince for the West. Here the same disposition was found to prevail. All the planters, except one, gave in their signatures. They had become pretty generally convinced by this time, that their own personal safety was connected with the measure. It may be proper to observe here, that the proclamation last mentioned, which preceded these registries, though it was the act of Polverel alone, was sanctioned afterwards by Santhonax. It is, however, usually called the Proclamation of Polverel or of Les Cayes. It came out in September 1793. We may now add, that in the month of February 1794, the Conventional Assembly of France, though probably ignorant of what the commissioners had now done, passed a decree for the abolition of slavery throughout *the whole of the French colonies*. Thus the Government of the mother-country, without knowing it, confirmed freedom to those

upon whom it had been bestowed by the commissioners. This decree put therefore *the finishing stroke to the whole*. It completed the emancipation of the *whole slave population of St. Domingo*.

Having now given a concise history of the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo, we shall inquire how those who were liberated on these several occasions conducted themselves after this change in their situation. It is of great importance to us to know, whether they used their freedom properly, or whether they abused it.

With respect to those emancipated by Santhonax in the North, we have nothing to communicate. They were made free for military purposes only; and we have no clue whereby we can find out what became of them afterwards.

With respect to those who were emancipated next in the South, and those directly afterwards in the West, by the proclamation of Polverel, we are enabled to give a very pleasing account. Fortunately for our views, Colonel Malenfant, who was resident in the island at the time, has made us acquainted with their general conduct and character. His account, though short, is quite sufficient for our purpose. Indeed it is highly satisfactory*. "After this public act of emancipation," says he, (by Polverel,) "*the Negroes remained quiet both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations*. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun; and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. Yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the Negroes *continued their labours*, where there were any, even inferior agents to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon *all the plantations* where the Whites resided, the Blacks *continued to labour as quietly as before*." A little further on in the work, ridiculing the notion entertained in France, that the Negroes would not work without compulsion, he takes occasion to allude to other Negroes, who had been liberated by the same proclamation, but who were more immediately under his own eye and cognizance†. "If," says he, "you will take care not to speak to them of their return to slavery, but talk to them about their liberty, you may with this latter word chain them down to their labour. How did Tous-saint succeed? How did I succeed also before his time in the plain of the Cul de Sac, and on the Plantation Gouraud, more

* Mémoire historique et politique des Colonies, et particulièrement de celle de St. Domingue, &c. Paris, August 1814. 8vo. p. 58.

† Pp. 125, 126.

than eight months after liberty had been granted (by Polverel) to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time, and even the Blacks themselves, be asked. They will all reply, that *not a single Negro* upon that plantation, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty labourers, *refused to work*; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle, of any in the plain. I, myself, inspired the same activity into three other plantations, of which I had the management."

The above account is far beyond any thing that could have been expected. Indeed, it is most gratifying. We find that the liberated Negroes, *both in the South and the West*, continued to work upon their *old plantations*, and for their *old masters*; that there was also a *spirit of industry* among them; and that they gave no uneasiness to their employers; for they are described as continuing to work *as quietly as before*. Such was the conduct of the Negroes for the first nine months after their liberation, or up to the middle of 1794. Let us pursue the subject, and see how they conducted themselves after this period.

During the years 1795 and 1796 we hear nothing about them, neither good, nor bad, nor indifferent, though we have ransacked the French historians for this purpose. Had there, however, been any thing in the way of *outrage*, we should have heard of it; and let us take this opportunity of setting our readers right, if, for want of knowing the dates of occurrences, they should have connected *certain outrages*, which assuredly took place in St. Domingo, *with the emancipation of the slaves*. The great massacres and conflagrations, which have made so frightful a picture in the history of this unhappy island, had been all effected *before the proclamations* of Santhonax and Polverel. They had all taken place *in the days of slavery*, or before the year 1794, or before the great conventional decree of the mother-country was known. They had been occasioned, too, *not originally by the slaves themselves*, but by quarrels between *the white and coloured planters*, and between the *royalists* and the *revolutionists*, who, for the purpose of reeking their vengeance upon each other, called in the aid of their respective slaves; and as to the insurgent Negroes of the North, who filled that part of the colony so often with terror and dismay, they were originally put in motion, according to Malenfant, under *the auspices of the royalists* themselves, to strengthen their own cause, and to *put down the partizans of the French revolution*. When Jean François and Biassou commenced the insurrection, there were many *white royalists* with them, and the Negroes were made to wear the *white cockade*. We repeat, then, that during the years 1795 and 1796, we can find nothing in the History of St. Domingo, wherewith to reproach the emancipated Negroes in the way

way of outrage*. There is every reason, on the other hand, to believe, that they conducted themselves, during this period, in as orderly a manner as before.

We come now to the year 1797; and here happily a clue is furnished us, by which we have an opportunity of pursuing our inquiry with pleasure. We shall find, that from this time there was no want of industry in those who had been emancipated, nor want of obedience in them as hired servants: they maintained, on the other hand, a respectable character. Let us appeal first to Malenfant. "The colony," says he†, "was flourishing under Toussaint. *The Whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the Negroes continued to work for them.*" Now Toussaint came into power, being general-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo, a little before the year 1797, the year to which we are now come, and remained in power till the year 1802, or till the invasion of the island by the French expedition of Buonaparte under Leclerc. Malenfant means therefore to state, that from the beginning of 1797 to 1802, a period of six years, the planters or farmers kept possession of their estates; that they lived upon them, and that they lived upon them peaceably, that is, without interruption or disturbance from any one; and, finally, that the Negroes, though they had been all set free, continued to be their labourers. Can there be any account more favourable to our views than this, after so sudden an emancipation?

Let us appeal next to General Lacroix, who published his "Mémoires for a History of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819. He informs us, that when Santhonax, who had been recalled to France by the Government there, returned to the colony in 1796, "*he was astonished at the state in which he found it on his return.*" This, says Lacroix‡, "was owing to Toussaint, who, while he had succeeded in establishing perfect order and discipline among the black troops, had succeeded also in making the black labourers return to the plantations, there to resume the drudgery of cultivation."

But the same author tells us, that in the next year (1797) the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. He uses these remarkable words: "*The colony,*" says he§, "*advanced, as by enchantment, to its ancient splendour; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations of the North rose up again visibly to the eye.*" Now we are far from wishing to attribute all this wonderful improvement, this daily visible progress in agriculture, to the mere act of the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo. We know that many other circumstances which we could specify, if we had

* There were occasionally marauding parties from the mountains, who pillaged in the plains; but these were the old insurgent, and not the emancipated Negroes. † P. 78. ‡ Mémoires, p. 311. § Ibid. p. 324.

room, contributed towards its growth; but we must be allowed to maintain, that unless the Negroes, who were then free, *had done their part as labourers*, both by working regularly and industriously, and by obeying the directions of their superintendants or masters, the colony could never have gone on, as relates to cultivation, with the rapidity described.

The next witness to whom we shall appeal, is the estimable General Vincent, who lives now at Paris, though at an advanced age. Vincent was a colonel, and afterwards a general of brigade of artillery in St. Domingo. He was stationed there during the time both of Santhonax and Toussaint. He was also a proprietor of estates in the island. He was the man who planned the renovation of its agriculture after the abolition of slavery, and one of the great instruments in bringing it to the perfection mentioned by Lacroix. In the year 1801, he was called upon by Toussaint to repair to Paris, to lay before the Directory the new constitution, which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo: he obeyed the summons. It happened, that he arrived in France just at the moment of the peace of Amiens; here he found, to his inexpressible surprise and grief, that Buonaparte was preparing an immense armament, to be commanded by Leclerc, for the purpose of *restoring slavery in St. Domingo*. He lost no time in seeing the First Consul, and he had the courage to say at this interview what, perhaps, no other man in France would have dared to say at this particular moment. He remonstrated against the expedition; he told him to his face, that though the army destined for this purpose was composed of the brilliant conquerors of Europe, it could do nothing in the Antilles. It would most assuredly be destroyed by the climate of St. Domingo, even though it should be doubtful, whether it would not be destroyed by the Blacks. He stated, as another argument against the expedition, that it was totally unnecessary, and therefore criminal; for that every thing *was going on well* in St. Domingo. *The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making a rapid progress; the Blacks were industrious, and beyond example happy.* He conjured him, therefore, in the name of humanity not to reverse this beautiful state of things. But, alas! his efforts were ineffectual. The die had been cast: and the only reward which he received from Buonaparte, for his manly and faithful representations, was banishment to the Isle of Elba.

We have now carried our examination into the conduct of the Negroes after their liberation to 1802, or to the invasion of the island by Leclerc; we must now leave a blank for nearly two years, or till the year 1804. It cannot be expected during a war, in which every man was called to arms to defend his own personal liberty, and that of every individual of his family, that we should see plan-
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tations cultivated as quietly as before, or even cultivated at all. But this was not the fault of *the emancipated Negroes*, but of *their former masters*. It was owing to the prejudices of the latter, that this frightful invasion took place; prejudices, indeed, common to all planters, where slavery obtains, from the very nature of their situation, and upon which we have made our observations in a former place. Accustomed to the use of arbitrary power, they could no longer brook the loss of their whips. Accustomed again to look down upon the Negroes as an inferior race of beings, or as the reptiles of the earth, they could not bear, peaceably as these had conducted themselves, to come into that familiar contact with them, as *free labourers*, which the change of their situation required. They considered them, too, as property lost, but which was to be recovered. In an evil hour, they prevailed upon Buonaparte, by false representations and *promises of pecuniary support*, to restore things to their former state. The hellish expedition at length arrived upon the shores of St. Domingo :—a scene of blood and torture followed, *such as history had never before disclosed*, and compared with which, *though planned and executed by Whites**, all the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by the *insurgent Blacks* of the North, *amount comparatively to nothing*. In fine, the French were driven from the island. Till that time, the planters retained their property, and then it was, but not till then, that they lost their all; it cannot, therefore, be expected, as we have said before, that we should have any thing to say in favour of the industry or good order of the emancipated Negroes, during such a convulsive period.

In the year 1804, Dessalines was proclaimed emperor of this fine territory. Here we resume the thread of our history, (though it will be but for a moment,) in order that we may follow it to its end. In process of time, the black troops, containing the Negroes in question, were disbanded, except such as were retained for the peace-establishment of the army. They who were disbanded, returned to cultivation. As they were free when they became soldiers, so they continued to be free when they became labourers again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them. They or their descendants are the persons, by whom the plains and valleys of St. Domingo *are still cultivated*, and they are reported to follow their occupations still, and with *as fair a character* as other free labourers in any other quarter of the globe.

* The French were not the authors of tearing to pieces the Negroes alive by bloodhounds, or of suffocating them by hundreds at a time in the holds of ships, or of drowning them (whole cargoes) by scuttling and sinking the vessels;—but the planters.

We have now seen, that the emancipated Negroes never abused their liberty, from the year 1793 (the era of their general emancipation) to the present day, a period of thirty years. An important question then seems to force itself upon us, "What were the measures taken after so frightful an event, as that of emancipation, to secure the tranquillity and order which has been described, or to rescue the planters and the colony from ruin?" We are bound to answer this, if we can, were it only to gratify the curiosity of our readers; but more particularly when we consider, that if emancipation should ever be in contemplation in our own colonies, it will be desirable to have all the light possible upon that subject, and particularly of precedent or example. It appears then, that the two commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, aware of the mischief which might attend their decrees, were obliged to take the best measures they could devise to prevent it. One of their first steps was to draw up a short code of rules to be observed upon the plantations; these rules were printed and made public. They were also ordered to be read aloud to all the Negroes upon every estate, for which purpose the latter were to be assembled at a particular hour once a week. The preamble to these regulations insisted upon *the necessity of working, without which every thing would go to ruin*. Among the articles, the two the most worthy of our notice were, that the labourers were to be obliged to hire themselves to their masters for *not less than a year*, at the end of which (September), but not before, they might quit their service, and engage with others; and that they were to receive *a third part* of the produce of the estate, as a recompense for their labour. These two were *fundamental* articles. As to the minor, they were not alike upon every estate. This code of the commissioners subsisted for about three years.

Toussaint, when he came into power, reconsidered this subject, and adopted a code of rules of his own. His first object was to prevent oppression on the part of the master or employer, and yet to secure obedience on the part of the labourer. Conceiving that there could be no liberty where any one man had the power of punishing another at his discretion, he took away from every master the use of the whip, and of the chain, and of every other instrument of correction, either by himself or his own order: he took away, in fact, all power of arbitrary punishment. Every master offending against this regulation was to be summoned on complaint by the labourer before a magistrate or intendant of police, who was to examine into the case, and to act accordingly. Conceiving, on the other hand, that a just subordination ought to be kept up, and that, wherever delinquency occurred, punishment ought to follow, he ordained, that all labourers offending against the plantation-laws, or not per-
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forming their contracts, should be brought before the same magistrate or intendant of police, who should examine them touching such delinquency, and decide as in the former case: thus he administered justice without respect of persons. It must be noticed, that all punishments were to be executed by a civil officer, a sort of public executioner, that they might be considered as punishments *by the state*. Thus he kept up discipline on the plantations, without lessening authority on the one hand, and without invading the liberty of individuals on the other.

Among his plantation offences was idleness on the part of the labourer. A man was not to receive wages from his master, and to do nothing. He was obliged to perform a reasonable quantity of work, or be punished. Another offence was absence without leave, which was considered as desertion.

Toussaint differed from the commissioners, as to the length of time for which labourers should engage themselves to masters. He thought it unwise to allow the former, in the infancy of their liberty, to get notions of change and rambling at the end of every year. He ordained, therefore, that they should be attached to the plantations, and made, though free labourers, a sort of *adscripti glebæ* for five years.

He differed again from the commissioners, as to the quantum of compensation for their labour. He thought one-third of the produce too much, seeing that the planter had another third to pay to the Government. He ordered, therefore, one-fourth to the labourer, but this was in the case only, where the labourer clothed and maintained himself: where he did not do this, he was entitled to a fourth only nominally, for out of this his master was to make a deduction for board and clothing.

The above is all we can collect of the code of Toussaint, which, under his auspices, had the surprising effect of preserving tranquillity and order, and of keeping up a spirit of industry on the plantations of St. Domingo, at a time when only idleness and anarchy were to have been expected. It was in force when Leclerc arrived with his invading army, and it continued in force when the French army were beaten and Negro-liberty confirmed. From Toussaint it passed to Dessalines, and from Dessalines to Christophe and Pétion, and from the two latter to Boyer; and it is the code therefore which regulates, and we believe with but very little variation, the relative situation of master and servant in husbandry at this present hour.

But it is time that we should now wind up the case before us. And, first, will any one say that this case is not analogous to that which we have in contemplation? Let us remember that the number of slaves liberated by the French decrees in St. Domingo

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was very little short of 500,000 persons, and that this was nearly equal to the number of *all the slaves* then in the British West Indian Islands when put together. But if there be a want of analogy, the difference lies on our side of the question. We maintain, that emancipation in *St. Domingo* was attended with *far more hazard* to persons and property, and with *far greater difficulties*, than it could possibly be, if attempted in *our own islands*. Can we forget that by the decree of Polverel, sanctioned afterwards by the Convention, all the slaves *were made free at once*, or *in a single day*? No notice was given of the event, and of course *no preparation* could be made for it. They were released *suddenly from all their former obligations and restraints*. They were let loose upon the Whites, their masters, with *all the vices of slavery* upon them. What was to have been expected but the dissolution of all civilized society, with the reign of barbarism and terror? Now all we ask for with respect to the slaves in our own islands is, that they should be emancipated *by degrees*, or that they should be made to pass through a certain course of discipline, *as through a preparatory school*, to fit them for the right use of their freedom. Again, can we forget the unfavourable circumstances, in which the slaves of *St. Domingo* were placed, for a year or two before their liberation, in another point of view? The island at this juncture was a prey to *political discord, civil war, and foreign invasion*, at the same time. Their masters were politically at variance with each other, as they were white or coloured persons, or republicans or royalists. They were quarrelling and fighting with each other, and shedding each other's blood. The English, who were in possession of the strong maritime posts, were alarming the country by their incursions; they, the slaves, had been trained up to the same political animosities. They had been made to take the side of their respective masters, and to pass through scenes of violence and bloodshed. Now, whenever emancipation is to be proposed in our own colonies, we anticipate neither *political parties*, nor *civil wars*, nor *foreign invasion*, but a time of *tranquillity and peace*. Who then will be bold enough to say, after these remarks, that there could be any thing like the danger and difficulties in emancipating the slaves there, which existed when the slaves of *St. Domingo* were made free? But some objector may say, after all, "There is one point in which your analogy is deficient. While Toussaint was in power, the Government of *St. Domingo* was a *black one*, and the Blacks would be more willing to submit to the authority of a *black* (their own) Government, than of a *white one*. Hence there were less disorders after emancipation in *St. Domingo*, than would have probably occurred, had it been tried in our own islands." But to such an objector we should reply, that he knows nothing of the

the history of St. Domingo. The Government of that island was French, *or white*, from the very infancy of emancipation to the arrival of the expedition of Leclerc. The slaves were made free under the government of Santhonax and Polverel. When these retired, other *white* commissioners succeeded them. When Toussaint came into power, he was not supreme; Generals Hedouille, Vincent, and others, had a share in the government. Toussaint himself *received his commission from the French Directory*, and acted under it. He caused it every where to be made known, but particularly among his officers and troops, that he retained the island for the *French Government*, and that *France* was the *mother-country*.

A sixth class of slaves emancipated in bodies, may comprehend those who began to be liberated about eighteen months ago in the newly-erected State of Columbia. General Bolivar began the great work himself by enfranchising his own slaves, to the number of between seven and eight hundred. But he was not satisfied with this; for believing, as he did, that to hold persons in slavery at all, was not only morally wrong, but utterly inconsistent with the character of men fighting for their own liberty, he brought the subject before the Congress of Venezuela. The Congress there, after having duly considered it, drew up resolutions accordingly, which it recommended to the first general Congress of Columbia, when it should be assembled. This last Congress, which met at the time expected, passed a decree for emancipation on the 19th of July 1821. All slaves, who had assisted, in a military capacity, in achieving the independence of the republic, were at once declared free. All the children of slaves, born after the said 19th of July, were to be free in succession as they attained the eighteenth year of their age. A fund was established at the same time by a general tax upon property, to pay the owners of such young slaves the expense of bringing them up to their eighteenth year, and for putting them afterwards to trades and useful professions; and the same fund was made applicable to the purchase of the freedom of adults in each district every year, during the three national festivals in December, as far as the district-funds would permit. Care, however, was to be taken to select those of the best character. It may be proper to observe, that emancipation, as above explained, has been proceeding regularly, from the 19th of July 1821, according to the terms of the decree, and also according to the ancient Spanish code, which still exists, and which is made to go hand in hand with it. They who attain their eighteenth year are not allowed to go at large after their liberation, but are put under the charge of special juntas for a useful education. The adults may have land, if they desire it, or they may go where they please. The state has lately purchased freedom for many of the latter, who had a liking to the army. Their freedom

freedom is secured to them whether they remain soldiers or are discharged. It is particularly agreeable to us to be able to say that all, who have been hitherto emancipated, have conducted themselves since that time with propriety. It appears by a letter from Columbia, dated 17th February 1822, about seven months after emancipation had commenced, addressed to James Stephen, Esq. of London, and since made public, "that the slaves were all then *peaceably at work* throughout the republic, as well as *the newly enfranchised* and those originally free. And it appears from the account of a gentleman of high consideration just arrived from Columbia, in London, that up to the time of his departure, they who had been emancipated "were *steady and industrious*, and that they *had conducted themselves well without a single exception.*" But as this is an experiment which it will yet take sixteen years to complete, we can only call it to our aid, as far as the result of it is known. It is, however, an experiment to which, as far as it has been made, we may appeal with satisfaction: for when we consider that *eighteen* months have elapsed, and that *many* thousands* have been freed since the passing of the decree and the date of the last accounts from Columbia, we cannot but consider the decree to have had a sufficient trial.

The seventh class may comprehend the slaves of the Honourable Joshua Steele, whose emancipation was attempted in Barbadoes between the years 1783 and 1790.

It appears that Mr. Steele lived several years in London. He was Vice-president of the London Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and a person of talent and erudition. He was the proprietor of three estates in Barbadoes. His agent there used to send him accounts annually of his concerns; but these were latterly so ruinous, not only in a pecuniary point of view, but as they related to what Mr. Steele called the destruction of his Negroes, that he resolved, though then at the advanced age of eighty, to go there, and to look into his affairs himself. Accordingly he embarked, and arrived there early in the year 1780.

Mr. Steele had not been long in Barbadoes, before he saw enough to convince him that there was something radically wrong in the management of the slaves there, and he was anxious to try, as well for the sake of humanity as of his own interest, to effect a change in it. But how was he to accomplish this†? "He considered

* All the slave-population was to be emancipated in 18 years; and this consisted at the time of passing the decree of from 250,000 to 300,000 souls.

† See Dr. Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery, London 1814, from whence every thing relating to this subject is taken. Dr. Dickson had been for many years secretary

sidered within himself how difficult it would be, nay, impossible; for a single proprietor to attempt so great a novelty as to bring about an alteration of manners and customs protected by iniquitous laws, and to which the gentlemen of the country were reconciled as to the best possible for amending the indocile and intractable ignorance of Negro Slaves." It struck him, however, among the expedients which occurred, that he might be able to form a society, similar to the one in London, for the purpose of improving the arts, manufactures, and commerce of Barbadoes; and if so, he "indulged a hope that by means of it conferences might be introduced on patriotic subjects, in the course of which new ideas and new opinions might soften the national bigotry, so far as to admit some discourses on the possibility of amendment in the mode of governing slaves." Following up this idea, he brought it at length to bear. A society was formed, in consequence, of gentlemen of the island in 1781. The subjects under its discussion became popular. It printed its first minutes in 1782, which were very favourably received, and it seemed to bid fair after this to answer the benevolent views of its founder.

During this time, a space of two years, Mr. Steele had been gaining a practical knowledge of the West Indian husbandry, and also a practical knowledge of the temper, disposition, habits, and customs of the slaves. He had also read much and thought much. It may be inferred from his writings, that three questions especially had employed his mind. 1. Whether he could not do away all arbitrary punishments and yet keep up discipline among the slaves? 2. Whether he could not carry on the plantation-work through the stimulus of reward? 3. Whether he could not change slavery into a condition of a milder name and character, so that the slaves should be led by degrees to the threshold of liberty, from whence they might step next, without hazard, into the rank of free men, if circumstances should permit and encourage such a procedure. Mr. Steele thought, after mature consideration, that he could accomplish all these objects, and he resolved to make the experiments gradually upon his own estates.

At the end of the year 1783 he put the first of these questions to trial. "I took," says he, "the whips and all power of arbi-

secretary to Governor Hay, in Barbadoes, where he had an opportunity of studying the Slave agriculture as a system. Being in London afterwards when the Slave Trade controversy was going on in Parliament, he distinguished himself by silencing the different writers who defended the West Indian slavery. There it was that Mr Steele addressed himself to him by letter, and sent him those invaluable papers, which the Doctor afterwards published under the modest title of "Mitigation of Slavery by Steele and Dickson." No one was better qualified than Dr. Dickson to become the Editor of Mr. Steele.

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trary punishment from all the overseers and their white servants, which occasioned *my chief overseer to resign*, and I soon dismissed all his deputies, who *could not bear the loss of their whips*; but at the same time, that a proper subordination and obedience to lawful orders and duty should be preserved, I created a *magistracy out of the Negroes themselves*, and appointed a *court or jury* of the elder Negroes or head-men for trial and punishment of all casual offences, (and these courts were always to be held in my presence, or in that of my new superintendant,) which court *very soon grew respectable*. Seven of these men being of the rank of drivers in their different departments, were also constituted *rulers*, as magistrates over all the gang, and were charged to see at all times that nothing should go wrong in the plantations; but that on all necessary occasions they should assemble and consult together how any such wrong should be immediately rectified; and I made it known to all the gangs, that the authority of these rulers should supply the absence or vacancy of an overseer in all cases; they making daily or occasional reports of all occurrences to the proprietor or his delegate for his approbation or his orders."

It appears that Mr. Steele was satisfied with this his first step, and he took no other for some time. At length, in about another year, he ventured upon the second. He "tried whether he could not obtain the labour of his Negroes by *voluntary* means instead of the old method by violence." On a certain day he offered a pecuniary reward for holing canes, which is the most laborious operation in West Indian husbandry. "He offered two-pence half-penny (currency), or about three-halfpence (sterling) per day, with the usual allowance to holers of a dram with molasses, to any twenty-five of his Negroes, both men and women, who would undertake to hole for canes an acre per day, at about 96½ holes for each Negro to the acre. The whole gang were ready to undertake it; but only fifty of the volunteers were accepted, and many among them were those who *on much lighter occasions* had usually pleaded *infirmity and inability*: but the ground having been moist, they holed twelve acres within six days with great ease, having had *an hour*, more or less, *every evening to spare*, and the like experiment was repeated with the like success. More experiments with such premiums on weeding and deep hoeing were made by task-work per acre, and all succeeded in like manner, their premiums being all punctually paid them in proportion to their performance. But afterwards some of the same people being put *without premium* to weed on a loose cultivated soil in the common manner, *eighteen* Negroes did not do as much in a given time as *six* had performed of the like sort of work a few days before with the premium of two-pence half-penny." The next year Mr. Steele

Steele made similar experiments. Success attended him again; and from this time task-work, or the *voluntary* system, became the general practice of the estate.

Mr. Steele did not proceed to put the third question to trial till the year 1789. The Society of Arts, which he had instituted in 1781, had greatly disappointed him. Some of the members, looking back to the discussions which had taken place on the subject of Slavery, began to think that they had gone too far as slaveholders in their admissions. They began to insinuate, "that they had been taken in, under the specious appearance of promoting the arts, manufactures, and commerce of Barbadoes, to *promote dangerous designs against its established laws and customs.*" Discussions therefore of this sort became too unpopular to be continued. It was therefore not till Mr. Steele found, that he had no hope of assistance from this Society, and that he was obliged to depend solely upon himself, that he put in force the remainder of his general plan. He had already (in 1783) as we stated some time ago, abolished arbitrary punishment and instituted a Negro-magistracy; and since that time (in 1785) he had adopted the system of *working by the piece*. But the remaining part of his plan went the length of *altering the condition* of the slaves themselves; and it is of this alteration, a most important one (in 1789), that we are now to speak.

Mr. Steele took the hint for the particular mode of improving the condition of his slaves, which we are going to describe, from the practice of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in the days of Villainage, which, he says, was "the most wise and excellent mode of civilizing savage slaves." There were in those days three classes of villains. The first or lowest consisted of villains in gross, who were alienable at pleasure. The second of villains regarent, who were *adscripti glebæ*, or attached as freehold property to the soil. And the third or last of copyhold bondmen, who had tenements of land, for which they were bound to pay in services. The villains first mentioned, or those of the lowest class, had all these gradations to pass through, from the first into the second, and from the second into the third, before they could become free men. This was the model, from which Mr. Steele resolved to borrow, when he formed his plan for changing the condition of his slaves. He did not, however, adopt it throughout, but he chose out of it what he thought would be most suitable to his purpose, and left the rest. We may now see what the plan was, when put together, from the following account.

In the year 1789 he erected his plantations into *manors*. It appears that the Governor of Barbadoes had the power by charter, with the consent of the majority of the council, of dividing the island

island into manors, lordships, and precincts, and of making freeholders; and though this had not yet been done, Mr. Steele hoped, as a member of council, to have influence sufficient to get his own practice legalized in time. Presuming upon this, he registered in the *manor-book* all his adult male slaves as *copyholders*. He then gave to these separate tenements of lands, which they were to occupy, and upon which they were to raise whatever they might think most advantageous to their support. These tenements consisted of half an acre of plantable and productive land to each adult, a quantity supposed to be sufficient with industry to furnish him and his family with provision and clothing. The tenements were made descendible to the heirs of the occupiers or copyholders, that is, to their children *on the plantations*; for no part of the succession was to go out of the plantations to the issue of any foreign wife, and, in case of no such heirs, they were to fall in to the lord to be re-granted according to his discretion. It was also inscribed that any one of the copyholders, who would not perform his services to the manor (the refractory and others), was to forfeit his tenement and his privileged rank, and to go back to villain in gross and to be subject to corporal punishment as before. "Thus," says Mr. Steele, "we run no risk whatever in making the experiment by giving such copyhold-tenements to all our well deserving Negroes, and to all in general, when they appear to be worthy of that favour."

Matters having been adjusted so far, Mr. Steele introduced the practice of *rent* and *wages*. He put an annual rent upon each tenement, which he valued at so many days' labour. He set a rent also upon personal service, as due by the copyholder to his master in his former quality of slave, seeing that his master or predecessor had purchased a property in him, and this he valued in the same manner. He then added the two rents together, making so many days' work altogether, and estimated them in the current money of the time. Having done this, he fixed a daily wages or pay to be received by the copyholders for the work which they were to do. They were to work 260 days in the year for him, and to have 48 besides Sundays for themselves. He reduced these days' work also to current money. These wages he fixed at such a rate, that "they should be more than equivalent to the rent of their copyholds and the rent of their personal services when put together, in order to hold out to them an evident and profitable incentive to their industry." It appears that the rent of the tenement, half an acre, was fixed at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ £. currency or between forty and fifty shillings sterling per acre, and the wages for a man belonging to the first gang at $7\frac{1}{4}$ d. currency or 6d. sterling

sterling per day. As to the rent for the personal services, it is not mentioned.

With respect to labour and things connected with it, Mr. Steele entered the following among the local laws in the *court-roll* of the tenants and tenements. The copyholders were not to work for other masters without the leave of the lord. They were to work ten hours per day. If they worked over and above that time, they were to be paid for every hour a tenth part of their daily wages, and they were also to forfeit a tenth for every hour they were absent or deficient in the work of the day. All sorts of work, however, were to be reduced, as far as it could be done by observation and estimation, to equitable task-work. Hoes were to be furnished to the copyholders in the first instance; but they were to renew them, when worn out, at their own expense. The other tools were to be lent them, but to be returned to the store-keeper at night, or to be paid for in default of so doing. Mr. Steele was to continue the hospital and medical attendance at his own expense as before.

Mr. Steele, having now rent to receive and wages to pay, was obliged to settle a new mode of accounting between the plantation and the labourers. "He brought, therefore, all the minor crops of the plantation, such as corn, grain of all sorts, yams, eddoes, besides rum and molasses, into a regular cash account by weight and measure, which he charged to the copyhold-storekeeper at market prices of the current time, and the storekeeper paid them at the same prices to such of the copyholders as called for them in part of wages, in whose option it was to take either cash or goods, according to their earnings, to answer all their wants. Rice, salt, salt fish, barrelled pork, Cork butter, flour, bread, biscuit, candles, tobacco and pipes, and all species of clothing, were provided and furnished from the store at the lowest market prices. An account of what was paid for daily subsistence, and of what stood in their arrears to answer the rents of their lands, the fines and forfeitures for delinquencies, their head-levy and all other casual demands, was accurately kept in columns with great simplicity, and in books, which checked each other.

Such was the plan of Mr. Steele, and we have the pleasure of being able to announce, that the result of it was *highly satisfactory to himself*. In the year 1788, when only the first and second part of it had been reduced to practice, he spoke of it thus:—"A plantation," says he, "of between seven and eight hundred acres has been governed by fixed laws and a Negro-court for about five years with great success. In this plantation no overseer or white servant is allowed to lift his hand against a Negro, nor can he arbitrarily order a punish-

a punishment. Fixed laws and a court or jury of their peers *keep all in order* without the ill effect of sudden and intemperate passions." And in the year 1790, about a year after the last part of his plan had been put to trial, he says in a letter to Dr. Dickson, "My copyholders have succeeded beyond my expectation." This was his last letter to that gentleman, for he died in the beginning of the next year. Mr. Steele went over to Barbadoes, as we have said before, in the year 1780, and he was then in the eightieth year of his age. He began his humane and glorious work in 1783, and he finished it in 1789. It took him, therefore, six years to bring his Negroes to the state of vassalage described, or to that state from whence he was sure that they might be transferred without danger, in no distant time, to the rank of freemen, if it should be thought desirable. He lived one year afterwards to witness the success of his labours. He had accomplished, therefore, all he wished, and he died in the year 1791, in the ninety-first year of his age.

It may be proper now, and indeed useful to the cause which we advocate, to stop for a moment, just to observe the similarity of sentiment of two great men, quite unknown to each other; one of whom (Mr. Steele) was concerned in preparing Negro-slaves for freedom, and the other (Toussaint) in devising the best mode of managing them after they had been suddenly made free.

It appears, first, that they were both agreed in this point, *viz.* that the *first step* to be taken in either case, was *the total abolition of arbitrary punishment.*

It appears, secondly, that they were nevertheless both agreed again as to the necessity of punishing delinquents, but that they adopted different ways of bringing them to justice. Toussaint referred them to *magistrates*, but Mr. Steele to a *Negro-court*. We prefer ourselves the latter expedient; first, because a Negro-court may be always at hand, whereas magistrates may live at a distance from the plantations, and not be always at home. Secondly, because the holding of a Negro-court would give consequence to those Negroes who should compose it, not only in their own eyes but in the eyes of others; and every thing, that might elevate the Black character, would be useful to those who were *on the road to emancipation*; and, lastly, because there must be something satisfactory and consoling to the accused to be tried by their peers.

It appears, thirdly, that both of them were agreed again in the principle of making the Negroes, in either case, *adscripti gleba*, or attached to the soil, though they might differ as to the length of time of such ascription.

And it appears, lastly, that they were agreed in another, and this

the only remaining point, viz. on the necessity of holding out a stimulus to either, so as to excite in them a very superior spirit of industry to any they had known before. They resorted, however, to different means to effect this. Toussaint gave the labourers one *fourth* of the produce of the land; deducting board and clothing. Mr. Steele, on the other hand, gave them *daily wages*. We do not know which to prefer; but the plan of Mr. Steele is most consonant to the English practice.

But to return. It is possible that some objector may rise up here as before, and say that even the case, which we have now detailed, is not, strictly speaking, analogous to that which we have in contemplation, and may argue thus:—"The case of Mr. Steele is not a complete precedent, because his slaves were never *fully* emancipated. He had brought them only to the *threshold* of liberty, but no further. They were only *copyholders*, but not *free men*." To this we reply, first, That Mr. Steele *accomplished all that he ever aimed at*. We have his own words for saying, that so long as the present iniquitous slave-laws, and the distinction of colour, should exist, it would be imprudent to go further. We reply again, That the partisans of emancipation would be happy indeed, if they could see the day when our West Indian slaves should arrive at the rank and condition of the copyholders of Mr. Steele. They wish for no other freedom than that which is *compatible with the joint interest of the master and the slave*. At the same time they must maintain, that the copyholders of Mr. Steele had been brought so near to the condition of free men, that a removal from one into the other, after a certain time, seemed more like a thing of course than a matter to be attended either with difficulty or danger: for unquestionably their moral character must have been improved: if they had ceased for seven years to feel themselves degraded by arbitrary punishment, they must have acquired some little independence of mind. If they had been paid for their labour, they must have acquired something like a spirit of industry. If they had been made to pay rent for their cottage and land, and to maintain themselves, they must have been made to *look beforehand, to think for themselves and families from day to day, and to provide against the future*, all which operations of the mind are the characteristics only of free men. The case, therefore, of Mr. Steele is most important and precious: for it shows us, first, that the emancipation, which we seek, is a thing which *may be effected*. The plan of Mr. Steele was put in force in a *British* Island, and that, which was done in one British Island, may under similar circumstances *be done again in the same, as well as in another*. It shows us, again, *how* this emancipation may be brought about.

about. The process is so clearly detailed, that any one may follow it. It is also a case for encouragement, inasmuch as it was attended with success.

We have now considered no less than six cases of slaves emancipated in bodies, and a seventh of slaves, who were led up to the very threshold of freedom, comprehending altogether not less than between five and six hundred thousand persons; and we have considered also all the objections that could be reasonably advanced against them. The result is a belief on our parts, that emancipation is not only *practicable*, but that it is *practicable without danger*. The slaves, whose cases we have been considering, were resident in different parts of the world. There must have been, amongst such a vast number, persons of *all characters*. Some were liberated, who had been *accustomed to the use of arms*. Others at a time when the land in which they sojourned was afflicted *with civil and foreign wars*; others again *suddenly*, and with *all the vicious habits of slavery upon them*. And yet, under all these disadvantageous circumstances, we find them all, without exception, *yielding themselves to the will of their superiors*, so as to be brought by them *with as much ease and certainty into the form intended for them*, as clay in the hands of the potter is fashioned to his own model. But, if this be so, we should be chargeable with a want of common sense, were we *to doubt for a moment*, that emancipation *was not practicable*; and we are not sure that we should not be exposed to the same charge, were we to doubt, that emancipation *was practicable without danger*. For we have not yet discovered (and it is most remarkable) *a single failure* in any of the cases which have been produced. We have not discovered throughout this vast mass of emancipated persons *a single instance of bad behaviour* on their parts, not even of a refusal to work, or of disobedience to orders. Much less have we seen frightful commotions, or massacres, or a return of evil for evil, or revenge for past injuries, even when they had it amply in their power. In fact, the Negro character is malleable at the European will. There is, as we have observed before, a singular pliability in the constitutional temper of the Negroes, and they have besides a quick sense of their own interest, which influences their conduct. We are convinced, that West India masters can do what they will with their slaves; and that they may lead them through any changes they please, and with perfect safety to themselves, if they will only make them (the slaves) understand that they are to be benefited thereby.

Having now established, we hope, two of our points, first, that emancipation *is practicable*, and, secondly, that it is *practicable without danger*, we proceed to show the probability that it would
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be attended with profit to those planters who should be permitted to adopt it. We return, therefore, to the case of Mr. Steele. We give him the prior hearing on this new occasion, because we are sure that our readers will be anxious to learn something more about him; or to know what became of his plans, or how far such humane endeavours were attended with success.

We shall begin by quoting the following expressions of Mr. Steele. "I have employed and amused myself," says he, "by introducing *an entire new mode* of governing my own slaves, for their happiness, and also *for my own profit*." It appears, then, that Mr. Steele's new method of management was profitable. Let us now try to make out from his own account, of what these profits consisted.

Mr. Steele informs us, that his superintendant had obliged him to hire all his holing at 3*l.* currency, or 2*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* sterling per acre. He was very much displeased at these repeated charges; and then it was, that he put his second question to trial, as we have before related, viz. whether he could not obtain the labour of his Negroes by voluntary means, instead of by the old method by violence. He made, therefore, an attempt to introduce task-work, or labour with an expected premium for extraordinary efforts, upon his estates. He gave his Negroes therefore a small pecuniary reward over and above the usual allowances, and the consequence was, as he himself says, that "the *poorest, feeblest*, and by character *the most indolent* Negroes of the whole gang, cheerfully performed the holing of his land, generally said to be the most laborious work, for *less than a fourth part* of the stated price paid to the undertakers for holing." This experiment we have detailed in another place. After this he continued the practice of task-work or premium. He describes the operation of such a system upon the minds of his Negroes in the following words: "According to the vulgar mode of governing Negro-slaves, they feel only the desponding fear of punishment for doing less than they ought, without being sensible that the settled allowance of food and clothing is given, and should be accepted as a reward for doing well, while in task-work the expectation of winning the reward, and the fear of losing it, have a double operation to exert their endeavours." Mr. Steele was also benefited again in another point of view by the new practice which he had introduced. "He was clearly convinced, that saving time, by doing in one day as much as would otherwise require three days, was *worth more than double the premium*, the *timely effects* on vegetation *being critical*." He found also to his satisfaction, that "during all the operations under the premium there were *no disorders, no crowding to the sick-house, as before*."

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Slavery.

We have now to make our remarks upon this account. It shows us clearly how Mr. Steele made a part of his profits. These profits consisted first of a *saving of expense* in his husbandry, which *saving was not made by others*. He had his land holed at *one-fourth* of the usual rate. Let us apply this to all the other operations of husbandry, such as weeding, deep hoeing, &c. in a large farm of nearly eight hundred acres, like his, and we shall see how considerable the savings would be in one year. His Negroes again did not counterfeit sickness as before, in order to be excused from labour, but rather wished to labour in order to obtain the reward. There was therefore no crowding to the hospitals. This constituted a *second source of saving*; for they who were in the hospitals were maintained by Mr. Steele without earning any thing, while they who were working in the field left to their master in their work, when they went home at night, a value equal at least to that which they had received from him for their day's labour. But there was another saving of equal importance, which Mr. Steele calls a *saving of time*, but which he might with more propriety have called a *saving of season*. This saving of season, he says, was worth *more than double the premium*; and so it might easily have been. There are soils, every farmer knows, which are so constituted, that if you miss your day, you miss your season; and, if you miss your season, you lose probably half your crop. The saving, therefore, of the season, by having a whole crop instead of half an one, was a *third source of saving of money*. Now let us put all these savings together, and they will constitute a great saving or profit; for as these savings were made by Mr. Steele in consequence of *his new plan*, and *were therefore not made by others*, they constituted an *extraordinary* profit to him; or they added to the profit, whatever it might have been, which he used to receive from the estate, before his *new plan* was put in execution.

But we discover other ways in which Mr. Steele was benefited, as we advance in the perusal of his writings. It was impossible to overlook the following passage: "Now," says he (alluding to his new system), "every species of provisions raised on the plantations, or bought from the merchants, is charged at the market-price to the copyhold-store, and discharged by what has been paid on the several accounts of every individual bond-slave; whereas for all those species heretofore, I never saw in any plantation-book of my estates any account of what became of them, or how they were disposed of, nor of their value, other than in these concise words, *they were given in allowance to the Negroes and stock*. Every year, for six years past, this great plantation has bought several hundred bushels of corn, and was scanty in all ground-provisions, our produce always falling short. This year, 1790, *since the establishment* of

of copyholders, though several less acres were planted last year in Guinea corn than usual, yet we have been able to sell several hundred bushels at a high price, and we have still a great stock in hand. I can place this saving to no other account, than that there is now an exact account kept by all produce being paid as cash to the bond-slaves; and also as all our watchmen are obliged to pay for all losses that happen on their watch, they have found it their interest to look well to their charge; and consequently that we have had much less stolen from us than before this new government took place."

Here then we have seen *another considerable source of saving* to Mr. Steele, viz. that he was not obliged to purchase any corn for his slaves as formerly. Our readers will be able to judge better of this saving, when we inform them of what has been the wretched policy of many of our planters in this department of their concerns. Look over their farming memoranda, and you will see *sugar, sugar, sugar*, in every page; but you may turn over leaf after leaf, before you will find the words *provision ground* for their slaves. By means of this wretched policy, slaves have often suffered most grievously. Some of them have been half starved. Starvation, too, has brought on disorders which have ultimately terminated in their death. Hence their masters have suffered losses, besides the expense incurred in buying what they ought to have raised upon their own estates, and this perhaps at a dear market: and in this wretched predicament, Mr. Steele appears to have been himself when he first went to the estate. His slaves, he tells us, had been reduced in number by bad management. Even for six years afterwards he had been obliged to buy several hundred bushels of corn; but in the year 1790 he had sold several hundred bushels at a high price, and had still a great stock on hand. And to what was all this owing? Not to an exact account kept at the store (for some may have so misunderstood Mr. Steele); for how could an exact account kept there, have occasioned an increase in the produce of the earth? but, as Mr. Steele himself says, *to the establishment of his copyholders, or to the alteration of the condition of his slaves.* His slaves did not only three times more work than before, in consequence of the superior industry he had excited among them, but, by so doing, they were enabled to put the corn into the earth three times more quickly than before, or they were so much forwarder in their other work, that they were enabled to sow it at the critical moment, or so as *to save the season*, and thus secure a full crop, or a larger crop on a less number of acres, than was before raised upon a greater. The copyholders, therefore, were the persons who increased the produce of the earth; but the exact account kept at the store prevented the produce from being misapplied

misapplied as formerly. It could no longer be put down in the general expression of "given in allowances to the Negroes and the stock;" but it was put down to the copyholder, and to him only, who received it. Thus Mr. Steele saved the purchase of a great part of the provisions for his slaves. He had formerly a great deal to buy for them, but now nothing. On the other hand, he had to sell; but, as his slaves were made, according to the new system, to *maintain themselves*, he had now *the whole produce of his estate to dispose of*. The circumstance therefore of having nothing to buy, but every thing to sell, constituted another source of his profits.

What the other particular profits of Mr. Steele were we are not informed, neither can we find what were his particular expenses; so as to be enabled to strike the balance in his favour. Happily, however, Mr. Steele has done this for us himself, though he has not furnished us with the items on either side.—He says that "from the year 1773 to 1779 (he arrived in Barbadoes in 1780) his stock had been so much reduced by ill management and wasteful economy, that the annual average neat clearance was little more than *one and a quarter* per cent. on the purchase. In a second period of four years, in consequence of the exertion of an honest and able manager, (though with a further reduction of the stock, and including the loss from the great hurricane,) the annual average income was brought to clear *a little above two* per cent.; but in a third period of three years from 1784 to 1786 inclusive, *since the new mode of governing the Negroes*, (besides increasing the stock and laying out large sums annually in adding necessary works, and in repairs of the damages by the great hurricane,) the estate has cleared very near *four and a quarter* per cent.; that is, its annual average clearance in each of these three periods, was in this proportion; for every 100*l.* annually cleared in the first period the annual average clearance in the second period was 158*l.* 10*s.*, and in the third period was 345*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" This is the statement given by Mr. Steele, and a most important one it is; for if we compare what the estate had cleared in the first, with what it had cleared in the last of these periods, and have recourse to figures, we shall find that Mr. Steele had *more than tripled* the income of it, in consequence of *his new management*, during his residence in Barbadoes. And this is in fact what he says himself in words at full length, in his answer to the 17th question proposed to him by the committee of the Privy-council on the affairs of the slave trade. "In a plantation," says he, "of 200 slaves in June 1780, consisting of 90 men, 82 women, 56 boys, and 60 girls, though under the exertions of an able and honest manager, there were only 15 births, and no less than 57 deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves. The whips were taken from all the
white

white servants. All arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried and sentence passed by a Negro court. In four years and three months after this change of government, there were 44 births, and only 41 deaths, of which ten deaths were of superannuated men and women, some above 80 years old. But in the same interval the annual neat clearance of the estate was *above three times more than it had been for ten years before!!!*"

Dr. Dickson, the editor of Mr. Steele, mentions these profits also, and in the same terms, and connects them with an eulogium on Mr. Steele, which is worthy of our attention. "Mr. Steele," says he, "saw that the Negroes, like all other human beings, were to be stimulated to permanent exertion only by a sense of their own interests in providing for their own wants and those of their offspring. He therefore tried *rewards*, which immediately roused the most indolent to exertion. His experiments ended in *regular wages*, which the industry he had excited among his whole gang enabled him to pay. Here was a natural, efficient, and profitable reciprocity of interests. His people became contented: his mind was freed from that perpetual vexation and that load of anxiety, which are inseparable from the vulgar system, and in little more than four years the annual neat clearance of his property *was more than tripled*. Again, in another part of the work, "Mr. Steele's plan may no doubt receive some improvements, which his great age obliged him to decline"—"but it is perfect, as far as it goes. *To advance above 300 field-negroes, who had never before moved without the whip, to a state nearly resembling that of contented, honest and industrious servants, and, after paying for their labour, to triple in a few years the annual neat clearance of the estate,—these, I say, were great achievements for an aged man in an untried field of improvement, pre-occupied by inveterate vulgar prejudice. He has indeed accomplished all that was really doubtful or difficult in the undertaking, and perhaps all that is at present desirable either for owner or slave; for he has ascertained as a fact, what was before only known to the learned as a theory, and to practical men as a paradox, that the paying of slaves for their labour does actually produce a very great profit to their owners.*"

We have now proved (as far as the plan* of Mr. Steele is concerned) our third proposition, or the probability that emancipation

* It is much to be feared that this beautiful order of things was broken up after Mr. Steele's death by his successors, either through their own prejudices, or their unwillingness or inability to stand against the scoffs and prejudices of others. It may be happy, however, for thousands now in slavery, that Mr. Steele lived to accomplish his plan. The constituent parts and result of it being known, a fine example is shown to those who may be desirous of trying emancipation.

would promote the interests of those who should adopt it ; but as we know of no other estate similarly circumstanced with that of Mr. Steele, that is, where emancipation has been tried, and where a detailed result of it has been made known, we cannot confirm it by other similar examples. We must have recourse therefore to some new species of proof. Now it is an old maxim, as old as the days of Pliny and Columella, and confirmed by Dr. Adam Smith, and all the modern writers on political economy, that *the labour of free men is cheaper than the labour of slaves*. If therefore we should be able to show that this maxim would be true, if applied to all the operations and demands of West Indian agriculture, we should be able to establish our proposition on a new ground : for it requires no great acuteness to infer, that, if it be cheaper to employ free men than slaves in the cultivation of our islands, emancipation would be a profitable undertaking there.

We shall show, then, that the old maxim just mentioned is true, when applied to the case in our own islands, first, by establishing the fact, that *free men*, people of colour, in the East Indies, are employed in *precisely the same concerns* (the cultivation of the cane and the making of sugar) as the slaves in the West, and that they are employed *at a cheaper rate*. The testimony of Henry Botham, Esq. will be quite sufficient for this point. That gentleman resided for some time in the East Indies, where he became acquainted with the business of a sugar estate. In the year 1770 he quitted the East for the West. His object was to settle in the latter part of the world, if it should be found desirable so to do. For this purpose he visited all the West Indian Islands, both English and French, in about two years. He became during this time a planter, though he did not continue long in this situation ; and he superintended also Messrs. Bosanquets' and J. Fatio's sugar plantation in their partners' absence. Finding at length the unprofitable way in which the West Indian planters conducted their concerns, he returned to the East Indies in 1776, and established sugar-works at Bencoolen on his own account. Being in London in the year 1780, when a committee of privy council was sitting to examine into the question of the slave trade, he delivered a paper to the board on the mode of cultivating a sugar plantation in the East Indies ; and this paper being thought of great importance, he was summoned afterwards in 1791 by a committee of the House of Commons to be examined personally upon it.

It is very remarkable that the very first sentence in this paper announced the fact at once, that "sugar, better and *cheaper* than that in the West Indian Islands, was produced *by free men*."

Mr. Botham then explained the simple process of making sugar in the East. "A proprietor, generally a Dutchman, used to let
his

his estate, say 300 acres or more, with proper buildings upon it, to a Chinese, who lived upon it and superintended it, and who relet it to free men in parcels of 50 or 60 acres on condition that they should plant it in canes for so much for every pecul, 133 lbs., of sugar produced. This superintendant hired people from the adjacent villages to take off his crop. One lot of task-men with their carts and buffaloes cut the canes, carried them to the mill, and ground them. A second set boiled them, and a third clayed and basketed them for market at so much per pecul. Thus the renter knew with certainty what every pecul would cost him, and he incurred no unnecessary expense; for, when the crop was over, the task-men returned home. By dividing the labour in this manner, it was better and cheaper done."

Mr. Botham detailed next the improved method of making sugar in Batavia, which we have not room to insert here. We may just state, however, that the persons concerned in it never made spirits on the sugar estates. The molasses and skinnings were sent for sale to Batavia, where one distillery might buy the produce of a hundred estates. Here, again, was a vast saving, says Mr. Botham, "there was not, as in the West Indies, *a distillery* for each estate."

He then proceeded to make a comparison between the agricultural system of the two countries. "The cane was cultivated to *the utmost perfection* in Batavia, whereas the culture of it in the West Indies was but *in its infancy*. *The hoe was scarcely used* in the East, whereas it was almost *the sole implement* in the West. *The plough was used instead of it in the East*, as far as it could be done. Young canes there were kept also often ploughed as a weeding, and the hoe was kept to weed round the plant when very young; but of this there was little need, if the land had been sufficiently ploughed. When the cane was ready to be earthed up, it was done by a *sort of shovel* made for the purpose. *Two persons* with this instrument would earth up more canes in a day than *ten Negroes* with hoes. The cane-roots were also *ploughed up* in the East, whereas they were *dug up with the severest exertion* in the West. Many alterations, says Mr. Botham, are to be made, and expenses and human labour lessened in the West. *Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit and labourers from force*, I can assert, that *the savings by the former are very considerable*."

He then pointed out other defects in the West Indian management, and their remedies. "I am of opinion," says he, "that the West Indian planter should for his own interest give more labour to beast and less to man. A larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture. When practicable, canes should be carried to the mill, and cane tops and grass to the stock, in waggons. The custom

tom of making a hard-worked Negro get a bundle of grass twice a day, should be abolished, and in short a *total change take place in the miserable management in our West Indian Islands*. By these means following as near as possible the East Indian mode, and consolidating the distilleries, I do suppose our sugar-islands might be better worked than they now are by *two-thirds* or indeed *one-half* of the present force. Let it be considered how much labour is lost by the persons *overseeing the forced labourer*, which is saved when he works *for his own profit*. I have stated with the strictest veracity a plain matter of fact, that sugar-estates can be *worked cheaper by free men than by slaves**."

We shall now show, that the old maxim, which has been mentioned, is true, when applied to the case of our West Indian islands, by establishing a fact of a very different kind, viz. that the slaves in the West Indies do much more work in a given time when *they work for themselves*, than when *they work for their masters*. But how, it will be said, do you prove, by establishing this fact, that it would be cheaper for our planters to employ free men than slaves? We answer thus: We maintain that, *while the slaves are working for themselves*, they are to be considered, indeed that they are, *bonâ fide free labourers*. In the first place, they never have a driver with them on any of these occasions; and, in the second place, *having all their earnings to themselves*, they have that stimulus within them to excite industry, which is only known to *free men*. What is it, we ask, which gives birth to industry in any part of the world, seeing that labour is not agreeable to man, but the stimulus arising from the hope of gain? What makes an English labourer do more work in the day than a slave, but the stimulus arising from the knowledge, that what he earns is *for himself and not for another*? What, again, makes an English labourer do much more work *by the piece* than by the day, but the stimulus arising from the knowledge that he may gain more by the former than by the latter mode of work? Just so is the West Indian slave situated, when *he is working for himself*, that is, when he knows that *what he earns is for his own use*. He has then all the stimulus of a free man, and he is, therefore, *during such work* (though unhappily no longer) really, and in effect, and to all intents and purposes, as much a *free labourer* as any person in any part of the globe. But if he be a free man, while he is working for himself, and if in that capacity he does twice or thrice more work than when he works for his mas-

* Mr. Botham's account is confirmed incontrovertibly by the fact, that sugar made in the East Indies can be brought to England (though it has three times the distance to come, and of course three times the freight to pay), and yet be afforded to the consumer at as cheap a rate as any that can be brought thither from the West.

ter, it follows, that it would be cheaper for his master to employ him as a free labourer, or that the labour of free men in the West Indies would be cheaper than the labour of slaves.

That West Indian slaves, when they work for themselves, do much more in a given time than when they work for their masters, is a fact so notorious in the West Indies, that no one who has been there would deny it. Look at Long's History of Jamaica, the Privy Council Report, Gaisford's Essay on the good Effects of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and other books. Let us hear also what Dr. Dickson, the editor of Mr. Steele, and who resided so many years in Barbadoes, says on this subject, for what he says is so admirably expressed that we cannot help quoting it. "The planters," says he, "do not take the right way to make human beings put forth their strength. They apply main force where they should apply moral motives, and punishments alone where rewards should be judiciously intermixed. They first beslave their poor people with their cursed whip, and then stand and wonder at the tremour of their nerves, and the laxity of their muscles. And yet, strange to tell, *those very men affirm, and affirm truly, that a slave will do more work for himself in an afternoon than he can be made to do for his owner in a whole day or more!*" And did not the whole assembly of Grenada, as we collect from the famous speech of Mr. Pitt on the Slave Trade in 1791, affirm the same thing? "He (Mr. Pitt) would show, he said, the futility of the argument of his honourable friend. He (his honourable friend) had himself admitted, that it was in the power of the colonies to correct the various abuses by which the Negro population was restrained. But they could not do this without *improving the condition of their slaves*, without making them *approximate towards the rank of citizens*, without giving them *some little interest in their labour*, which would occasion them to work *with the energy of men*. But now the assembly of Grenada had themselves stated, that, *though the Negroes were allowed the afternoon of only one day in every week, they would do as much work in that afternoon when employed for their own benefit, as in the whole day when employed in their masters' service*. Now after this confession the House might burn all his calculations relative to the Negro population; for if this population had not quite reached the desirable state which he had pointed out, this confession had proved that further supplies were not wanted. A Negro, *if he worked for himself, could do double work*. By an improvement then in the mode of labour, the work in the islands could be doubled. But if so, what would become of the argument of his honourable friend? for then only half the number of the present labourers were necessary."

But the fact, that the slaves in the West Indies do much more work for themselves in a given time than when they work for their masters,

masters, may be established almost arithmetically, if we will take the trouble of calculating from the documents which are now before us. It is surprising, when we look into the evidence examined by the House of Commons on the subject of the Slave Trade, to find how little a West Indian slave really does, when he works for his master, and this is confessed equally by the witnesses on both sides of the question. One of them (Mr. Francklyn) says, that a labouring man could not get his bread in Europe if he worked no harder than a Negro. Another (Mr. Tobin), that no Negro works like a day-labourer in England. Another (Sir John Dalling), that the general work of Negroes is not to be called labour. A fourth (Dr. Jackson), that an English labourer does three times as much work as a Negro in the West Indies. Now how are these expressions to be reconciled with the common notions in England of Negro labour? for "to work like a Negro" is a common phrase, which is understood to convey the meaning, that the labour of the Negroes is the most severe and intolerable that is known. One of the witnesses, however, just mentioned explains the matter. "The hardship," says he, "of Negro field-labour is more in the *mode* than in the *quantity* done. The slave, seeing no end of his labour, stands over the work, and only throws the hoe to avoid the lash. He appears to work without actually working." The truth is, that a Negro, having no interest in his work while working for his master, will work only while the whip is upon him. We can nowhere make out the clear net annual earnings of a field Negro on a sugar plantation to come up to 8*l.* sterling. Now what does he earn in the course of a year when he is working for himself? We dare not repeat what some of the witnesses for the planters stated to the House of Commons, when representing the enviable condition of the slaves in the West Indies; for this would be to make him earn more for himself *in one day* than for his master *in a week*. Let us take then the lowest sum mentioned in the Book of Evidence. This is stated to be 14*d.* sterling per week; and 14*d.* sterling per week would make 3*l.* sterling per year. But how many days in the week does he work when he makes such annual earnings? The most time, which any of the witnesses gives to a field slave for his own private concerns, is every Sunday, and also every Saturday afternoon in the week, besides three holy days in the year. But this is far from being the general account. Many of them say that he has only Sunday to himself; and others, that even Sunday is occasionally trespassed upon by his master. It appears, also, that even where the afternoon is given him, it is only out of crop-time. Now let us take into the account the time lost by slaves in going backwards and forwards to their provision-grounds; for though some of these are described as being only a stone's throw from their huts, others are described

scribed as being one, and two, and three, and even four miles off; and let us take into the account also, that Sunday is, by the confession of all, the Negro market day, on which alone they can dispose of their own produce, and that the market itself may be from one to ten or fifteen miles from their homes, and that they who go there cannot be working in their gardens at the same time, and we shall find that there cannot be on an average more than a clear three quarters of a day in the week, which they can call their own, and in which they can work for themselves. But call it a whole day, if you please, and you will find that the slave does for himself in this one day more than a third of what he does for his master in six, or that he works *more than three times harder when he works for himself than when he works for his master.*

We have now shown, first by the evidence of Mr. Botham, and secondly by the fact of Negroes earning more in a given time when they work in their own gardens, than when they work in their masters' service, that the old maxim "*of its being cheaper to employ free men than slaves,*" is true, when applied to the *operations and demands of West Indian agriculture.* But if it be cheaper to employ free men than slaves in the West Indies, then they, who should emancipate their Negroes there, would *promote their interest by so doing.* "But hold!" says an objector, "we allow that their successors would be benefited, but not the *emancipators themselves.* These would have a great sacrifice to make. Their slaves are worth so much money at this moment; but they would lose all this value, if they were to set them free. We reply, and indeed we have all along affirmed, that it is not proposed to emancipate the slaves *at once,* but to prepare them for emancipation *in a course of years.* Mr. Steele did not make his slaves *entirely free.* They were *copyhold-bond slaves.* They were still *his freehold property:* and they would, if he had lived, have continued so for many years. They therefore, who should emancipate, would lose nothing of the value of their slaves, so long as they brought them only to the door of liberty, but did not allow them to pass through it. But suppose they were to allow them to pass through it and thus admit them to freedom, they would lose nothing by so doing; for they would not admit them to freedom till *after a certain period of years, during which* we contend that the *value of every individual slave* would have been *reimbursed* to them from the *increased income of their estates.* Mr. Steele, as we have seen, *more than tripled* the value of his income during his experiment: we believe that he more than quadrupled it; for he says, that he more than tripled it *besides increasing his stock, and laying out large sums annually in adding necessary works, and in repairs of the damage by the great hurricane.* Suppose then a West India estate to yield at this moment a neat income

income of 500*l.* per annum, this income would be increased, according to Mr. Steele's experience, to somewhere about 1700*l.* per annum. Would not, then, the surplus beyond the original 500*l.*, viz. 1200*l.* per annum, be sufficient to reimburse the proprietor in a few years for the value of every slave which he had when he began his plan of emancipation? But he would be reimbursed again, that is, (twice over on the whole for every individual slave) from a new source, viz. *the improved value of his land*. It is a fact well known in the United States, that a certain quantity of land, or farm, in full cultivation by free men, will fetch twice more money than the same quantity of land, similarly circumstanced, in full cultivation by slaves. Let us suppose now that the slaves at present on any West Indian plantation are worth about as much as the land with the buildings upon it, to which they are attached, and that the land with the buildings upon it would rise to double its former value when cultivated by free men, it follows that the land and buildings alone would be worth as much then, that is, when worked by free labourers, as the land, buildings, and slaves together are worth at the present time.

We have now, we think, pretty well canvassed the subject, and we shall therefore hasten to a conclusion. And first, we ask the West Indians, whether they think that they will be allowed to carry on their present cruel system, the arbitrary use of the whip and the chain, and the brutal debasement of their fellow-creatures, *for ever*. We say, No; we entertain better hopes of the humanity and justice of the British people. We are sure that they will interfere, and that when they once take up the cause, they will never abandon it till they have obtained their object. And what is it, after all, that we ask in this affair? We ask only two things: First, that the laws relating to the slaves may be revised by the British parliament, so that they may be made (as it was always intended) *to accord with, and not to be repugnant to*, the principles of the British constitution. We ask, secondly, that, when such a revision shall have taken place, the slaves may be put into a *state of preparation for emancipation*; and, when we speak of emancipation, we desire such an one only as may be compatible with the joint interests of the master and the slave. Is there any thing unreasonable in this request? Is it unreasonable to desire that those laws should be repealed, which are contrary to the laws of God, or that the Africans and their descendants, who have the shape, image, intellect, feelings, and affections of men, should be treated as human beings?

And as that which we ask for is not unreasonable, so neither would it be injurious to the interests of the West Indians themselves. These are at present, it is said, in great distress; and so

they have been for years ; and so they will still be (and moreover they will be getting worse and worse) *so long as they continue slavery*. How can such a wicked, such an ill-chosen, such an ill-framed system succeed ? Has not the Almighty in his moral government of the world stamped a character upon human actions, and given such a turn to their operations, that the balance should be ultimately in favour of virtue ? Has he not taken from those, who act wickedly, the power of discerning the right path, or has he not so confounded their faculties, that they are for ever frustrating their own schemes ? It is only to know the practice of our planters to be assured, that it will bring on difficulty after difficulty, and loss after loss, till it will end in ruin. If a man were to sit down and to try to invent a ruinous system of agriculture, could he devise one more to his mind than that which they have been in the habit of using ? Let us look at some of the more striking parts of this system. The first that stares us in the face, is the unnatural and destructive practice of *forced labour*. Here we see men working without any rational stimulus to elicit their exertions, and therefore they must be followed by drivers with whips in their hands. Well might it be said by Mr. Botham to the committees of Privy-council and House of Commons, "Let it be considered, how much labour is lost by the persons overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved when he works for his own profit ;" and, notwithstanding all the vigilance and whipping of these drivers, we have proved that the slaves do more for themselves in an afternoon, than in a whole day when they work for their masters. It was doubtless the conviction that *forced labour was unprofitable*, as well as that there would be less of human suffering, which made Mr. Steele take away the whips from his drivers, as *the very first step necessary* in his improved system, or as the *sine quâ non* without which such a system could not properly be begun ; and did not this very measure *alter the face of his affairs in point of profit in three years after it had been put into operation ?* And here it must be observed, that, if ever emancipation should be begun by our planters, this must be (however they may dislike to part with arbitrary power) as much a first step with them as it was with Mr. Steele. *Forced labour* stands at the head of the catalogue of those nuisances belonging to slavery, which hinder the planter's gain. It must be removed before any thing else can be done. See what mischiefs it leads to, independently of its want of profit. It is impossible that forced labour can be kept up from day to day without injury to the constitution of the slaves ; and if their health is injured, the property of their masters must be injured also. Forced labour, again, sends many of them to the sick-houses. Here is, at any rate, a loss of their working time. But it drives them also occasionally

casionally to run away, and sometimes to destroy themselves. Here again is a loss of their working time and of property into the bargain. *Forced labour*, then, is one of those striking parts in the West Indian husbandry, in which we see a *constant source of loss* to those who adopt it; and may we not speak, and yet with truth, as unfavourably of some of the other striking parts in the same system? What shall we say, first, to that injurious disproportion of the articles of croppage with the wants of the estates, which makes little or no provision of food for the labourers (the very first to be cared for), but leaves these to be fed by articles to be bought three thousand miles off in another country, let the markets there be ever so high, or the prices ever so unfavourable, at the time? What shall we say, again, to that obstinate and ruinous attachment to old customs, in consequence of which even acknowledged improvements are almost forbidden to be received? How generally has the introduction of the plough been opposed in the West Indies, though both the historians of Jamaica have recommended the use of it, and though it has been proved that *one plough*, with *two sets of horses* to relieve each other, would turn up as much land in a day, as *one hundred Negroes* could with their hoes! Is not the hoe also continued in earthing up the canes there, when Mr. Bottham proved, more than thirty years ago, that *two men* would do more with the East Indian shovel at that sort of work in a day, than *ten Negroes* with the former instrument? So much for *unprofitable instruments* of husbandry; a few words now on *unprofitable modes of employment*. It seems, first, little less than infatuation, to make Negroes carry baskets of dung upon their heads, basket after basket, to the field. We do not mention this so much as an intolerable hardship upon those who have to perform it, as an improvident waste of strength and time. Why are not horses, or mules, or oxen, and carts or other vehicles of convenience, used on such occasions? We may notice also that cruel and most disadvantageous mode of employment of making Negroes collect grass for the cattle, by picking it by the hand blade by blade. Are no artificial grasses to be found in our islands, and is the existence of the scythe unknown there? But it is of no use to dwell longer upon this subject. The whole system is a ruinous one from the beginning to the end. And from whence does such a system arise? It has its origin in *slavery* alone. It is practised no where but in the land of ignorance and slavery. Slavery indeed, or rather the despotism which supports slavery, has no compassion, and it is one of its characteristics *never to think of sparing the sinews of the wretched creature called a slave*. Hence it is slow to adopt helps, with which a beneficent providence has furnished us, by giving to man an inventive faculty for easing his burthens, or by submit-

ting the beasts of the field to his dominion and his use, and it flies to expedients which are contrary to nature and reason. How then can such a system ever answer? Were an English farmer to have recourse to such a system, he would not be able to pay his rent for a single year. If the planters then are in distress, it is their own fault. They may, however, thank the abolitionists that they are not worse off than they are at present. The abolition of the slave trade, by cutting off the purchase of new slaves, has cut off one cause of their ruin*; and it is only the abolition of *slavery which can yet save them*. Had the planters, when the slave trade was abolished, taken immediate measures to meet the change; had they then revised their laws and substituted better; had they then put their slaves into a state of preparation for emancipation, in what a different, that is, desirable situation would they have been at this moment! In fact, nothing can save them, but the abolition of slavery on a wise and prudent plan. They can no more expect, without it, to meet the present low prices of colonial produce, than the British farmer can meet the present low prices of grain, unless he can have an abatement of rent, tithe, and taxation, and unless his present poor rates can be diminished also. Take away, however, from the planters the use and practice of slavery, and the hour of *their regeneration* would be begun. Can we doubt that Providence would then bless their endeavours, and that *salvation* from their difficulties would be their portion in the end?

It has appeared, we hope, by this time, that what we ask for, viz. a judicious preparation for emancipation by the introduction of a milder system of discipline into our colonies, is not unreasonable, and that, so far from being injurious to the interests of the planters, it would be highly advantageous to them. We shall now show, that we do not ask for this preparation, or the introduction of a more humane system there *at a time when it would be improper to grant it*; or that no fair objection can be raised against the *present moment*, as *the fit era* from whence the measures in contemplation should commence. There was, indeed, a time when the planters might have offered something like an excuse for the severity of their conduct towards their slaves, on the plea that the greater part of them then in the colonies were *African-born* or *strangers*, and that cargoes were constantly pouring in, one after the other, consisting of the same sort of beings, or of *stubborn ferocious people, never accustomed to work, whose spirits it was necessary to break, and whose necks to force down to the yoke*; and that this could only be effected by the whip, the chain, the iron

* Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery, p. 213, where it is proved that bought slaves never refund their purchase-money to their owners.

collar, and other instruments of the kind. But *now* no such plea can be offered. It is now fifteen years since the slave trade was abolished by England, and it is therefore to be presumed, that no new slaves have been imported into the British colonies within that period. The slaves, therefore, who are there at this day, must consist either of Africans, whose spirits must have been long ago broken, or of Creoles born in the cradle and brought up in the trammels of slavery. What argument then can be produced for the continuation of a barbarous discipline there? And we are very glad to find that two gentlemen, both of whom we have had occasion to quote before, bear us out in this remark. Mr. Steele, speaking of some of the old cruel laws of Barbadoes, applies them to the case before us in these words:—"As, according to Ligon's account, there were not above two-thirds of the island in plantations in the year 1650, we must suppose that in the year 1688 the great number of *African-born* slaves brought into the plantations in chains, and compelled to labour by the terrors of corporal punishment, might have made it appear necessary to enact a temporary law so harsh as the statute No. 82; but when the *great majority* of the Negroes were become *vernacular, born in the island, naturalized by language, and familiarized by custom*, did not *policy* as well as humanity require them to be put under milder conditions, such as were granted to the slaves of our Saxon ancestors?" Colonel Malenfant speaks the same sentiments. In defending his plan, which he offered to the French Government of St. Domingo in 1814, against the vulgar prejudice, that "where you employ Negroes you must of necessity use slavery," he delivers himself thus:—"* If all the Negroes on a plantation had not been more than six months out of Africa, or if they had the same ideas concerning an independent manner of life as the Indians or the savages of Guiana, I should consider my plan to be impracticable. I should then say that coercion would be necessary: but ninety-nine out of every hundred Negroes in St. Domingo are aware that they cannot obtain necessities without work. They know that it is their duty to work, and they are even desirous of working; but the remembrance of their cruel sufferings in the time of slavery renders them suspicious." We may conclude, then, that if a cruel discipline *was not necessary* in the years 1790 and 1794, to which these gentlemen allude, when there must have been *some thousands of newly imported Africans* both in St. Domingo and in the English colonies, it cannot be necessary *now*, when there have been no importations into the latter for *fifteen years*." There can be no excuse, then, for the English planters for

* P. 125.

not altering their system, and this *immediately*. It is, on the other hand, a great reproach to them, considering the quality and character of their slaves, that they should not of themselves have come forward on the subject before this time.

But it is now time to draw to a conclusion. It has appeared, if we recollect, that when the abolition of the slave trade was first practically thought of in England, they, who first publicly embarked in that cause, considered the West Indian slavery to be as much an evil as that which they had associated to suppress, but that they confined themselves to the abolition of the trade under a conviction at the time, that if they could accomplish this object, the slavery would die away of itself gradually and in its due time. Now fifteen years have elapsed since the trade was abolished by the British Parliament, and no attempt whatever has been made, with any thing like sincerity, to ameliorate the condition of the slaves. What then are the abolitionists to do? Their way is clear: for if the West Indian slavery was originally as much an evil in their eyes as the slave trade itself, and moreover if emancipation was originally included in their idea of the abolition of the slave trade, it is their duty to *resume their labours*. They cannot, as we have before observed, retire from the course and say, "There is now no further need of our interference." If through the medium of the abolition of the slave trade they have not accomplished, as they expected, the whole of their object, they have no alternative but to resort to *other measures*, or to attempt by constitutional means, under that legislature which has already sanctioned their efforts, the mitigation of the cruel treatment of the Negroes with the ultimate view of extinguishing, in due time and in a suitable manner, the slavery itself. Nor ought any time to be lost in making such an attempt; for it is a melancholy fact, that there is scarcely any increase of the slave population in our islands at the present moment. What other proof need we require of *the severity of the slavery there, and of the necessity of its mitigation*? Severe punishments, want of sufficient food, labour extracted by the whip, and a system of prostitution, conspire, *almost as much as ever*, to make inroads upon the constitutions of the slaves, and to prevent their increase. And let it be remembered here, that any former defect of this kind was supplied by importations; but that importations *are now unlawful*. Unless, therefore, the abolitionists interfere, and that soon, our West Indian planters may come to Parliament and say, "We have now tried your experiment. It has not answered. You must therefore give us leave to go again to the coast of Africa for slaves." There is also another consideration worthy of the attention of the abolitionists, viz. that a public attempt made in England to procure the abolition

abolition of *slavery* would very much promote their original object, the cause of the abolition of the slave trade; for foreign courts have greatly doubted our sincerity as to the latter measure, and have therefore been very backward in giving us their assistance in it. If England, say they, abolished the slave trade *from moral motives*, how happens it *that she continues slavery?* But if this attempt were to succeed, then the abolitionists would see their wishes in a direct train for completion: for if slavery were to fall in the British islands, this event would occasion death in a given time, and without striking any further blow, to the execrable trade; because those foreigners, who should continue it, no longer able to compete in the markets with those who should employ free men, must abandon it altogether.

But here perhaps the planters will say, "What right have the people of England to interfere with our property, which would be the case if they were to attempt to abolish slavery?" The people of England might reply, that they have as good a right as you, the planters, have to interfere with that most precious of all property, the liberty of your slaves, seeing that you hold them by no right that is not opposed to nature, reason, justice, and religion. The people of England have no desire to interfere with your property, but with your oppression. They flatter themselves that your property will be improved by the change. But, to examine this right more minutely, we contend, first, that they have always a right to interfere in behalf of humanity and justice wherever their appeals can be heard. We contend, secondly, that they have a more immediate right to interfere in the present case, because the oppressed persons in question, living in the British dominions and under the British Government, are their fellow-subjects. We contend again, that they have this right upon the ground that they are giving you, the West Indians, a *monopoly* for their sugar, by buying it from you exclusively *at a much dearer rate than they can get it from other quarters*. Surely they have a right to say to you, as customers for your produce, Change your system and we will continue to deal with you: but if you will not change it, we will buy our sugar elsewhere, or we will not buy sugar at all. The East Indian market is open to us, and we prefer sugar that is not stained with blood. Nay, we will petition Parliament to take off the surplus duty with which East Indian sugar is loaded on your account. What superior claims have you either upon Parliament or upon us, that you should have the preference? As to the East Indians, they are as much the subjects of the British empire as yourselves. As to the East India Company, they support all their establishments, both civil and military, at their own expense. They come to our Treasury for nothing; while you, with naval stations

stations and an extraordinary military force, for no other purpose than to keep in awe an injured population, and with heavy bounties on the exportation of your sugar, put us to such an expense as makes us doubt whether your trade is worth having on its present terms. They, the East India Company, again, have been a blessing to the Natives with whom they have been concerned. They distribute an equal system of law and justice to all without respect of persons. They dispell the clouds of ignorance, superstition, and idolatry, and carry with them civilization and liberty wherever they go. You, on the other hand, have no code of justice but for yourselves. You deny it to those who cannot help themselves. You hinder liberty by your cruel restrictions on manumission; and, dreading the inlet of light, you study to perpetuate ignorance and barbarism. Which then of the two competitors has the claim to preference by an English Parliament and an English people? It may probably soon become a question with the latter, whether they will consent to pay a million annually more for West India sugar than for other of like quality, or, which is the same thing, whether they will allow themselves to be *taxed annually to the amount of a million sterling to support West Indian slavery.*

We shall now conclude by saying, that we leave it, and that we recommend it to others to add to the light which we have furnished on this subject, by collecting new facts relative to Emancipation and the result of it in other parts of the world, as well as relative to the superiority of free over servile labour, in order that the West Indians may be convinced, if possible, that they would be benefited by the change of system which we propose. They must already know, both by past and present experience, that the ways of unrighteousness are not profitable. Let them not doubt, when the Almighty has decreed the balance in favour of virtuous actions, that their efforts under the new system will work together for their good, so that their temporal redemption may be at hand.

ART. XV. *Memoir of Ali Pasha of Joannina.*

NO form of government is so calculated by its nature and institutions to produce misery among its subjects, as that of the Ottoman empire. At its head is an autocrat, whose education necessarily tends to render him bigoted, effeminate, and sanguinary: no constitutional responsibility is attached to his ministers and agents, nor have these themselves any security from the violent passions, unjust caprices, or interested determinations of their master: all offices are sought with avidity, purchased with bribes,
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or granted in the worst spirit of favouritism : their holders are petty tyrants and abject slaves ; and as the laws of the realm constitute the Sultan heir to their property, this circumstance will account for the short time public functionaries are permitted to wear their heads in Turkey.

The provinces of this extensive and ill-regulated empire are administered in a manner still worse, if possible, than the capital ; being subjected to so terrific and regular a gradation of corruption, that the picture, if faithfully represented, would make the most radical reformer in England fall down upon his knees and bless Providence for the land in which he was born. The Pasha or chief Governor of the province, either purchases his office at the Porte, procures it by intrigue, or gains it by the fortune of war : at any rate he can retain it only by transmitting immense sums to Constantinople, for the purpose not only of paying his ordinary tribute, but of bribing members of the Divan, procuring intelligence, supplanting rivals, allaying jealousies, and supporting his credit. To defray these extraordinary expenses, he is obliged to levy severe contributions upon the inhabitants of his district : he deprives them of their lands and houses upon slight or even upon feigned pretences ; he grants monopolies, and burthens commerce with the most vexatious duties ; he accepts bribes for the perversion of justice, and sells every office to the highest bidder : this purchaser again seeks to remunerate himself from the accumulation of wealth by every minor species of rapine, and by the sale of all subordinate offices ; whilst the inferior agents in this progressive system of extortion squeeze out their unholy gains from the hard-earned pittance of the miserable peasant, upon whom the whole weight of oppression, increased like the snowball in its descent, ultimately falls.

But the evil, great as it is, does not always end here. It frequently happens that the Pasha is not contented to live in subjection to the Porte ; he dislikes to have constantly before his eyes the vision of that bow-string which is to transfer his plunder into the coffers of his imperial master : he therefore levies troops, hires mercenaries, renders his government more venal than ever, sells licenses for toleration of the most odious abuses and for commission of the most revolting crimes, withdraws his annual tribute, and is considered as a contumacious rebel. If the Porte should happen to anticipate or to be engaged in foreign wars or domestic commotions of greater importance, he enjoys this assumed independence for a season, and riots in the excess of licentiousness, unrestrained by any compunction of conscience or fear of retribution. It generally happens, however, that his security is of short duration. The Sultan, by the resources of his empire,

empire, or the assistance of his allies, soon becomes disengaged from his incumbrances, and hastens to suppress the insurrection. His ferocious Osmanlis enter the devoted province, which is defended by Albanians or other mercenaries; the miserable inhabitants, exposed to equal persecutions from friends and foes, are pillaged on both sides: one party levies upon them enormous contributions; the other burns their habitations, seizes upon their flocks, destroys the produce of their land, violates their wives and daughters, carries off their youth to be circumcised and brought up in hostility to the faith of their forefathers, or sells them into a slavery worse than death itself. The rebellious satrap being soon reduced, his head and property are transferred to Constantinople, a successor is appointed on the same venal terms, and the poor depopulated district exposed, with its diminished means, to similar exactions from a fresh herd of tyrants.

Such is the general course of events in this ill-fated country: but it sometimes happens that the rebellious governor, if he possess extraordinary abilities, or can take advantage of political circumstances, especially those of foreign aid or alliance, so increases and gradually consolidates his resources, that he is able to despise the mandates and to resist the power of his sovereign, to retain his independence, and perchance to die in his bed, *sicché morte*. The subjects of such a despot, compared with the remaining population of the Ottoman empire, are pitiable or enviable, according to his individual character. Those or the inhuman Djezzar Pasha of Acre were reduced to a much more deplorable condition than that of the ordinary objects of Ottoman tyranny; whilst the state of Egypt under its present ruler Mohammed Ali Pasha, who seems destined to retain his power in defiance of the Sultan, is greatly improved. The policy of the Sublime Porte in these cases of alienated authority is generally founded upon prudence, and a knowledge of the constituent principles of its power. If it finds that its resources are too weak to reduce the rebel speedily, or if other objects of greater importance intervene, it waits patiently either till some good opportunity for interposition occurs, or till death and the natural course of things shall restore affairs to their former level; for it may be observed, that few internal insurrections, however calamitous they may prove to the wretched people, can produce any serious danger to the Ottoman throne or to the Imperial dynasty. The religious principle of Mahometanism is one of the most powerful bonds of union: the reigning family, as descended from the Califes, is held sacred, and the rest of the Pashas would never suffer one of their own body to erect an *imperium in imperio*: moreover, the whole Osmanli nation

nation may be considered as an aggregate of individuals, not of families; and the political equality which subsists among all ranks, as well as the uncertainty of hereditary succession, prevents the son of a Pasha from aspiring to his father's station; neither would it be easy for a son to gain his confidence to such a degree as to acquire much authority or controul over his troops: these, too, being generally undisciplined rapacious mercenaries, who are retained only by the influence of wealth, honours, and caresses, generally desert or betray their employer at the first appearance of bad fortune, and never fail to disperse at his death and offer their services to some new adventurer.

Such has been for many ages the state of this oppressive empire, this merciless exterminating despotism, in which the Holy Congress of Verona recognised the principles of legitimacy and the hereditary rights of monarchical government. The justice of this recognition will be appreciated by those who shall condescend to peruse the following pages; for it is not so much with a view to gratify curiosity and excite astonishment by the marvellous, that we have put together this memoir of Ali Pasha, as to exhibit the baneful effects of despotism, and to show how tolerable is the autocracy of one man, let him be ever so tyrannical, when compared with that regularly graduated species of despotism which is linked to a peculiar sect and founded upon theocratical principles. In a succeeding Number, we shall perhaps have a further opportunity of analysing this miserable constitution, and exhibiting in true colours its habitual deception, its perfidy in treaties, its contempt for Christianity, the weak subtlety of its political expedients, the audacity of its rebellious officers, the corruption of its agents, its waste of human life, its total disregard for the happiness or misery of its subjects, the causes which have hitherto warded off its dangers, as well as the perils which now surround it and threaten its dissolution. In the mean time we shall proceed to delineate the character and romantic adventures of our Albanian hero, after having made a few preliminary observations upon the singular people amongst whom he was born, and who were the chief instruments of his extraordinary elevation. Among the various tribes of Romans, Vandals, Huns, Dacians, Servians, Bulgarians, Wallachians, Normans, and other invaders, that settled in this country, intermingling with the natives, changing their manners, and corrupting their language, one alone seems to have preserved its original character, language, habits, and customs. From a very obscure origin, probably an Asiatic one, and from a very insignificant settlement at Albanopolis, a city now called Albassan, this people have so far predominated as to extend their name over the districts of Southern Illyricum,

cum, Epirus, and part of Macedonia, as well as to send an extraordinary number of colonies over the rest of European and Asiatic Turkey. The Albanians are particularly distinguished in the Byzantine annals for their warlike character: the Turks, after having often experienced their valour in the field and found them the most formidable of their opponents, have continued ever since their conquest to employ them in their most important expeditions. The dress of the men very nearly resembles the Roman military costume, whilst the apparel of the women is still more allied to the antique Grecian fashion. Even in a land of barbarians they are distinguished by their cruelty and implacable disposition; though they learned to submit, they were never subjugated until the time of the great despot whose history we have undertaken to pourtray; yet even he himself was unable to eradicate many of their original habits, and dared not attempt to subject them to regular discipline, for which they have an insuperable aversion. The Albanian palikar, or warrior, defying every law, devoted to plunder, and glorying in the appellation of Kleftes or robber, loves to rove about his native territory free as the mountain air, despoiling the unsuspecting inhabitants of a different clan, or firing with unerring aim at the unwary traveller from the shelter of projecting rocks. His endurance of fatigue is extraordinary; so also is his agility, which is much assisted by the tight cincture of his girdle round the abdomen: he wears a little red skull-cap on his head, with silver-mounted pistols, and an ataghan in his belt: a white kilt, scarlet buskits embossed with silver, antique sandals, an embroidered jacket, and a white fleecy capote thrown negligently over one shoulder, complete his attire: in this he struts along with a peculiarly presumptuous air, or lies basking in the sun and abandoning himself to a total inactivity. The management of domestic affairs, even the very cultivation of the ground, is given up to the women, who are treated more like beasts of burden than human beings: they are all filthy in their habits, careless of domestic comforts, presumptuous boasters, liars, revengeful in the highest degree, and though generally temperate, yet addicted occasionally to immoderate excess in eating and drinking. They are very indifferent both to the forms and essence of religion: some of them are Mahometans, others Christians, and many go both to the church and to the mosque. They are passionately attached to their country, and sigh after it, like the Swiss when absent from his native mountains. Before the time of Ali Pasha, they lived in a species of feudal dependence, which tended to keep their country in a state of anarchy and confusion, whilst their chiefs existed by brigandage and pillage. Animosities were propagated and preserved among families, and even passed from one generation to another.

another. As their language is oral, there exist no historical or political documents amongst them. They are divided into four principal tribes or clans, called Dgedges, Toskides, Liapides, and Tziamides. Their generic name, in their own dialect, is Skypetar, and their language Skyp: the Turks call them Arnauts, whilst the common appellation of Albanians was derived from the Byzantine historians, and adopted by the modern Greeks and other European nations. Such are a few leading traits of this curious people, who, from a low and obscure origin, have given their name to one of the most important provinces of the Turkish empire.

Our hero was born among the Toskides about the year 1750. His birth-place was Tepeleni, a small town situated on the left bank of the Voiussa, or ancient Aous, near the entrance of that defile called Fauces Antigoneæ, or Stena Aoi, between the mountains Æropus and Asnaus, where Philip II. King of Macedonia stopped the progress of the Roman legions, until the key of the position was betrayed by a shepherd to Flaminius*. Hissas is the surname of Ali's family, which the most probable accounts refer to an Albanian origin, though he always wished to be considered an Osmanli of Asiatic extraction. His grandfather was a great warrior, and distinguished himself in the celebrated siege of Corfu, where he was slain whilst he ascended the ramparts sword in hand. His father Veli Bey was of a more peaceable character, humane in disposition, and a friend to the Greeks, by whose interest in the Fanar he was appointed to the Pashalic of Delvino: but he was unable to cope with the barbarian chieftains by whom he was surrounded, who despoiled him of a great portion of his domains, and reduced him to such a state of distress and despondency as occasioned his death at the early age of 45. He left two children, Ali and Chäinitza, by Khamco, daughter of a Bey of Konitza, and three sons by a former wife, all under the guardianship of his surviving widow. This woman was possessed of great talents, undaunted resolution, and vast ambition, which she sullied by the most sanguinary and implacable spirit; a very tigress in the human form: and as that animal has been said to flesh her cubs with the reeking limbs of human victims, and to whet their ferocious appetites with the taste of human blood,—so did this mother lead her son both by precept and example into the blood-stained paths of the most inhuman policy. Her aim being to secure the sole inheritance of his father's property to Ali, as the basis of his future prosperity, she not only contrived to take off his rivals in her own family by poison, in which horrid acts she is said to have been assisted by her son, but

* Liv. l. xxxii. c. 5.

directed all the energies of her mind and body to re-establish the fortunes of her house. Ali was at this time about fifteen years old, and showed a spirit corresponding with her views. This haughty Amazon, as soon as her husband's body was laid in the grave, collected together the remnant of his faithful followers and led them in person against her enemies, carrying a musket in her hand, and performing all the offices both of general and of soldier. Associating her son with her in every enterprise, she inured him early to all the dangers and fatigues of a military life, instructing him in its duties, animating his courage, and controuling his turbulence of spirit. By this means he acquired not only an extensive knowledge of his own mountainous and romantic country, but of the manners, customs, and prejudices of his Albanian clansmen, as well as of the exercises and arts which were most useful to him in his future career. By this association, too, in warlike perils and in peaceful amusements, he succeeded in gaining the affections of these savage mountaineers to a degree which has never been known since the days of Scanderbeg. When he was not engaged with his mother in the occupation of war, he frequently headed his clansmen in the no less honourable one, as it is considered among the Albanians, of *kleftes* or brigand; and the booty which he thus collected, generally from the followers or partizans of his enemies, contributed to the support of his family and fortunes. By this training Ali soon became the most accomplished young palikar of his nation, being considered the best horseman, the swiftest runner, and the most expert marksman of the age: also by constant intercourse with his military companions, listening to their adventures, and recording them in his memory, he so improved this mental faculty, which was naturally very retentive, that in after life he has not only surprised the fortunate palikar whom he invested with office and dignity, by a recital of his gallant actions, but has confounded the culprit whom he condemned, by an equally correct enumeration of his crimes.

The adventures of our hero in this early part of his career were so extraordinary and romantic in their nature, as to make us regret that our limits will not permit us to give a more detailed account. When he was about eighteen years old, however, an event occurred which for many reasons deserves particular attention. The principal persecutors of Ali's father, and the enemies of his family, were the Beys of Gardiki, Kaminitza, Goritza, and Chormovo, all large independent towns in the vicinity of Tepeleni. The people of the first-mentioned of these places, by a sudden incursion, surprised and carried off Ali's mother, together with her daughter Chainitza, then in the bloom of youth and beauty, whilst he himself was absent at a marriage feast in the neighbourhood.

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These unfortunate females, being conducted to Gardiki, were kept there in close confinement during the day, and sent at night to the principal houses in rotation, for the purpose of gratifying the brutal lusts of their inhabitants. In that horrid state they remained more than a month, until a worthy man of the family of Dosti, whose turn it was to receive them, indulged himself in the more noble passion of generosity, effected their escape, and conducted them in safety to Tepeleni; for which admirable conduct he was exiled by his citizens, and his house rased to the ground. We question whether the continence of Scipio is to be compared with this heroic deed. But we must here interrupt our narrative for a moment, to observe how invariably true valour is accompanied by the softer and more generous virtues: this family was the most warlike of the Gardikiote race; and Demir Dosti, a lineal descendant of Khamco's liberator, became the defender of his native place in the very height of Ali's power, foiling his best generals, defeating his veteran troops, and supporting the courage of the Gardikiotes, until human assistance was in vain. The tragical end of this guilty but unfortunate city will be given in the sequel of our narrative. Ali's natural indignation against it was constantly excited, and the flame of vengeance kept alive within his heart, by the earnest exhortations both of the mother and daughter. The former left her dying curse upon her son's head if he did not exert all his energies for the destruction of Gardiki, and Chaïnitza ended every conversation with her brother by declaring, "that she never could die contented unless the cushions of her Divan were stuffed with the hair of the Gardikiote women." After a lapse of 40 years, the vengeance of these furies was fully executed. Gardiki fell, when the original perpetrators of the crime were removed out of the reach of human power: but the blood of their unfortunate sons flowed in the Han of Valiaré, and the unwieldy person of Chaïnitza reclined, in old age, upon the tresses of their daughters.

Ali had employed his time during the imprisonment of his mother and sister in collecting troops to attempt their rescue. These were now disposable for other purposes. With their assistance he executed many bold manœuvres in the character of kleftes, carried off much spoil from the partizans of his enemies, harassed the territories of the confederates, and descended from his holds upon the unsuspecting traveller and merchant, like the mountain eagle upon his prey. Sometimes, however, he was unfortunate in his expeditions; on which occasions he incurred the keenest reproaches from his mother. After his failure in an attack upon the strong town of Chormovo, she even threatened to clothe him in female attire, and send him to spin amongst the females of the Harem. This taunt
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he never could forgive, but took the earliest opportunity of throwing off her authority, which had become intolerably irksome to a youth of his irritable disposition and ardent character. The manner in which he was enabled to execute his determination, partakes strongly of Oriental marvel. We quote the account from General Vaudoncourt, who asserts that he received it from the mouth of Ali himself. After experiencing one of his most sad reverses, when his surviving followers were all dispersed among the mountains, our young hero retired into the ruins of a deserted chapel to meditate upon his forlorn situation. There as he stood reflecting upon the persecutions of fortune, and the means of combating them, he mechanically furrowed up the ground with a long stick, which the violence of his emotions caused him frequently to push forward with considerable force. The resistance of a solid body, and the sound that issued from it, recalled his attention from the subjects by which he had been so long absorbed; he bent down to examine the hole he had made, and in digging a little further had the happiness to discover a casket of Venetian sequins, concealed no doubt during one of the revolutions which have so often desolated the country. The gold which this precious casket contained enabled him to levy 2000 of the best Albanian palikars: with them he gained considerable advantages over his foes, entered his native city in triumph, confined his mother to her own Harem, contrived by an ingenious stratagem to destroy the party that opposed his designs, and thus established his authority in Tepeleni.

He now began to plan enterprises upon a larger scale: but he seems generally to have been more successful in the arts of intrigue and cunning than in those of arms. He was taken prisoner by the powerful Kourt Pasha, of Berat and Avlona; but in this instance, Venus befriended him after he had been forsaken by Mars: he was now in the flower of his age, and his fine blue eyes, light flowing hair, and martial demeanour, so captivated the heart of the Pasha's wife, that she persuaded her husband not only to set the youth at liberty, but to employ him in his service. Here Ali so distinguished himself and so conciliated the affections of all ranks, that Kourt's counsellors earnestly advised him either to secure the young Bey's allegiance by giving him his daughter in marriage, or to remove him out of the way by death. The Pasha, though his eyes were thus opened to the danger, determined to follow neither of the methods proposed to avoid it: his pride disdained the first, and his virtue forbade the second. He pursued a middle course; dismissing Ali to his own home with magnificent presents, and assuring him of his protection whilst he continued to deserve it. Elated with this good fortune and powerful patronage, our hero now aspired to, and obtained in marriage, Erminia the
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beautiful daughter of Capelan Pasha of Argyro-Castro. Soon after this event, he undertook an expedition against some neighbouring Beys, by whom he was worsted in a skirmish, and surrounded by their troops. On the spur of the moment he took the desperate resolution of throwing himself alone unarmed into their hands, and he so worked upon their feelings by his eloquence, and their prudence by his reasoning, that they concluded with him a treaty of alliance, and conducted him in safety to Tepeleni. Ali's restless and ambitious temper, however, would not suffer him to remain long in a state of inactivity: he soon resumed his occupation of kleftes, and ravaged Rumelia to such an extent as to draw down from Constantinople an order for the Derven-Pasha of that district to take up arms against the marauders. This officer was no other than his old antagonist Kourt Pasha, who easily vanquished the brigand, and again carried him prisoner to Berat. He found means, however, to soften the resentment of his captor, a second time, and to gain his confidence. During his absence from Berat, Kourt's daughter, whom his ministers had formerly proposed to be given in marriage to Ali, had been espoused by Ibrahim Bey, eldest branch of the richest and most powerful family in Albania. Her affections, however, had been fixed upon Ali, when that youthful warrior was first resident at her father's court, and she profited by this opportunity to let him know the secret. Ali, who was as proud of his success in the bowers of Venus as in the field of Mars, responded eagerly to her invitations; but the intrigue was soon discovered and divulged. Ali narrowly escaped the vengeance of an injured husband by taking to a precipitate flight by night: having leaped over a high wall (which is shown to this day at Berat), he retired to his well-known mountain recesses, and ultimately to his own lordship of Tepeleni.

Destined never to know repose, Ali soon took the field again, but proceeded in a different direction, towards the mountainous district of Zagori, to the north of Joannina. His destructive ravages of that country, however, compelled the Pasha of Joannina to march against him, who surprised and took him prisoner. Here again his good star predominated: the Pasha, though urged strenuously by many Beys of the neighbouring districts to put Ali to death, steadily refused, because he conceived it consistent with good policy, in the turbulent state of Epirus, to preserve him as a restraint upon those very individuals who solicited his destruction; he therefore liberated him, sent him back to Tepeleni with a considerable sum of money, and procured him an employment against some rebels of the Porte in Rumelia; there he conducted himself with so much bravery as to attract the notice of his superiors, who began to look upon him as a young man who would rise rapidly to distinction.

tion. Ali himself began to entertain higher hopes, and determined to advance, as much as possible, that interest with the Porte which had commenced so auspiciously. His first attempt, however, was stained with one of the blackest crimes that ever disgraced his character;—the murder of his greatest benefactor. Selim, Pasha of Delvino, had frequently contributed to Ali's relief in his utmost need, had afforded him an asylum from his pursuers, and considered him in the light of a son. This chieftain, whose Pashalic adjoined the territories of the Venetian Republic, had contracted some amicable relations with that power, and thereby made himself an object of suspicion at the court of Constantinople. Ali, taking advantage of this disposition in the Divan, secretly denounced Selim as an enemy to the Porte, and a friend of the Christians, than which no character can be more obnoxious to the Turks: by these artifices he procured an Imperial Firman commanding the death of Selim, and appointing Ali to be his executioner.

Proceeding on this bloody business to Delvino, he was received by his old friend, as usual, with the most cordial marks of affection, and lodged in the seraglio. Having previously prepared a band of ruffians whom he had brought with him for the base purpose, he entered one morning into the unfortunate old man's apartment, when, at a concerted signal, the braves rushed upon their venerable host, who, as he fell beneath their poniards, cried out, "Is it thou, my son, who takest away my life?" and immediately expired. Did imagination bring this scene before the atrocious tyrant's eyes when he himself fell covered with wounds upon his own Divan?—At the noise which this horrid murder caused, Selim's guards rushed into the apartment, but were restrained from assaulting his murderer by the sight of an Imperial Firman. He hoped, indeed, to have remained in peaceable possession of the palace, and by that means to have secured the Pashalic; but the inhabitants, to whom the memory of Selim was deservedly dear, rose upon him and compelled him to retire: this, however, he did not do without carrying off Mustafâ Bey, Selim's eldest son, for whose ransom he soon afterwards received a very large sum of money, which he appropriated to the furtherance of his ambitious projects.

The Porte having yielded to the solicitations of the people of Delvino in appointing this Mustafâ to his father's dignity, Ali conceived against him the most inveterate hatred, and executed upon him, long afterwards, the most atrocious vengeance. He himself received, in recompense, the post of lieutenant to the new Derven-Pasha of Rumelia, who had lately been appointed to that office on the sudden death of Kourt. Here, although his commission was to clear the country of brigands, he not only connived at their mal-practices, but actually sold licenses to these his old associates,

associates, and received a portion of the plunder which they collected. By such conduct the district soon became impassable; representations were made from all quarters to the Porte, and the unfortunate Derven-Pasha was recalled to Constantinople, where he lost his head for the fault of his worthy lieutenant. Ali found means by bribery and interest to avert the storm from himself. Nay more, by pretending a vehement zeal for the honour of his sovereign and the Mahometan religion, he procured a commission in the Ottoman army, engaged with the Russians, during the war of 1787. In the campaign his favourite nephew, the only son of Chaï-nitza, was captured by the enemy. This event led to a correspondence between Ali and Prince Potemkin, in which those ambitious men displayed mutually to each other a portion of their ulterior designs. The object of the Russian general was the Byzantine throne. Ali bounded his desires with the possession of Epirus, and the Regal title, in which he was encouraged by his new friend through the hope of his co-operation and assistance. This correspondence, which Potemkin held not only with Ali but with many other Greek and Turkish chieftains, was betrayed to Catherine, and probably precipitated his fate. Ali himself was denounced at Constantinople; but his presents, and his partisans in the Divan, with the eulogies that were passed upon his late military exploits, preserved him from the danger: nay more, they procured for him the government of Triccala in Thessaly, with the title of Pasha. The situation of Triccala was peculiarly adapted to Ali's views. His eye had been always fixed upon the Pashalic of Joannina; and this he now determined to obtain. That city had long been torn and rent by intestine factions; its government was a species of feudal aristocracy, and its Beys yielded only a nominal subjection to the Pasha, sent annually from the Porte. As these were engaged in fierce implacable quarrels, the tumults and commotions of their partisans were incessant; murders were daily committed in the open streets; the Bazar became deserted; and the principal houses were barricadoed and fortified against sudden attacks. Things were in this state when Ali found himself in Triccala, a position which commands the passage of merchandise from Constantinople, and of corn from the fertile plains of Thessaly, upon the supplies of which Joannina chiefly depends for the support of its population. This passage then he closed up at a time when anarchy and confusion were at their highest point in that city. He had, moreover, a party within it attached to his interests, who did all in their power to increase dissensions and promote his designs. When he thought affairs were ripe for his presence, he collected a strong body of troops, passed over the Pindus, and appeared suddenly in the plains of Joannina,

where he attacked and plundered many of the villages. The Pasha, having no confidence in the Beys, retired into the castron, or citadel of the lake. The Beys themselves, having as it were by mutual consent deferred their own quarrels, joined forces and marched against the invader; but they were soon beaten back within the walls of the city. Ali encamped before it with his victorious troops; but not venturing to attempt it by storm, he employed a surer method for success. Entering into negotiations with that portion of the inhabitants who were favourable to his views, he persuaded them to dispatch an embassy to Constantinople which might solicit the Porte to confer upon him the Pashalic: this advice, although instantly followed, could not be kept secret from the other party, who in their turn also dispatched a counter petition to the Divan. This, too, prevailed, and an order was procured remanding the Pasha to his own government at Triccala. The deputies were now on their return to Joannina, when one of those who were most attached to Ali's interests rode forward night and day to apprise him of the event. His cunning at this crisis did not forsake him; he concerted a scheme instantly with his zealous friend, whom he sent back to join his comrades. When these arrived before the city, Ali and the Beys, having made a truce, advanced to meet them. The firman was produced in great form, respectfully saluted by all present, and its contents read aloud; when, to the utter consternation of the assembly, it proclaimed Ali Pasha of Joannina, and ordered universal submission to his authority.

Some indeed suspected the forgery, others believed it to be a genuine document: Ali's partizans, however, rallied round him; many who had been neuter, seeing the probable turn of affairs, came over to his side; the Beys were dispirited and easily dispersed; and Ali entered the city of his desires, at the head of his army, and amidst the acclamations of the populace. Hassan Pasha, who had viewed all these struggles with stoical apathy, retreated across the lake into Acarnania, and from thence to Negropont.

Ali's first care was to calm the agitated minds of all ranks as soon as possible: this he did by composing strifes, punishing disorders, distributing bribes, and promising favours. He then provisioned the castron, garrisoned it with a large body of faithful Albanians, and became thoroughly settled in his new government, before the imposture was discovered at Constantinople. Thither a numerous deputation of inhabitants proceeded, and procured a confirmation of Ali's authority from the Divan, over the imbecility of whose counsels the prompt decisive policy of this Albanian chief always gave him great advantage. Soon afterwards, the

the office of Derven-Pasha of Rumelia being vacant, he solicited and gained this honourable and important post; he had interest and credit enough also to procure three daughters of Ibrahim Pasha in marriage for his two sons Mouchtar and Vely, and his nephew Mahmoud Bey.

Ali now turned his attention more particularly to the enlargement and consolidation of his Epirotic dominions. He levied large sums of money upon his subjects, to pay his emissaries, and to keep up his credit at the Porte, whilst he entered into secret correspondence and formed connections with any European power that could further his ambitious designs. He was about this time materially assisted, perhaps saved from destruction, by the French ambassador at Constantinople, when an expedition against him was in agitation. Though preserved almost miraculously from this danger, he did not on that account desist from provoking others; and the Pasha of Arta's dominions, which gave him command of the Gulf, were soon added to his own. His next step was to open a free passage between Joannina and his native place. He accordingly attacked and took possession of the strong post of Klissura, together with Ostanizza, Premeti and Konitza, all capitals of important districts, which secured to him the course of the Vöiussa from its source in Mount Pindus as far as Tepeleni. His capture and treatment of Chormovo deserve a more detailed account.

The inhabitants of this city had been his father's most inveterate enemies; nay, some of them had even accompanied the Gardikiotes on that memorable expedition when they carried off his mother and sister. His operations against it strongly indicate the character of the man, his settled principle of revenge, and his preference of artifice to open force. Whilst he was collecting troops for his intended expedition, the Chormovites, in alarm, sent two of their primates to know the cause of his threatened hostilities, and the means by which they might be averted. Ali received their deputies with great civility, and replied, that he had no cause of hostility against the city, but merely against certain families, whom he named, assuring them that if these were banished and their houses burnt, he would leave the rest in peace. Animated by a desire of saving their country, the families thus designated voluntarily expatriated themselves, and retired to a neighbouring state. The deputies then returned to Ali to apprise him of the fact, and experienced a most gracious reception: at their departure, however, he observed, he was so much pleased with their conduct that he would pay them a visit, bringing with him only about 200 of his guards, that he might not put their city to a great expense: he also obliged the poor primates, much against their inclination, to accept a strong guard of honour, which was to escort them

them back and remain till the arrival of their master. At the appointed time he came, not with two but twelve hundred of his best troops: the inhabitants were much alarmed at this circumstance, but they received him with every outward demonstration of joy, treated him magnificently, and put his soldiers into the best quarters possible. These in a few days contrived to pick quarrels with the citizens; but they were severely reprimanded by their chief, and some of them were even punished. Soon afterwards he called the principal inhabitants together; and having expressed his entire approbation of their conduct, and his intention of relieving them from his presence, he invited them to meet him on the morrow at a large monastery in the vicinity, to sign a treaty of alliance and friendship. They met him accordingly, and it was proposed to sign the treaty at the high altar of the church, for the sake of greater solemnity. There the hegumenos, or prior, stood in full robes to administer the sacrament, to witness the signatures, and to bless the undertaking. The unwary Chormovites entered the sacred place, according to custom, without their arms, which were deposited in the porch: these were instantly seized by Ali's orders: meantime the solemn farce of the treaty was acting at the high altar, when one of the Chormovites, having occasion to quit the church, perceived that their arms had been conveyed away, and called out, "that the priest might stop the proceedings, for the infidel had betrayed them." Ali's troops then rushed in, bound their victims with cords, and conducted them to execution: from thence, marching back to Chormovo, they massacred the greatest part of its male inhabitants, sold the females into slavery, and razed the houses to the ground. One man, a priest of the name of Prifti, who was particularly obnoxious to Ali, was taken by his orders, transfixd with a wooden spit, and roasted alive before a slow fire. Ussuf Araps his half-brother, the son of Veli by a black slave, was the executioner of this horrid decree.

Exulting in these deeds of vengeance, which quickly spread a terror of his name over all Albania, he returned to Joannina, where he meditated conquests and murders on a larger scale. The means which he determined to pursue for the accomplishment of his designs, were these: to amass wealth, to keep agents in pay at the Ottoman court, to infuse a suspicion of other powers into the members of the Divan, to render himself useful to any European state that could return his services, and finally to seize upon the property and dominions of his neighbours whenever and by what methods soever he could.

We have thus traced our hero to a very high step on the ladder of his ambition, rather indeed by the faint glimmerings of tradition,
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than by the clear light of historic records: the remainder of his ascent, when he became more intimately connected with European politics and civilized powers, may be elucidated more satisfactorily. Before we proceed, however, to this part of our task, let us take a slight view of his character, and mark a few principal traits in his disposition, habits, and customs.

The ruling passions in Ali's mind were avarice and the love of power: these, however, he rendered so mutually subservient each to the other, that one frequently seemed to be, as it were, totally merged in the other, so that at times he would appear generous, though ambitious, at others he would be absorbed in the sole acquisition of wealth, to which every nobler object of pursuit was sacrificed. As no man ever understood the art of bribery better than Ali, so no one ever made his dupes disgorge their bribes more successfully, or more easily seduced fresh victims into his fallacious snares. An adept in all the arts of simulation and dissimulation, he had great skill in discovering the sentiments of others, of hiding his own in the most impenetrable obscurity, and of expressing gentle affections in his countenance, whilst the most dreadful resolutions were rankling at his heart: he possessed a wonderful discrimination of character, with great readiness in discovering the fittest agents for his operations and the best guardians of his interests: his admirable promptness of decision, and his indefatigable perseverance, were sullied by a perfidy more than Punic, and by a contempt of equity, justice, mercy, and all those qualities which are reckoned honourable to human nature. If any thing can be said in extenuation of such a character, it is, that we must estimate it with an eye to his education, to his religious creed, and above all to the manners of his country, in which cruelties are little thought of, and the life of man is but as dust in the balance. Now Ali Pasha was very rarely *wanton* in his cruelty; he did not, like a Djezzar Pasha, and many other Turkish governors, commit cruelty for its own sake, and exult in the agonies of his innocent expiring victims. Fierce indeed he was, and implacable in his vengeance; but it was necessary that a principle of *revenge*, or at least of *policy*, should be excited to drive him on to deeds of wrath. Thus much we deem it fair to urge, and this is all that can be said in his favour.

With regard to his person, he was comely in his youth, of a fair complexion and ruddy countenance: in maturer age he suffered much from the effects of excessive debauchery, and his forehead was strongly marked with the wrinkles of care: towards the close of life he became extremely corpulent and unwieldy in his person, though he retained his power of taking exercise on horseback.

In matters of religion, he was a free-thinker, or at least indifferent

rent to creeds of every kind ; but he made the laws of Mabomet subservient to his ambitious schemes. In one respect he merits considerable praise : he was not a religious persecutor from principle : in a few solitary instances, the example was intended as a stroke of policy.

In his habits of living he was generally temperate and frugal, though at times he would indulge in the most licentious excesses. He indulged in familiarity with all ranks of his subjects, and would accept of a dinner invitation even from persons whose station scarcely authorized them to solicit such an honour : as however it was an expensive one, this circumstance soon became a proper restraint *. Though generally a plunderer upon the largest scale, he would sometimes descend to the lowest. He would buy up corn, when cheap, and then order a maximum in the price when he wished to sell it. He would purchase a cargo of bad coffee or damaged tobacco, and dispose of it to the retail dealers at the price of good. He would give licenses to strangers, for a suitable compensation, to sell inferior wares ; or he would purchase them himself, and then make presents from his stores to the principal inhabitants of Joannina, with a gentle hint that he expected twenty, thirty, or fifty times the value in return.

As a politician his character will be best appreciated from the sequel of his history. As a domestic ruler he erred from excess of caution and suspicion. He kept not only the legislative, but the executive and administrative power almost exclusively in his own hands, to the torment of himself, and the great impediment of public business. Though he himself refused audience to none, yet it soon became excessively tedious for applicants to wait their turns, and it was at length difficult and even expensive to make way through the crowd of Chaoushes and other officers who waited at his portal.

He established a strict police throughout his dominions, especially at Joannina ; where, in spite of his own example and that of his sons, offences against morality were very severely punished. The houses were sometimes searched and cleared of prostitutes, the wretched creatures themselves tied up in sacks, and thrown as food for fishes into the lake : the pathetic story of Phrosini is too well known to need repetition here. Long before his death he had almost extirpated robbers from his territories. Whenever these his old associates were brought before him, he executed upon them the severest judgments : his common mode was to hang the inferior agents, by

* We wish our limits would permit us to insert the account of a truly Oriental feast given to this potentate by one of his nobles, from Mr. Hughes's *Travels in Greece and Albania*, vol. ii. p. 48, at which the Author and his friend were fortunate enough to be present. The details are abundantly curious, and give a lively picture of this Albanian chief.

dozens at a time, upon some plane-trees growing in the streets of Joannina; while the chiefs, especially if they were obnoxious to him for any political crime, were reserved to the most dreadful torments: these he used to tie up with chains over slow fires at a corner of the bazar; or he impaled them, and permitted their relatives and friends to come and talk to them on the stake till death relieved them from their sufferings: others he buried up to the neck by the road side, after having flayed the skin from their faces; or built them up between brick walls with a single loaf and a cruise of water. One man he nailed alive to the lofty battlements of his seraglio, where he expired slowly in face of the whole city. But the soul sickens at the recital of these horrors: let us pass on, with the fervent prayer that God will soon deliver the world from the presence of all such tyrants.

Ali had but three sons, at least such as he acknowledged; Mouchtar, a fierce but courageous barbarian; Veli, an accomplished libertine; and Salee, the youngest, who resembled his father more than the other two in disposition, though its darker shades were relieved by some counterbalancing excellencies: the two former were the offspring of his beautiful and excellent wife Erminia; the latter, whom he always destined for his successor, was by a Circassian slave. About twelve years after the death of Erminia, who was followed to the grave by the lamentations of the whole city, Ali became so fervently attached to a fair Christian named Vasilikee, whom his creatures had dragged from her paternal roof to his accursed harem, that he married her, and continued his attachment to her till his death.

From this cursory view of our hero's character, wherein we have anticipated a few events and circumstances, which however are of no great moment, we will return to where we left him in the prosperous career of his ambition.

Having extended the limits of his dominion as far Northward as, for the present, was desirable, he determined to turn his victorious arms towards the South. But it was impossible to effect any great conquests in this direction before he should conquer the Souliots, a fierce courageous tribe that inhabited a wild district within the impenetrable fastnesses of the Acherontian mountains. This people sustained, more than any other Greeks, the character of the ancient and heroic ages. Upon their hill-altars the flame of a wild and turbulent species of liberty burned bright and fierce: they inhabited four principal towns upon heights at least 3000 feet above the level of the plain below, and which were backed by mountains of an equal altitude; whilst the precipices and passes leading to these aerial abodes were guarded by towers, from whence collected heaps of stones and fragments of rocks rolled down might
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annihilate an invading army. The very women of this republic partook of the bravery of their countrymen, accompanied them to battle, supplied them with ammunition or provisions, and carried off the wounded; nay, on emergencies, they even mingled in the ranks, and not unfrequently turned the tide of war in their favour. As the Souliots had acquired extensive possessions in the plains below during frequent contests with their neighbours, Ali took advantage of a quarrel about some conterminous territory, and prepared to subdue them. The account of this and his following campaigns abounds with such extraordinary adventures, such hair-breadth escapes, such signal acts of stratagem, treachery, courage, and despair, as to form one of the most curious narratives in the page of history. For his first attempt Ali assembled an army of about 10,000 men, giving out that he intended to attack Argyro-Castro, in which direction he led his forces in order to lull the suspicions of the Souliots, whose alliance he solicited, and from whom he obtained their two best captains Botzari and Tzavella, with seventy palikars. These on a certain day he disarmed and sent prisoners to Joannina, all except one man, who escaped, swam over the river Kalamas amidst volleys of musketry, and arrived in time to give notice to the republic of its danger. Ali with his army came up soon afterwards, when Tzavella contrived also to escape by an ingenious stratagem, giving up his son Foto, a noble and magnanimous youth, as an hostage, who boldly offered to die for his country and defied every menace of the Pasha, who threatened to roast him alive, but did not dare to execute his threats. Whilst Ali was disposing his troops to attack these mountaineers with the best effect, he narrowly escaped a plot which was laid by about 200 of their number to take him prisoner: this circumstance animated his fury to such a pitch, that he very inconsiderately ordered his troops to advance and penetrate the defiles. The wary Souliots retreated before his superior numbers to their first fortified pass on the side of Arta, called Klissura. There the Turks received such a check by fire-arms and showers of stones from the fort of Tichos, by which it is commanded, that the passage became choked up with dead and dying. Ali, boiling with rage, offered immense rewards for the capture of the fort, and ordered up numerous and fresh troops: but the pass was defended as bravely as that of Thermopylæ itself, until the ammunition of the Souliots began to fail: the Albanians then pushed forwards like lions over the dead bodies of their countrymen, the foe began slowly to retreat, and Ali was in imagination master of Souli. At this critical juncture the women of the republic, led on by a heroine named Mosco, the wife of Tzavella, rushed out of the towns completely armed, stopped the flight of their countrymen, and headed them in a simultaneous attack

tack upon their almost breathless pursuers. These in their turn retreated. The garrison of Paraskevi, which is the strongest of all the Souliot fortresses, made a joint sally; that of Tichos, which had been left in their rear, intercepted the foe; thousands of living and dead bodies were rolled down the precipices into the Acheron, and the rest were pursued and slaughtered almost up to the very gates of Joannina: into that city Ali, who had killed two horses in his flight, hastily entered, shut himself up in his harem for several days, and admitted no one, except his most intimate counsellors, to his presence. He soon afterwards concluded a peace with the Souliots, upon the degrading conditions of ceding to them undisturbed possession of the contested territory, restoring their seventy prisoners with Tzavella's son, and paying a very large sum of money as a ransom for prisoners. These events occurred in the summer of 1792. Between this and his second expedition, which took place eight years afterwards, he employed himself with great vigour and skill in repairing his losses and strengthening his resources. He coquetted a good deal with the French revolutionists, who sent emissaries to fraternize him; and he even hoisted the tri-coloured cockade: but he was very cautious in committing himself with them or his own Government, before he had consolidated his power: nay, he craftily determined to make the Ottoman Porte itself subservient to his designs, and this he completely effected. In the mean time he fortified and strengthened his capital; built the new palace of Litaritza, which he surmounted with cannon; constructed military roads; accumulated wealth; and employed all other practicable means to ensure his future success.

After the treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 had placed the Ionian Islands and their continental dependencies under the protection of France, Ali, foreseeing that a storm would arise between the French and Ottoman Governments, prepared to take all possible advantage of it. His great object was to gain a marine force, and to subvert, or at least alter, that article, which the Venetian policy preserved in all treaties, prohibiting Turkish men of war from sailing in the Ionian waters: his next aim was to acquire possession of the ex-Venetian cities upon the Albanian coast; and lastly, to gain, if possible, a footing in the Ionian Islands: for this latter acquisition he would willingly have sacrificed his right arm: indeed the want of it left him at the very last naked and exposed to his enemies. For the furtherance of these purposes, he entered into close correspondence with Napoleon; and, in one article of a secret alliance, gained permission for his flotilla to sail through the channel of Corfou. The first fruits of this permission were the acquisition of two towns, called Aghio Vasili and Nivitza, on the opposite coast, which he surprised on Easter Sunday, whilst the inhabitants

bitants were in church, all of whom he confounded in a general massacre: he then took possession of the important fishery at Santa Quaranta and the excellent harbour of Porto Palermo; all which acts were represented by his agents at the Porte as having the meritorious object of extirpating infidels and extending the limits of the Ottoman empire; Ali himself confirmed these suggestions by paying tribute for his conquests, though he took care to keep at a respectful distance from the court of his Sublime Sovereign. Once, indeed, during the campaign against Paswan Oglou, where he led his contingent of Albanian palikars, the Grand Vizir, under pretence of bestowing public approbation upon his conduct, requested his presence in full divan. Ali, conscious how much more he merited the bowstring than half the victims on whom that punishment had fallen, went boldly to the Vizir's tent, but surrounded it with six thousand of his faithful Albanians: as might be expected, his reception was courteous, but it was the conference, not Ali, that was cut short. As soon as he understood that the Porte was about to declare war against France, he quitted the camp, leaving a substitute in his son Mouchtar, and hastened to take advantage of his previous combinations, as well as the contingencies of events. Giving up his French allies, he took prisoners some of their officers by the most perfidious arts, and extorted from them by torture that information which decided his conduct. He instantly attacked the large and beautiful city of Prevesa, which was built and ornamented in the Italian manner, and contained 14,000 souls. The French defended it on the plains of Nicopolis, where Ali sat like the genius of destruction, viewing the combat upon the very hill where Augustus's tent was pitched before the battle of Actium. In this conflict the French were routed with vast slaughter, the city was taken, and great part of the inhabitants put to death in cold blood, according to his diabolical custom. An act connected with great presence of mind occurred at this slaughter, which deserves commemoration: one Gerasimo Sanguinazzo, of Santa Maura, had by dint of bribes gained an order from the Pasha to save his brother and cousin from the sword of the executioner, which was delayed by the tyrant until he thought that all the prisoners were dispatched. Gerasimo took a swift-sailing boat, crossed the Gulf of Arta, and arrived at Salaora, the place where the work of blood was going forward, but not in time to save his relatives. However, the executioner's wrist being swollen by excessive fatigue, about a dozen of the unfortunate Prevesans were still alive: instead, therefore, of turning away in his disappointment, he looked earnestly amongst these victims, fixed upon two as the objects of his search, showed the firman of the Pasha, and carried them off to a place of safety.

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In a similar manner Ali took and treated the towns of Gomenitza and Bucintro opposite Corfou, as well as Vonitza on the Gulf of Arta. Santa Maura also and Parga narrowly escaped falling into his hands, before they were relieved by the Russian fleet; a disappointment which he never forgave, and which occasioned in him the most inveterate hatred of the Russians, though he had formerly sought their assistance and protection. The Seven Islands, with their dependencies, being now placed under the joint protection of Russia and the Porte, Ali was obliged to evacuate these continental acquisitions: for his consolation, however, the Sultan sent him the *kelich-castan*, a rich ermine pelisse, and a fine sabre decorated with brilliants: he was appointed at the same time Viceroy or Valissee of Rumeliâ, by virtue of which office he acquired the high title of Vizir, or Pasha of three tails, with supreme authority over all the governors of the separate districts. In the visits which he made to the provinces thus brought under his jurisdiction, he amassed immense wealth: from the city of Monastir alone, which, under some pretext or other, he pillaged, were carried off nineteen waggon-loads of gold, silver, and other valuable effects, to a large square tower at Tepeleni, which was the depositary of his treasures.

His complicated intrigues and counter-intrigues with the French and English alternately, and sometimes with both at the same period, now become so interwoven with long historical details as scarcely to admit of being brought within the compass of this brief sketch. His grand aim and object was the possession, by any means, of Parga and the Ionian Islands.

The Parghiotes, after many vain entreaties to be incorporated with the new Ionian republic, had succeeded in having certain conditions inserted into the treaty, by which the protection, or patronage only, of their state, as well as of the other ex-Venetian towns, was ceded to the Porte; and the chiefs of the Seven Islands, as well as the Russians, exerted themselves in support of their rights and just pretensions: it was solemnly stipulated in the definitive treaty, "That they should retain all the privileges which they enjoyed under the Venetians; that no mosque should be erected within their territory, nor any Mussulman allowed to settle there; that they should pay no taxes but such as they paid to the Venetian state, and should enjoy their own civil and criminal code of law; finally, that, to secure the political rights of the new sovereign, a Bey or Aga of high rank should be sent from Constantinople, whose functions and place of residence should be settled with the advice and to the entire satisfaction of the Ionian Government. This treaty and the course of events were sufficient to control the violence and perfidy of Ali Pasha, and to exclude the
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Turks from Parga, though not from the other unfortunate towns on the coast, until the *protection* of it was ceded to England, and its fate referred to the Holy Congress of Vienna.

In furtherance of his designs, Ali determined to make a second attack upon the Souliots, several of whose chiefs had become accessible to his arts of bribery. We would gladly give a detail of the extraordinary achievements of this heroic people, who for nearly three years held out against the arms of their inveterate foe; we would willingly emblazon the warlike deeds of the heroine Mosco, and of her son the gallant Foto Tzavella, the Hector of this new Troy; but the narrow limits of our memoir forbid the attempt. After various successes and some terrible reverses, Ali turned the siege into a regular blockade, and fortified the hills around the Souliot district: by these means he kept its people so strictly confined that they were obliged to feed upon roots or the bark of trees, or husks and other vile materials, mingled with the little meal which remained in their stores. Many stratagems, to which necessity drove them in gaining supplies, were as ingeniously planned as they were boldly executed; but the fated hour of Souli's downfall approached: Ali's agents had contrived to make Foto Tzavella voluntarily exile himself from his native country, when treachery within, and disproportionate forces without, soon rendered further resistance useless: these intrepid mountaineers were at length driven from their fastnesses, and Ali, wading through carnage, planted his flag upon the lofty summit of the citadel Kiaffa. The Souliots made terms of capitulation: they agreed to render up all their towns and fortresses, upon condition of being allowed to retire with their wives and families, in two bodies, to the Ionian Islands, the one by way of Parga, and the other by that of Prevesa. The faithless tyrant, however, broke these conditions, and attacked both detachments: that in the direction of Parga bravely repulsed the assailants, and effected its escape. The other was not so fortunate: overtaken by its pursuers near a monastery called Zalongo, the men entrenched themselves in its court and placed their women in a hollow square: they were, however, soon overpowered by numbers, and an indiscriminate slaughter was commenced. Those that could escape, took the road to Arta; whilst a party of about a hundred women and children, being cut off from the rest, retreated to a steep precipice at a little distance from the convent; where the innocent babes were thrown over the rocks by their despairing mothers. The women themselves, preferring death to dishonour, joined hand to hand, and raising their souls to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the martial songs of their country, whirled themselves round and round in a species of frantic dance, like the ancient Thyades, until they arrived at the very edge of the cliff: there elevating their voices
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into a loud shout of defiance, and as it were by a preconcerted signal, they one and all threw themselves headlong down.

Whilst these bloody scenes took place, Samuel, a Souliot priest and leader, who had remained behind to deliver up the great fortress of Paraskevi, with an inventory of its magazines, to Ali's commissioners, hearing of the tyrant's treachery, and foreseeing his own fate if he should be taken alive, determined to execute the only species of revenge that now lay in his power. Accordingly, as soon as the Albanian officer and his attendants entered the fort, he descended into a subterranean apartment with a lighted torch, plunged it into a barrel of gunpowder, and blew the castle, with all its contents, into the air. This desperate deed is celebrated in one of the martial odes of the country, called the Song of Souli.

The Acherontian mountains being thus evacuated by their brave defenders, Ali repaired all their towers and forts, and built a splendid fortified serai upon the heights of Kiaffa. The poor Souliots who escaped the slaughter, took refuge, some with the independent Beys of Albania, others at Santa Maura; but the greatest part at Parga and Corfou, where they enrolled themselves in the service of their protectors. Soon afterwards they attempted to recover their native hills with the assistance of Hassan Zapari and the Beys of Tzamouria, who were now attacked by Ali; but in this they failed, and the Beys themselves experienced such losses, that their total subjugation would have now ensued, if Ali had not thought it good policy to exhibit an example of forbearance, and yield to the peaceful mediation of the Turkish admiral Seramet Bey. By these means he deceived the Porte, feigning an implicit deference to its authority, and pleading his own wish to preserve tranquillity as the only inducement for having taken up arms.

The Russians having assisted the Souliots and other opponents of Ali during the late conflicts, his hatred against that nation increased in due proportion. They also on their side were jealous of his increasing power, as forming a serious obstacle to their ulterior designs upon European Turkey. Each therefore endeavoured to counteract the plans of the other. The Russians, however, did not succeed in any of their enterprises for want of the necessary activity, spirit, and intelligence: they invariably brought the poor Greeks into the deepest calamities, and promoted all the objects which they attempted to oppose. The Divan became extremely jealous of their power, and proportionally attached to Ali.

About this time the progress of the French arms in Dalmatia induced our hero to direct his views towards the English Government, with which he kept up some sort of communication, through admiral Lord Collingwood, as he had formerly done through his predecessor Lord Nelson. Hence it happened that Major Leake, who had

had been sent out upon a mission to Joannina, remained in Albania, to inspect the Pasha's fortresses, and to point out the best methods of defence against an invading enemy, though at this very time he was keeping up a secret correspondence with the French Emperor. To counteract the influence of England, Napoleon sent Mr. Pouqueville to reside at Joannina in the capacity of Consul General. The victory of Austerlitz, the treaty of Presburg, the annexation of Illyricum and Dalmatia to the French Empire, and the occupation of Naples, induced Ali to cement still further his alliance with Buonaparte. The Emperor, having certain views upon Turkey, accepted his advances with pleasure, made him some rich presents, and even promised him the possession of Epirus with the title of King.

By aid of the French ambassador at Constantinople, Ali now procured the Pashalics of Lepanto and the Morea for his two sons, as a recompense for assisting Sebastiani in bringing about a rupture between Russia and the Porte. He contrived also to take advantage of this rupture by attacking and retaking all the ex-Venetian cities, with the exception of Parga. Then, in open defiance of treaties, he deprived the original proprietors of their lands, demolished greatest part of their houses, overthrew their churches, and built mosques within their precincts: all this was done, not only to prevent any European power from taking an interest in their restitution, but to furnish for ever after a plausible pretext to the Ottoman Government for refusing to deliver up a *Turkish* city to the protection of infidels.—Parga luckily escaped this storm, by receiving a Russian garrison from Corfou within its walls.

The efforts which he subsequently made to gain possession of this place and of Santa Maura, as well as the contrivances which he planned, were truly astonishing. Having constructed strong works at Prevesa, and founded cannon under the direction of the French general Vaudoncourt; having equipped a flotilla and encamped a numerous army on the Acarnanian coast, he would probably have succeeded in his attack upon Santa Maura, had not his attention been called off by an insurrection of the Beys of Tzamouria, in league with the Pashas of Delvino and Brent, which menaced the internal tranquillity of his realms. This insurrection was excited and encouraged by the Russians; and if Ibrahim Pasha had been of a more firm decided character, Ali, instead of gaining a footing in the islands, would probably have been driven from Epirus. He soon found means to detach Ibrahim from this alliance, and to curb the inferior powers.

When the treaty of Tilsit transferred the Ionian Isles again to France, Cæsar Berthier, who was appointed commandant, received orders to conciliate the Albanian chieftain; and Ali would have

now

now succeeded in gaining possession of Parga, had not the inhabitants instantly dispatched a deputation to Corfou and opened the eyes of the new Governor. It was not probable that the Pasha would ever remain long on friendly terms with any power that possessed and kept him out of the Septinsular Republic. When Corfou was blockaded by an English squadron, he first began to show his resentment against the French. Berthier solicited a loan of money: the reply was, "that the Pasha of Joannina was neither a merchant nor a banker." After this he imposed enormous duties upon the provisions exported from the Albanian coast to the Seven Islands. He now returned to a secret correspondence with the English: a British agent was sent, with whom he held a nocturnal conference amidst the ruins of Nicopolis; and his services in bringing about a peace between Great Britain and the Porte, in 1808, were rewarded with a magnificent park of artillery and several hundreds of Congreve-rockets. The efficacy of these latter engines of destruction was very soon tried with great success, under the direction of a British officer, at the siege of Berat; for the occupation of five, out of seven Islands, by the English, and the interception by our cruisers of provisions and reinforcements expected from the French, enabled Ali in the year 1809 to execute his long-meditated plans against Ibrahim. Berat was vigorously bombarded and taken: Ibrahim fell into his hands, and being carried prisoner to Joannina was thrust into a vile dungeon under the great staircase in the serai of Litaritza; that his sons-in-law and grand-children might see him in this ignominious confinement when they came to visit his unnatural tyrant.

Though Ali had taken Berat without the consent or knowledge of the Porte; and though Ibrahim, the dispossessed Pasha, was held in the highest estimation by his sovereign; yet had our hero craft enough to persuade the Divan that he had done a service to his country by effectually detaching so important a fortress from either Russian or French interests, and he had influence enough to get the Pashalic conferred upon his son Mouchtar. He left this conquest for a time in the hands of his half-brother and trusty follower Usuff Araps, and hastened back into Epirus, that he might make every possible use of the presence of the English in the Ionian sea. Though he failed in a *coup de main* upon Santa Maura, he took advantage of the ignorance of our commanders, and erected, in defiance of existing treaties, two strong forts opposite the island which commanded the entrances of the channel. A short time previous to this he had failed in his negotiations with our minister Mr. Adair for the surrender of Parga.

But though Ali could neither procure that station, nor one in the Ionian Islands, from Great Britain, he did not wish to quarrel

with so powerful a neighbour; neither did he choose to discourage entirely her antagonists the French, who were still in possession of Corfou and Paxo. In this juncture of affairs he played his cards admirably. He encouraged the English to blockade Corfou under a promise of co-operation, whilst he secretly introduced cattle and provisions into that distressed island, upon the payment of double or even treble duties. Forging letters of correspondence between the French officers and the Albanian leaders, he procured the assistance of our naval commanders in his enterprises, and by this means overthrew his rivals, and defeated every antagonist. Then fell the Tzamuriot chiefs; the strong places of Paramithia and Margariti surrendered; the Kimariots, the bravest of the Albanian tribes, who inhabited the rugged mountains of Acroceraunia, were almost exterminated; whilst his most hated foe Mustafa Pasha of Delvino, and the devoted republic of Gardiki, were thus left unprotected and surrounded by his arms. Gardiki first fell: its inhabitants were entirely Mahometan, and the city itself surmounted a fine conical hill in the midst of magnificent mountain scenery. Ali's army was commanded by two of his most experienced officers, Usuff Araps and Emir Bey; that of his enemies, by Demir Dosti, a descendant of the family to which his mother and sister were so deeply indebted. The besieging operations went on very slowly for a long time, on account of the prejudices or principles of Ali's own generals, who, being Turks themselves, wished to spare a Turkish population. He then sent his most trusty officer, a Greek captain named Athanasi Vayà, to attack the place with Greek troops only. This plan succeeded; the outworks were soon carried, the place taken by storm, and a general massacre, accompanied with more even than its customary horrors, commenced. All the men who escaped slaughter were deposited in safe custody among the neighbouring villages, excepting the Beys, who were conducted in a species of mock triumph to Joannina. The more unfortunate females, after suffering the most unrestrained violence of the soldiery, were brought into the presence of Chaïnitza, who, having with her own hands cut off their hair, ordered them to be cast out naked and defenceless among the mountains, after the penalty of death had been proclaimed against any person who should harbour or relieve them.

At the end of some weeks, the male prisoners were all collected together on a certain day, in the large court-yard of a Han, between Gardiki and Argyro-Castro. Thither Ali proceeded with a calm and placid countenance, although his breast was boiling over with rage and vengeance. Seated in his carriage on the plain, he had each prisoner brought before him, and kindly questioned him as to his birth, his age, and his profession; ordering a few individuals

viduals to be separated from the crowd, whom he remanded into the yard of the Inn. He then commanded his troops to advance. The Mahometans hesitated; but the Greeks eagerly mounted the walls by which the area was inclosed. The tyrant then desired a musket to be brought him; and, the great doors being thrown open, he fired it into the midst of his victims, as the signal for a general massacre. This instantly commenced; the surrounding troops fired until their ammunition was expended, when the bloody work was continued by others. The wretched Gardikiotes, to whom despair ministered strength, tore up the stones of the pavement, and pulled down a portion of the wall for weapons, with which they wounded many of their destroyers: some retreated for refuge into the chambers of the Han: these were set instantly on fire by Ali's orders, and all within them perished in the flames. A few burst out of the area, threw themselves on their knees before the Vizir, and supplicated his mercy with loud cries; but his ears were deaf as his heart was hard: he ordered his attendants to cut the wretched suppliants in pieces with their ataghans before his eyes. Their bodies were then thrown upon the common heap of their companions, and left to rot unburied on the spot whereon they fell: the gateway of the Han was then walled up, and the following inscription, cut in stone, placed over it:—**THUS PERISH ALL THE FOES OF ALI'S HOUSE!**

On the very day of this horrid catastrophe the seventy Beys, who had been left at Joannina, were all strangled in a convent upon the island of the Lake, and their bodies buried upon the opposite shore under a mountain called Mitzikeli. From the Han, Ali proceeded to the city of Gardiki, which he laid in ruins, and by a dreadful anathema prohibited it from again becoming the habitation of man, during his dynasty in Albania: moreover every Gardikiote who was absent at the time of the siege, and was subsequently taken in his dominions, suffered the fate of his fellow citizens, and was sent to augment the mouldering heap in the Han of Valière. This massacre occurred March 15, 1812.

After the capture of Gardiki, Delvino fell an easy prey into the tyrant's hands. Its unfortunate Pasha, in company with two sons, was brought prisoner to Joannina, confined in a convent of the island, and literally starved to death in an apartment next to that of his children, who might thus hear the appalling sound of his dying groans, without the power of rendering him the least assistance.

It was not long before the policy of Ali demanded a still greater sacrifice. He was desirous of depriving the venerable Ibrahim Pasha of his life; but as he feared lest the vengeance of the Porte might follow so execrable a deed, he determined beforehand to

sound the feelings of the Divan upon the subject. He put Ibrahim therefore into close confinement, when his daughters, who daily visited their father's dungeon, missing him at that wretched abode, burst out into the Albanian death-howl, which was reiterated, according to custom, by all the women of the city: the news of Ibrahim's supposed murder was transmitted directly to Constantinople by the French Consul, who for some time past had been subjected to various insults from the anger of the Vizir. A commission of inquiry was instantly sent by the Porte; upon which Ali produced the old Pasha, and by threats of torture forced him to pass the strongest eulogy upon the humane conduct of his gaoler: he then turned to the commissioners, and bade them say to the Sultan, "that he kissed the dust under his feet—but that although he was surrounded by enemies, and was unfortunate enough always to excite suspicion, yet Ali would not, in his old age, dishonour his grey hairs, nor act in opposition to the wishes of his sovereign." After this, he interdicted all his subjects from holding the least intercourse with the French Consul, remanded his unfortunate prisoner to his old dungeon under the staircase, and in a few years afterwards, when he openly defied the authority of the Porte, he put him to an ignominious death. Soon after this occurrence of the commission, the Porte was made sensible of Ali's deceit, as it had previously become aware of his interested and rebellious system of policy. In the year 1813 the Ottoman Government began to entertain serious thoughts of attacking him, but was deterred by his bribes, by the interest of his creatures in the Divan, and, above all, by the influence of the English ambassador, to whom Ali had now become an extremely useful correspondent. An acute experienced resident on the part of Great Britain had for some years been established at Joannina in the person of Mr. George Foresti, a gentleman of consummate diplomatic talents, who, in cant phraseology, had completely got the length of the Pasha's foot. By his exertions the English ambassador received the first news of all that was passing in his own place of residence, and was made acquainted with the secrets of the Divan itself, inaccessible as they were to every other attempt. The value of such intelligence, at the critical time of Buonaparte's invasion of Russia, and the breaking up of his enormous power, may readily be conceived. Ali, however, being determined to secure every possible advantage for himself from this posture of affairs, assembled an immense body of troops for an attack upon Parga: in the beginning of March 1814, he left Joannina, and darted like an eagle upon his prey, surprising a little town of Aghia on the Parghiote frontiers: he put all its inhabitants to death; but he was shamefully defeated and obliged to retreat from before Parga

Parga itself, after a sanguinary conflict: he then tried the effect of negotiations with General Denzelôt the commandant of Corfou, and Mr. Pouqueville the French consul, for its surrender; but all his hopes, though seconded by the offer of immense bribes, were frustrated by the upright views of those honourable men. Alas! England, when we reflect upon this conduct, we blush for thee our country! but we will forbear on this unhappy subject, since we feel it would be difficult to restrain our indignation within due bounds.

Ali, after failing in his negotiations with the higher powers, descended to inferior agents, and assailed the French commandant of Parga by the force of bribes, with more success. The inhabitants, however, gaining timely information of this plot, presently disarmed the French troops, hoisted the English standard, admitted an English garrison, and were received by a formal agreement under the *protection of Great Britain, as an appendage to the Seven Islands.* On this point turns the whole question of right and justice in our surrender of Parga to such a character as Ali Pasha. Concerning this transaction there are various opinions; but we cannot help believing that recourse was had to the common political expedient of allowing one officer to disavow and disannul what his predecessor had ratified, an expedient which does the greatest injury possible to the faith of nations. Be this as it may, Parga after long protracted negotiations, dangers, plots, and even attacks by its inveterate foe, was surrendered to him by *British authorities*, whilst the wretched inhabitants were driven *ab aris et focis* without a place on which to lay their heads, and obliged to be content with 142,425*l.* given as a full compensation for property worth at least five or perhaps ten times that sum. The departure of this expatriated and heroic people from the land of their forefathers is too affecting to be omitted.

Notice having been given, that a large Ottoman force was ready to enter their territory, the Parghiotes instantly held a consultation, and sent to inform the British commandant, that if one single Turk were allowed to pass the boundary line, before they had a fair opportunity of quitting the place, they would put to death their wives and children, and defend themselves to the last extremity against any force, whether Turkish or Christian, which should attempt to violate the solemn pledge given to them by the British authorities.

The English naval commander, seeing, by the preparations made, that their resolution was fixed, dispatched information of it to the Lord High Commissioner at Corfou, who instantly sent some officers to expostulate with the Parghiotes. When these arrived at the city, they found the inhabitants busily employed in disinterring the bones of their ancestors from the churches and cemeteries, and
burning,

burning, or burying them in secret places, to prevent their profanation by the Turks. The Primates, with the Protopapas or chief-priest at their head, assured the delegates, that the meditated sacrifice would immediately be executed, unless the entrance of the Turks could be stayed, and the embarkation of their countrymen protected. This appeared to be no idle threat, and fortunately means were found to prevent the advance of the Ottoman forces. In the mean time an English frigate anchored in the port; and this brave people, having knelt down to kiss for the last time the land which gave them birth, commenced their embarkation. Some carried away a handful of the soil to be a memento of their wrongs, and a stimulus for their posterity to redress them; others took for the same purpose a small portion from the pile of those sacred ashes which were once animated by the spirits of their ancestors; and many carried off the bones which they had not time to burn. When the bands of the Albanian robber reached the gates, all within was solitude and silence; the city received its infidel garrison as Babylon or Palmyra salutes the Christian traveller in the Desert: nothing breathed, nothing moved; the houses were desolate, the nation was extinct, the bones of the dead were almost consumed to ashes, whilst the only sign that living creatures had been there was the smoke slowly ascending from the funeral piles. This account has been formally denied, but we have the best reasons for believing it to be undeniably true.

Thus fell Christian Parga A.D. 1818, and its conqueror regarded this as the most brilliant of all his achievements. The details of the negotiations into which he entered with Sir Thomas Maitland, during the suspension of hostilities, the correspondence of these two persons, and their meetings, public and private, would furnish abundant matter for reflection; but we refrain from touching upon these matters for the present: one anecdote, however, has come to our knowledge, which so strongly marks the character of the hero of this memoir, that we cannot refuse its insertion. Sir Thomas had received a young lion from one of the Barbary chiefs, which became at length rather an expensive annoyance to his master. However, a lion is a royal present; and conceiving this a good opportunity of complimenting the old lion of Joannina, he sent a letter, begging his acceptance of the royal beast. Ali is said to have smiled, and to have returned an answer couched in something like the following terms: "Ali Pasha's compliments to the Lord High Commissioner, is in no want of lions, but will be happy to accept this, on condition that Sir Thomas will permit him to turn it loose upon the inhabitants of Parga."

Soon after the surrender of this city, Ali visited his new acquisition, and was delighted with the beauty and convenience of its site.

site. All Illyricum and Epirus, Thessaly, and great part of Macedonia, with the northern provinces of Grecia Propria, to the very confines of Attica, were under his dominion. Throughout the whole of his states he had built strong castles, and fortified the mountain passes and defiles. He had become not only the greatest landed proprietor in his dominions, but had amassed a treasure amounting to several millions sterling, in gold, silver, and jewels. He had taken off all the powerful Beys, Agas and Pashas, who were opposed to his interests; he had destroyed all the independent republics, and established his oldest and most faithful Albanian captains in every important place: despising the inactivity, blindness, and temporizing policy of the Ottoman Government, he began to entertain serious intentions of throwing off that nominal allegiance which he had hitherto professed, and of assuming the title, as he had long ago assumed the authority, of a sovereign.

These pretensions and these lofty ideas were principally encouraged and kept alive by the facility with which Parga was surrendered to him, by the favour he experienced from the British Government, and by that flattery and subserviency which many of its officers and agents were always ready to exhibit. He was already king in his own ideas from the first moment that he set his foot upon the rock of Parga: he then began more openly to develop his projects, and to display his contempt for the Porte, until that power, stirred up at length to resent his insults, and burning to gain possession of his treasures, collected its unwieldy strength, and took the field against him: in doing this, however, it gave such manifest proofs of impotency and incapacity for action, as to point out the moment for its oppressed Helots to shake off the yoke. If the Greeks then should ultimately recover their long-lost liberties, as we have no doubt they will, what evident reason shall we have to admire the wise but mysterious purposes of Providence, who, though he permitted this Albanian savage to exist for a time as the scourge and terror of his species, was training him up to be an instrument of liberation to a people who had groaned under the iron rod of slavery during a period of four centuries! But to return to the more immediate subject of our memoir.

The first overt act of Ali's insolence and contempt of his sovereign's authority occurred in April 1820. Two Albanians whom he had suborned for his detestable purpose, rode up briskly to the door of the Grand Signor's Chamberlain, Pashou Bey, and upon his looking out from a window to know their business, both fired their pistols at his head, though without effect. They then put spurs to their horses and endeavoured to escape: one of the fugitives, however, was taken by a party sent in pursuit of them, and being put to the torture, confessed the truth, that he and his companion had been

been hired by Ali Pasha to assassinate the Chamberlain, against whom he had conceived an inextinguishable hatred, although one of his own grandsons had espoused Pashou's daughter. The Sultan, already anxious to chastise the Albanian rebel and transfer his hoards to the Imperial Treasury, was so incensed by this atrocious act that he instantly took measures of attack, although in the first instance he adopted a slow and cautious policy. He appointed a considerable number of new military governors to the principal posts on the outskirts of Ali's territories, removed some of his most faithful adherents under the pretence of favour, banished or strangled many of his adherents in the Divan, strengthened the Turkish garrisons, and dispatched a corps of observation into the regions of Mount Pindus. These preparations did not escape the watchful eye of the old lion. He became seriously alarmed, and at first had recourse to his usual arts of bribery, and to the most abject supplications, for the purpose of averting the storm; but this time he failed. The Sultan was inexorable, and an official declaration, "that any person who pleaded in the cause of Ali should lose his head," very soon silenced all tongues in his behalf.

After the necessary preparations were completed, a squadron was dispatched to act against Ali by sea; and the army of observation having been considerably reinforced, its command was given to his sworn enemy Pashou Bey. Orders at the same time were issued to the Pasha of Scutari, the Rumelic Valasee, and other great chieftains of the Turkish Empire, to bring forward their contingents to the attack of their ancient enemy. To oppose his antagonists, Ali adopted in great measure the Guerilla system, as the one best calculated for his mountainous regions. But he neglected the great means of success: his avarice got the better of his prudence; he spared his coffers; and the consequence was, that his chiefs, seduced by the promises and terrified by the threats of the Sublime Porte, renounced their allegiance, and his best troops deserted to the enemy. After being defeated in several engagements, and seeing the Ottoman forces on the western side of the Pindus chain, he had recourse to his old friends and allies the English: but times were now changed; he was no longer able to give assistance in return; and gratitude in politics is quite out of the question. They however *sold* him arms and ammunition, which assisted him in re-organizing his Guerilla troops, and with these he contrived to prolong the contest until the Greek insurrection broke out under Prince Ypsilanti in Moldavia and Wallachia. Before the Turks inclosed him in his citadel of Joannina, he made a second application to our Ionian authorities, and demanded whether they would protect him by their flotilla in passing over the channel of Corfou, if he could escape to Butrinto. The answer returned

turned was to this effect,—that if he could get within the British line of demarcation (which extends as far as mid-channel) he then would be protected. His request of an escort for the place of embarkation was refused; but at length, after many pressing entreaties, information was conveyed to him secretly, that some English gun-boats would be lying at Butrinto during a certain period, upon which he might seize and pass over in safety; but that no open assistance could be given to a declared rebel of the Porte. Again, in this instance also, Ali was betrayed by his own avarice: he hesitated to depart without his treasures, and expected that if it were known he was about to remove these, the Albanians would revolt and put him to death. During his vacillation the Turkish troops advanced to Joannina and cut off his retreat, whilst their flotilla blockaded the coasts of Epirus.

It is impossible to enter into all the particulars of this part of Ali's eventful history; such as the great diversion made in his favour by the Greek insurrection in Moldavia, and most especially by that in the Morea; his proclamations in favour of the Grecian cause; his declarations that he had become a Christian, and was fighting under the banner of the Cross; his politic measures in arming the Souliots and replacing that heroic people in their impregnable fortresses, from whence they scattered terror and destruction among his enemies, and where they still exist breathing again the air of freedom and bidding stern defiance to their antagonists. These and other corresponding events will come with greater propriety into a memorial of the war in Greece, which we are preparing for a succeeding number of our Journal. In the mean time, suffice it to say, that after the Sultan had expressed great indignation at the slowness of the operations carried on against this arch-rebel, Pashou Bey was superseded in his command of the Ottoman army, which was given to the intrepid and adventurous Chourschid Pasha.

This general soon changed the face of affairs: he completely routed the Albanian troops opposed to him, and took Ali's two sons Mouchtar and Veli prisoners, who were exiled into the Asiatic provinces, but soon afterwards decapitated for holding correspondence with their father's allies. At length the Ottoman army advanced to Joannina; Ali retreated into his fortified serai of Litaritza, and thus the old lion was completely at bay. Here again operations proceeded slowly; for the Turkish troops, though among the best in the world to defend a fortress, are the very worst to attack one, principally through their ignorance in the art of war, as well as the great deficiency of their battering-trains and every other species of artillery. Ali from his fortress, which was much better supplied with cannon, contrived to protract the siege eighteen months, to annoy his antagonists by gallant *sorties*, to
destroy

destroy them from his batteries, and to endanger the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. The miseries, however, which the wretched inhabitants of this once-flourishing and populous city endured between the two contending parties, must not be omitted in our narrative, one main object of which is to pourtray some of those calamities to which the human race, under a Mahometan Government, is necessarily and constantly exposed.

As soon as the Turkish army was seen encamped upon the heights of Driscos, the lake was covered with barks full of women and children of the first families endeavouring to escape. In the mean time, the tyrant having given his Albanian troops permission to plunder a city which he was unable to defend, the houses were immediately filled with a lawless soldiery. One of the first objects of pillage was the cathedral, where the Greeks, and even the Turks themselves, had deposited their most precious effects. Nothing was respected; the very tombs of the archbishops were broke open in search of precious relics, and the sanctuary was polluted by the blood of the robbers themselves, as they disputed with each other for the possession of the sacred vases. The city offered a most deplorable spectacle on all sides: neither Christians nor Mahometans were respected: the harems of these, and the gynæceons of those, were forced open, and displayed the cruel sight of modesty struggling with violence. Cries and groans and the crash of arms resounded on all sides, when a terrible detonation announced the destruction of Joannina. A shower of shot and shells, grenades and Congreve-rockets, spread carnage, fire and devastation through every quarter of the town for the space of two hours. Ali, seated on one of the bastions of his fortress, like the exterminating angel, directed its destructive fire, which soon levelled to the ground this once-flourishing capital, with its public edifices.

Those of the people who could escape from the flames, carrying in their train friends and relatives, half-burned or mutilated by the explosion of the shells, women loaded with their children, and old men enfeebled by age, had scarcely passed the palisade of mount Pactoras before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the Ottoman army. So far from protecting the unfortunate beings, who had escaped the carnage, these Rumelian hordes fell upon defenceless citizens, plundering them without mercy, and tearing their sons and daughters from their arms: uttering the most piercing cries, the poor wretches dispersed, and endeavoured to escape to the mountains; but they were there met by another set of plunderers and assassins, in the savage mountaineers, who had assembled to get their share of the booty. Despair at length gave courage and strength to the fugitives: some feeble women succeeded in passing the lofty chain of mount Olitzika into the plains of Thesprotia; others, seized with the pains of premature labour, perished in the forests;

forests; many young women, after having disfigured themselves by the most dreadful mutilations, that they might become objects of disgust to the barbarians, like virgin martyrs in the times of persecution, concealed themselves in caverns, where they perished of hunger; all the defiles and paths were strewed with wounded and dying men, or with their corpses: and thus, for the crimes of one villain, a city containing thirty thousand souls was overwhelmed with unutterable calamities.

Such was the fate of Joannina, and no better in a short time was that of its destroyer. Amidst the general distress, however, of this protracted siege, Ali's fortitude never once forsook him. The greatest part of his captains and their troops had now deserted him; an epidemic disorder raged in his garrison; his chief engineer, Carotte, a Neapolitan adventurer, had gone over to his enemies; and this renegado pointed their fire with such effect against his fortress as obliged him to retire into his old serai in the castron: there was the tomb of his wife Erminia; there he had long ago transported the greatest part of his treasures; thither also he conveyed his favourite Vasilikee. Famine, in all its attendant horrors, at last made its appearance in his fortress; yet even then the courageous old lion disdained to ask for quarter; with the best of his still faithful Albanians he made a sally from the citadel, crossed the lake in spite of the enemy's cannon, carried off some flocks of sheep from the opposite mountains of Zagori, and returned with his plunder in safety to the castron. At length he was cut off from that resource, deprived of all hope of succour from the surrounding tribes, and vigorously blockaded by about 25,000 troops. In this extremity he opened a negotiation with Chourschid Pasha, who, to induce him more readily to surrender, and to assure him of the Sultan's determined perseverance, informed him that Ismael Pasha and Hussein Pasha, two commanders who had been recalled from Joannina on account of their dilatory measures, had been beheaded at Constantinople. Ali replied, that neither *his* head nor *his* ashes should be insulted; intimating at the same time his resolution of blowing up himself, his citadel, and all his treasures into the air by means of 2000 barrels of powder that were in the magazine, unless the Sultan granted him his life and a free pardon. This threat, especially the fear of losing Ali's treasure, one of the main objects of the war, impelled Chourschid to enter into a treaty and to feign acquiescence in his views. After some time he informed Ali, by the Seraskier, that the Grand Signor had granted him a pardon, which was even then upon the road; but that no step could be taken except after a personal interview: he assured him also, that not only a pardon was granted him, but permission to retire into a place of security *with half his treasures*. This was a cunning

a cunning stroke of policy: had the offer of pardon been unaccompanied with permission to retain any part of his wealth, Ali, who was as much attached to it as to life itself, never would have yielded: had the whole been allowed him, he would have suspected the deceit. In the present instance he consented to the desired interview, which it was proposed should take place upon the island: thither then he repaired, after being assured that every thing in the citadel should remain upon the same footing as he might leave it: but he trusted more to the faithfulest of his faithful slaves Selim, whom he ordered to remain with a lighted match at the door of the magazine, ready to blow it up at his master's order, or in case the enemy should gain possession of the place.

Ali, thus blinded as to his approaching fate, proceeded with about a dozen of his officers to the Island of the Lake. The Seraskier had ordered an entertainment to be prepared for him, in the most superb style possible, in the very monastery, nay, it is said in the very apartment, where the unfortunate Mustafa Pasha of Delvino had been starved to death by his inexorable decree. Here he was treated in a magnificent manner for several days, and had various conferences with the Turkish officers, of whom many had formerly been in his service; and all gave him strong assurance of his pardon: this confidence was increased by his considering that the fatal match was in the hands of his trusty Selim, and that his head without his riches would be no particular object of gratification to the Sultan.

Such was the posture of affairs on the 5th of February 1822, when Chourschid Pasha dispatched Hassan the Seraskier, formerly High Admiral of the Porte, to announce to Ali the arrival of his pardon. He was congratulated upon this intelligence, and requested to show a corresponding sense of the favour in a ready and cheerful submission, by ordering Selim to extinguish his torch, and the garrison to surrender.

Ali's eyes were opened by these demands; but it was now too late. He answered, "that upon quitting the citadel he had commanded Selim to obey his verbal order only, and that no other would have the least effect upon that incorruptible agent: he requested liberty therefore to go and give the order in person. This permission was refused: a long debate ensued, in which Ali exerted all his address, but in vain. The attendants of the Seraskier gave him the strongest assurances, even swearing upon the Koran, that there was no intention to deceive him.

Ali, after some hesitation, demanded a sight of the firman, and a forged instrument was put into his hands: feeling that nothing could now alter his situation, but determined to make every exertion possible for his own preservation, he requested the signature
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and oath of the Pasha, and of all his principal officers, to the truth of the deed and the fidelity of their observance of it. This being instantly done to his satisfaction, he drew from his bosom the half of a ring which corresponded to another half which Selim had in his possession. "Go," said he, "present this to Selim, and that ferocious lion will be changed into a timid and obedient lamb." So it happened: when Selim saw this token from his master, he instantly prostrated himself upon the ground and extinguished the match; but before he could rise again he was transfixed by the poignards of the assassins. Upon Ali's order being shown to the garrison, the Imperial standard was hoisted upon his last strong hold, and his power was gone.

During these transactions Ali was seated in the convent among his few remaining friends, who were, for the most part, worn out by wounds and watching and fatigue: he was himself suffering under a want of repose and an extreme depression of spirits, though his features did not even in this extremity betray his inward emotions. He sat opposite the door which led to the audience chamber, when, about five o'clock in the afternoon, Hassan Pasha, Omar Bey Brioni, the Selictar, and several other Turkish officers, entered with their attendants. At the sight of them Ali arose with impetuosity, and grasping one of his pistols, cried out in a voice of thunder to Hassan Pasha, "Stop,—what is that you bring to me?" "The firman of your sovereign: know you not his sacred characters?" "Yes," said Ali, "and I reverence them." "If so," replied the other, "submit to your fate, perform your ablutions, and offer up your prayers to God and his Prophet; for your head is demanded." Ali stayed not for the conclusion of this speech, but exclaimed, "My head is not to be obtained so easily," and these words were accompanied by a pistol-ball, which broke the thigh of Hassan. With the rapidity of lightning he then drew forth his other pistols, whilst his followers did the same, and laid two more of his adversaries dead at his feet: he was then levelling a loaded blunderbuss at the rest, when the Selictar, in the midst of the affray, shot him in the lower part of the abdomen. Another ball struck him on the breast; he rolled off the Divan upon the floor, and before he expired had just time to cry out to one of his attendants, "Go, my friend, dispatch poor Vasilikee, that these vile dogs may not profane her beauteous person." Many of his followers shared the fate of their master, and four of the principal Turkish officers were killed or wounded. His head being then separated from his body, and embalmed, was sent next day to Constantinople, where it arrived on the 23rd of February in custody of the Selictar, who escorted thither also his wife Vasilikee, and a little grandson aged eight years, with a considerable portion of his harem and treasures. The march
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of this officer to the Sublime Porte was like an ancient triumph; he was received with acclamations that made the very shores of the Bosphorus ring again, and his dispatches were presented in great form to the Sultan by the Grand Vizir himself. On the 24th, in the midst of an immense concourse of people, the head of Ali was exhibited at the great portal of the seraglio, with a yasta or inscription suspended to it, the purport of which went to declare,

“That it was notorious to all the world, how Ali Pasha of Tepeleni for thirty to forty years past had received innumerable favours from the Sublime Porte; that many domains and districts had been confided to his administration; that he, with his children and relations, had enjoyed numberless marks of the Imperial bounty: but that, far from showing gratitude for this, he dared, contrary to the will of the Sublime Porte, to oppress the people both by deceit and by force; that history does not contain an example of such profound malignity as his. That, occupied incessantly in his culpable projects, he promoted rebellion both within and without his own territories, to the ruin of the unfortunate people confided to his trust by the Supreme Being. That from some he took their goods, from others their lives and honour, as the cities of Jenischer, of Monastir, of Saragol, and others can testify; whilst he frequently carried off entire families and rendered destitute the hearths of the Albanians. That for a long time the Porte remonstrated with him on these enormities, but without effect. He continued his criminal course, and pushed his audacity so far as to fire upon some of his adversaries, domiciliated at Constantinople itself, the residence of the Calife, the very centre of security.

“That after this open violation of the rights of Majesty, which rendered a public example necessary, he was deprived of his dignity, and another charged with the administration of his government: that he then threw off the mask, raised the flag of rebellion, and entrenched himself in the Imperial fortress of Joannina: that, supposing, in the illusions of his vanity, he could brave the power of the Sublime Porte, he undertook at length to realize that plan of treason which he so long had meditated. The insurrection of the Greeks broke out; and Ali, giving himself up to his projects of vengeance, employed vast sums in arming the people of the Morea and other provinces against the children of the Faith: that this last proof of his perversity of course rendered his condemnation inevitable; for the Holy Law, as well as the safety of the empire, demanded his destruction: that he had been made prisoner by the victorious Seraskier of Rumelia, Chourschid Ahmed Pasha, and the sentence of death, launched against him in
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the Sublime Fetfah of the Mufti, had been executed in conformity with the orders of his Highness. Behold, then, the head separated from the body of this traitor to his religion, Ali Pasha of Tepe-
leni."

So terminated this Albanian robber's extraordinary and eventful career: and what sources of reflection it opens to the mind! Our limits, however, will not permit us to waste time upon the common-place topics of ambition, the height to which it soars, and from which it is generally precipitated when unconnected with political wisdom and with private virtue. But one observation we must be permitted to make upon that partially true and partially false inscription, which was exhibited with the head of Ali Pasha, (and we speak from some acquaintance of auld lang syne with the man, and from some knowledge of his country,) that his tyranny was not half so intolerable to his subjects, nor so prejudicial to the best interests of humanity, as that of his conqueror.

Ali existed, indeed, in the character of a single overgrown tyrant, ferocious to the last degree when his passions were opposed or his interests at stake. But to what a small distance does the effect of tyranny, confined to one man, extend, when compared with that lengthened chain of graduated despotism which binds every province under the Sultan's sway! where that theocratic principle predominates, which renders every Mahometan, even the vilest of the vile, lord over the lives and property of his Christian brethren! where he himself is at the unrestrained mercy of his superiors, and they again are subject to the capricious interested violence of their Imperial master! Look, too, at the moral and physical situation of Albania, as it existed under Ali Pasha, and compare it with the other territories of the Sublime Porte. Though his actions were often unjust, and his intentions far from disinterested, still he did considerable good. He reconciled and consolidated jarring barbarous tribes, and put an end to that terrible system of revenge for blood, which perpetuated quarrels and murders from generation to generation. Though he frequently committed acts of injustice himself, yet he severely punished them in others, and generally with inflexible justice: in this, as well as in most other respects, he made no partial distinction between Turks, Albanians, and Christians. He extirpated banditti from his dominions, and established an excellent police in all his cities, which he both adorned and improved. He constructed roads and canals for the greater facility of internal trade, and ports for external commerce. Above all things, and what was highly creditable to him as a Mahometan, he granted religious toleration throughout his whole dominions; so that whilst the traveller could visit the country of
Ali

Ali Pasha and find there comparative luxury and convenience, whilst the merchant could traverse the Albanian mountains with security under his Ægis, the Christian and the Jew could worship their God without molestation. It is unnecessary to delineate the opposite picture, since the affairs of Turkey have lately been so frequently brought under the public eye. We shall only express our ardent wishes, that many months may not elapse before that Barbarian Power may be chased from the beautiful realms which it has so long polluted.

ART. XVI.—*Literature of the Dutch Jews. Poëzy van Mr. Isaac da Costa. Twee Deelen, Leyden, 1821.*

IT is strange, while curiosity has been winging her way to almost every part of the habitable globe, that a country whose vicinity is immediate; whose language has with ours a common origin; whose political power and influence once threatened to obscure or even to destroy our own, should have been almost abandoned by inquiry. Yet similar religious sympathies; a busy commercial intercourse; habits remarkably coincident, would seem to claim a special regard. The country we refer to is Holland. Time was when her writers were the fountain from whence our fathers drew the streams of truth and wisdom. Erasmus, Grotius, Boërhaave and others, gave a more permanent character to our literature than the men of any other age or nation. It was Holland more than all that fed the flame of inquiry, and marched onwards with us encouraging and encouraged in the straight-forward path of reformation. It is Holland that still exhibits the most delightful picture of the genial influence of toleration and free inquiry upon the general happiness, and which invites us to contemplate some of the circumstances which so honourably distinguish its legislators, and which have produced so beneficial an effect upon its present well-being.

Contrast the state of Holland with that of Spain. The latter, privileged with every charm which fertility and beauty could add to a climate singularly benignant,—a land which God created for a paradise, has been converted by bigotry and misrule into a desolate prison.—There, the fear of one shadowy and unreal evil has led to the sacrifice of every substantial good. Not the splendid tributes of Mexico and Peru, not the possession of many an El Dorado, have been able to counterbalance or counteract the ravages of civil and religious despotism. But Holland, in shaking off the yoke of slavery, shook off the clogs upon her prosperity and her true greatness: and though she possesses no mines of natural treasures; though for her “the fig-tree does not blossom, and the vine

vine yields no increase, and the labour of the olive fails," contentment and enjoyment are spread over her provinces, and the smiles of comfort fill all her gates.

In Holland, a spirit of toleration and mutual kindness among the various religious parties gives a general charm to society. The barriers of ill-will are broken down by an all-pervading philanthropy. There is no predominant, no domineering influence; there are no privileges granted to a special few to the exclusion of the disenfranchised many. Though the Calvinistic church is the established one, yet the protection of the Government equally watches over the rest. The different sects often mingle in a common communion; they partake together of the sacraments; while even Catholics and Jews are no strangers within the protestant churches. The discussion of particular dogmas is avoided as if by common consent. Remonstrants, Lutherans, Calvinists and Mennonites blend in the profession of doctrines common to all, and seem little disposed to venture among the rocks and shoals where faith is often in danger and charity is wrecked. We witnessed an example of the general and generous display of Christian feeling when the Walloon church of Amsterdam was repaired in 1816. All religious parties co-operated to defray the expense, and an immediate collection was made at the doors of the several churches, which amounted on the first day to more than eight thousand florins.

In the culture of the benevolent affections Holland has reaped a rich reward. Its most respectable patricians are the descendants of those persecuted Protestants who, centuries ago, wandering houseless and homeless, sought its hospitality and received its welcome. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Flemings, and other foreigners whom the cruelty of Philip the Second had driven from their native dwellings, found an unmolested retreat on the banks of the Amstel and throughout the northern provinces of the Netherlands. Their number was greatly increased by the barbarous policy of Louis the Fourteenth. When he revoked the Edict of Nantes, (a measure which banished a million of virtuous and valuable citizens, and among them men illustrious as Basnage and Bayle, the two Saurins and Spanheim, Jurieu, Huet and David Martin, with numerous others scarcely less distinguished,) the city of Amsterdam invited within its boundaries, and honoured with many civil privileges, those who made it their city of refuge. Buildings were erected for their reception; money was advanced for the establishment of their fabrics. In a word, its inhabitants performed all the duties of beneficent charity, and have gathered in a hundred-fold harvest. For seven generations the children of those to whom their fathers gave so generous an asylum, have dwelt

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among them in the undisturbed enjoyment* of religious freedom, paying with ample interest the debt they owed to the nation that so cordially received them.

Of late years, a spirit has been introduced which has excited some disquietude among the friends of freedom and of religious inquiry in Holland. Exclusive favours have been conferred on the Catholic party, and several Protestant deputations to the King have met with a cold or even a repulsive reception. At Gouda a church has been wrested from the latter party, its original and constant possessors, to be conferred on the former. The union of Holland with Belgium, to the equal annoyance and equal injury of both, has excited and kept alive a tone of animosity little friendly to the benevolent affections. With different religions, different interests, different habits, and different languages, they have no point of accordance but that of a common hatred to the system which has bound them together. The tone of the public mind is however torpid and unenergetic. The trial by jury was surrendered almost without a struggle; and though the administration of justice in Holland had been generally pure, and the judges conscientious and independent, it would have been well that a fortress of such security should not have been ceded to power. Vicious as was the jury-system, it had in it the elements of reform; it made the citizens in some respects the depositaries and the guardians of the public liberties. It dispersed a portion of influence among the people; it awakened an interest in knowing, and a pride in administering the laws. Allied to publicity, it gave strength to the weakness that was oppressed, and often paralysed the mighty arm of the oppressor.

The too general ignorance of the state of a country so adjacent to our own, will serve to excuse these observations. Our purpose was to refer to the situation of the Jews in Holland, so delightful to the philanthropist; so interesting to the man of letters; so encouraging to the pleasing dreams of a benevolent anticipation. The flame of literature, which shed so bright a lustre over the Hebrew history during a period of almost general darkness, is again re-

* When, under Louis Buonaparte, the seat of Government was removed to Amsterdam, the want of public offices induced the authorities to employ many extensive buildings for the dispatch of state affairs. Among others the Walloon church was fixed on. A deputation waited upon the King in consequence, and we have heard from the lips of one of its heads, that Louis redressed their grievances in the following admirable words: "There has been some error in this matter. The finance minister has outstripped his authority, and mine also; for I have no power over your churches, except for their protection." When the deputation hastened to express their gratitude, he interrupted them: "You owe me no thanks; I have only done my duty."

kindled ;

kindled; the chains, the long-worn chains of abasement and degradation have been cast away; and the slaves who wore them take their stand beside the enlightened and the free.

For the man who liberty's crown has gain'd
Is free as the man who ne'er was chain'd*.

The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, from whom the most distinguished of the Dutch Hebrew families are descended, were renowned among their nation for their superior talents and acquirements, and we believe maintain even to this day an almost universally admitted pre-eminence. Under the tolerant and comparatively enlightened Mahomedan conquerors of Spain, their property was protected, their toleration was encouraged, and their persons loaded with favours. Their writers boast with delight and enthusiasm of "the glory, splendour and prosperity in which they lived." Their schools in the south of the Peninsula were the channels through which the knowledge of the East was spread over western and northern Europe. Abenezra, Maimonides, and Kimki, three of the most illustrious ornaments of the synagogue, rank among the Spanish Jews. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while knowledge among Christians seemed at the lowest ebb, the catalogue of Hebrew writers is most extensive and most varied. Mathematics, medicine, and natural philosophy, were all greatly advanced under their auspices; while the pursuits of poetry and oratory adorned their pages. They obtained so much consideration, that the ancestors of almost every noble family in Spain may be traced up to a Jewish head.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are crowded with every calamity which could afflict a nation, pursued by all the blindness of ignorance and all the hatred of infatuated and powerful malevolence. Their sacred books were destroyed; their dwellings devastated; their temples razed; themselves visited by imprisonment and tortures, by private assassinations and extensive massacres. When the infamous Fifth Ferdinand established or reorganized the Inquisition in Spain, the Jews were among its earliest victims. Two hundred thousand wretches were pursued by fire, sword, famine and pestilence, and he who should offer them shelter, food, or clothing, was to be punished as a felon. Of those who fled to the mountains many were murdered in cold blood, and others died miserably of hunger. Of those who embarked, thousands perished with their wives and children on the pitiless ocean. Some reached the more hospitable regions of the North, and preserved the language and the literature of their forefathers; yet the epoch of their glory seemed departed, and t

* Der Sklave der in Kette bricht
Vor dem freyen menschen erzittert nicht.—SCHILLER.

names of the Arbabanel, of Cardozo, of Spinoza, and a few others, glimmer only amidst the general obscurity. The Jews, as a people, appeared wholly occupied in selfish worldliness, scarcely producing such a man as Mendelsohn, even in a century, and claiming for him then no renown in his *Hebrew* character.

The Jews seemed to have partaken of the general character of the age; and scepticism or incredulity took their stand where ignorance and superstition had existed before. 'Yet the changes which had been extensively in action in the religious and political world, could not but produce some effect upon their situation. They had become too important a part of society to be passed by without notice; while their wealth and their great financial operations gave them extraordinary weight. They have been courted by Kings, ennobled by Emperors. All the concerns of States have been obliged to turn upon their individual will. They have become in a word the very monarchs of the earth, deciding the great questions of peace or war; the arbiters, in truth, of the destinies of man.

But it is not in this point of view that we mean to consider the Jews; nor are these 'lords of the ascendant' the individuals among them that interest our affections or excite our regard. The revival which we contemplate with delight is the revival of those old and holy associations which seemed buried in the abyss of worldliness, of that enlightened, that literary spirit which gives the promise and is the pledge of brighter and better days. We see the young tree of truth and inquiry springing up in the waste. Its roots strike deep, its branches spread widely, it shall gather the people under its shade.

We know of nothing more touching, nothing more sublime, than the feelings with which an intelligent Hebrew must review the past and present, while he anticipates the future history of his race. That history begins, as he deems it will end, in triumph and in glory. Yet mists and chilling desolation envelop all the intermediate records. With what proud and glowing emotions must he trace the origin and the progress of that religion, which he and his fathers have professed through trials sharper than the fiery furnace, for which all of them have suffered, and millions have died! With Israel the living God condescended to covenant, and called them 'his chosen, his peculiar people.' Miracles and signs and wonders cover all their early wanderings with light, fair as the milky-way across the arch of heaven. For them the cloudy pillar was reared in the desert; for them the column of fire dissipated the gloom and the terrors of night. Amidst thunderings and lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet and the presence of God, their law was promulgated; the bitter waters of Marah were made sweet to them; and manna fell from heaven as the nightly dew.

Well

Well might they shout, with their triumphant leader, 'The Lord is our strength, and our song, and our salvation!'

Then come the days of darkness,—and they are many. The glory of the temple is departed. They are scattered like chaff among the nations. Opprobrium and insult hunt them through the earth. Shame and suffering bend them to the very dust, till degradation drags them to the lowest depth of misery. All the cruelties that ferocity can invent; all the infatuation that furious blindness can generate; all the terrors that despotism can prepare, are poured out upon their unsheltered heads. Warrants go forth for their extirpation; yet the race is preserved. Those who most hate and persecute one another all unite to torture them. Exile, imprisonment, death,—these are the least of their woes. Why should the picture be drawn? the soul is lacerated with the contemplation. Those generations are gathered to their fathers. Stilled are their sorrows and their joys.

Next, a few dim rays play across the path of time. Civilization and freedom, gathering the human race beneath their wings, and protecting them all by the generous influence of a widely pervading benevolence, raise the race of Israel to their rank among the nations.

Then, hidden in the deeper recesses of futurity, what visions of splendour are unveiled! The gathering of the tribes, Jerusalem, the glorious temple, their own Messiah;—but the thoughts falter, the spirit is troubled. Yet 'the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'

Under the influence of thoughts like these Da Costa must have composed the hymn of which we venture to give a translation. It breathes, it burns with all the blended emotions of pride and indignation; of recollected, and anticipated triumphs; of hope deferred that sickeneth the heart; of confidence, of despair; of virtue wounded by contumely, and true nobility insulted by contempt: there is a spirit roused by a contemplation of injustice, and a sense of wrong soaring from eloquence to sublimity. Such minds as these would redeem from heavier bondage. Such compositions are a pledge of the regeneration of a people. The Hebrew harp is hung upon the willows no longer.

ISRAEL.*

Dabit Deus his quæcumque fecerit. *Nitko.*

Yes! bear—confide—be patient ever

My brethren of the chosen race!

Whose name oblivion blighted never,

Whose

* Ja! dult, vertrouwt, volhardt in hopen!

Myñ broeders van't verkoren zaad!

Wiens naam geen euwen konden slopen

Wiens heilge glorie nooit vergaet.

Vermelt

Whose glories time shall ne'er efface :
 Vanquish the Atheist's desperate boldness,
 Shame the presumptuous threats of hell !
 The age's apathy and coldness—
 Ye are the race of Israël.

Their blood who were, in years long faded,
 Allied to God, ye bear within ;
 And ye are still, although degraded,
 Ennobled by your origin :
 Ye o'er all nations elevated,
 God's earthly treasure, hope and claim,
 His favourites, his first-created.
 O let us still deserve the name !

O sunk in shame ! in sorrow straying !
 Ye sinn'd—now suffer and atone !
 In agony and exile praying
 For that bright land ye call'd your own.
 Ye from God's beaten track departed ;
 Poor homeless pilgrims wand'ring here ;
 His arm abandon'd you, proud-hearted !
 To trembling helplessness and fear.

What prophets have foretold comes o'er us ;
 The sceptre from our grasp is torn ;
 Our rank and glory fade before us ;
 Our godlike kingdom given to scorn.
 We, chosen erst from chosen nations,
 Now writhe beneath the scoffer's rod ;
 Bare to the meanest slave's vexations,
 We, who were subjects once—of God !

Ah ! safety, comfort, all are reft us,
 Exiled by God's almighty hand ;
 Nought of the glorious Orient left us,
 Our true—our only father land !
 Far from our sires' remains—ill-fated,
 The abject race of Abraham weeps ;
 His blood, in us degenerated,
 Now thro' a crumbling ruin creeps.

Redeemer ! Sire ! be our defender !
 O ! turn not from our prayers away :
 Give Israël to her early splendour,
 Or let her joyless name decay !

Vermelt der Ongodisten lagen !
 Beschaamt de pogingen der hel !
 Verfoiet de koelheit onzer dagen—
 Gy zyt hel kroest van Israël !

No! Hopes deferr'd and memories vanish'd
Our trust in Thee could never bow;
We are the Hebrews still—tho' banish'd,
Thou art the Hebrews' God—e'en now! --
Yes! thy Messiah, soon appearing,
Shall burst these bonds of slavery;
Thine anger-mists again are clearing,
Our day of victory is nigh.
A heavenly flame is brightly soaring
Behind the clouds of earthly woe:
Shout, Israel! shout, with joy adoring,
Your Prince's—Saviour's advent show.
Lion of Judah, roar and greet him,
Hail his majestic march once more:
Come, Adam's race! with blessings meet him,
And rank again as rank'd of yore.
Announce him from on high, thou thunder!
Bend your proud heads, ye hills around!
Fall, kingdom of deceit, asunder
In ruins at our trumpet's sound!
Behold the long-expected gladness!
Salvation's morn again appears;
The need for suffering, scorn and sadness,
The citadel 'gainst foes and fears.
With hope, like this, to live or perish,
Is our redemption—duty—joy!
Which when our souls shall cease to cherish,
Those guilty souls, O God! destroy!
And dare ye, crying ones, endeavour,
With insolent stand'rous thought,
Us—from our hallowed truth to sever,
Truth, by our own Jehovah taught?
Preach ye a fruitless toleration,
Which baseness may extort from pride?
Our Israel waits her great salvation,
And breathes no pray'r for aught beside!
Yes! that, for which you bid us meanly
Resign the soul's divinest flame,
(Which, spite of all, shall shine serenely,
Is hateful to us as your aim!)
The dread tribunals' fire and fetter,
Yes,—e'en the taunts from scoffers heard,
Are better to endure—far better
Than benefits by you conferr'd.
The age of darkness now is bounded,
Restoring times are hast'ning on,
In which God's kingdom shall be founded,
In which all hell shall be o'erthrown.

Literature of the Dutch Jews.

The sentence soon will publish loudly
 Whom glory waits and whom disgrace;
Philosophers, who rule us proudly,
 Or Jacob's scorn'd and suffering race!

In the same spirit, and touched with the strong and gentle sympathies of affection, are the lines (Vol. ii. p. 199) to Doctor Abraham Capadose*.

Nor for thee, nor for me, was earth's valley decreed,
 Nor its visions of tasteless delight;
 For our pinions are spread, and our fetters are freed,
 For a higher, a heavenlier flight.

From the sorrowful scenes of this world and its woes,
 From the dungeons and glooms of to-day,
 To those regions of hope, whose resplendency throws
 O'er the future the past's dearest ray.

Ah! thy heart like my own mourns our nation's decline,
 Which to folly a blessing appears,
 While in darkness we dwell, and in sadness we pine,
 And our hearts are but fountains of tears.

'Tis a day which in sadness the universe shrouds;
 'Tis an autumn which strips all the grove;
 'Tis a winter that gathers the storms and the clouds—
 Heav'n's spring-tide is dawning above!

Come and weep with thy friend o'er our people's disgrace,
 O'er Israel's scatter'd remains—
 The deniers of God—an incredulous race—
 With the prophets' own blood in their veins.

O! their flesh is our flesh, and their blood is our blood,
 And their shame is a night to our eyes:
 Their decline overwhelms our souls in a comfortless flood—
 No! redemption will beam from the skies!

Weep with me o'er the lion, the pride of our sires,
 Which lighted all Spain with his beam;
 While the West was illumed with the orient fires
 Which old chivalry borrow'd from him.

In his silence he sleeps as if glory were past,
 But again shall he raise his proud head—
 And the world shall awake at the trumpet's loud blast,
 Which shall burst the dark doors of the dead.

* Noch voor u, noch voor my is deze aarde gemaakt
 Noch de droom van haar laffe vernaaken;
 Onze vleugels gerept: onze boelen geslaakt
 Om een hooger aanschouwing te smaken.

O my friend! what a hope have I nursed in this lay,—
What a joy round our being it throws—
While the path of our hope, where we tranquilly stray,
With the light of eternity glows!

In that path be thou near me, and while I aspire,
Thou shalt still all the thoughts that repine;
One in blood, in belief, one in hope, in desire;
And the pinions that waft me are thine.

O be near with thy noble and verse-inspired heart,
With thy judgement, example and care;
Thou, whose patience, rejoicing through sorrow and smart,
Never bent 'neath the weight of despair.

In the desert that leads to the grave and its rest
Is thy friendship a moistening shower;
In the tempests which life's rugged pathway molest
Is that friendship a sheltering bower.

On the other side death—which still bids us “prepare”—
Lie the streams that shall freshen our soul;
Immortality's temple shall welcome us there
To a peace which no time shall controul.

—All the bliss of this valueless dust soon decays,
All its pains shall ere long disappear
In the loud-swelling oceans of limitless praise,
Which the souls of the blessed ones hear.

But the friendship on earth which our spirit has found,
In the name of our God, cannot fade,
Nor be lost in the lap of the pitiless ground,
That shall gather our clay to its shade.

Children of promise! heirs with us of gospel hopes, and aspirants to a common heaven, we sympathize with you in your thoughts and your affections. We mourn over the sufferings which our ignorant forefathers imposed upon yours. We would fain wash away the stain in the overflowings of fraternal kindness.

If we were disposed to treat misgovernment and despotism lightly, we could forgive Napoleon many of his errors, were it only for that spirit of toleration, or rather of religious freedom, which he so much and so frequently encouraged. His conduct to the Jews was generous and noble; and certainly, in the modern history of this extraordinary people, no event occurs so striking as the assembling the tribes in that great Sanhedrim which met under his auspices. The security they had for some time enjoyed, by sufferance, as it were, became from that epoch guaranteed. The moral character and influence of the whole nation was elevated by the recognition of their title to attention and to respect. In our days, we have

have seen, under the tolerating government of Louis Buonaparte, a Jew advanced to the very highest offices of the state. If there be those who contemplate these 'signs of the times' with indifference, we are not among the number. We hail with no common emotion every event which tends to gather the great family of mankind into the fold of universal sympathy. We feel the weight of the fetters which so large a portion of our race are compelled to bear, of civil disqualification, of religious exclusion; even as if those fetters were our own. Every hope and every promise of emancipation; every prospect that levels the distinctions of sect and party, and blends their varied affections in one common purpose of philanthropy and benevolence, is to us most welcome and delightful.

While this article was in its progress through the press, we received the intelligence that Da Costa with several other eminent Jews had embraced Christianity. We can only exclaim with the poet,

Bella, immortal, benefica
Fede ai trionfi avezza
Scrivi ancor questo: allegrati
Che più superba altezza
Al desonor di Golgota
Giammai non si chinò.

ART. XVII.—*Travels in Ireland in the Year 1822.*

By Thomas Reid. 1823.

OUR own opinions on the state of Ireland, and on the necessity, as well as the justice, of some liberal and enlightened legislative measures, which may diminish, if not remove, the existing causes of irritation and misery in that hitherto unhappy country, were fully detailed in the very first number of *THE INQUIRER*. All that we shall now therefore say from ourselves is, that every event that has since occurred has tended strongly to confirm the conviction which we then expressed with regard to the sources of the numerous moral and political evils of which Ireland has so long had to complain. This is a subject, however, which cannot be too frequently brought before the public eye, or placed in too great a diversity of lights. That there is something essentially and culpably erroneous in the system of domestic government in Ireland, must be evident to every man. But it is not enough to rest satisfied with the assertion of this truth. It is not enough to declare that the patient who lies stretched before us on the bed of sickness is disordered. Every effort ought to be made to collect such facts as may illustrate the origin and progress of the disease, its present character, and the nature of the applications calculated at least to mitigate its malignity, if not to effect its cure.

With

With this conviction, we consider the cause of humanity to be much indebted to Mr. Reid, who has devoted a considerable portion of time and attention to a personal investigation of the real condition of the Irish people. His work is divided into three parts. The first comprehends a sketch of the history of Ireland; the second consists of notes taken during a tour in that country, which occupied nearly five months of the last year; the third contains reflections suggested to the mind of the benevolent writer by the scenes of distress which he had witnessed in the course of his journey. Without intending the least disparagement to the historical division of the work, we apprehend that the observations which Mr. Reid had himself the opportunity of making will be the part of it most interesting to our readers; we shall therefore endeavour to condense those observations into as small a compass as possible; advising, however, a reference to the work itself for more ample information upon various points on which it will be in our power only slightly to touch.

It was on the 28th of last May that Mr. Reid, after a turbulent passage from Liverpool, landed at the Pigeon-house at Dublin. He was immediately surrounded by persons, eagerly offering their services to carry his luggage, whose dress, or rather whose undress, together with their emaciated haggard looks, was well calculated to awaken feelings of compassion. Most of them were without shoes, stockings, and coats; and their other garments were composed of innumerable patches, exhibiting almost every variety of colour. Dublin, although much improved since Mr. Reid had last seen it, appeared still very deficient in cleanliness. Great depravity was also occasionally visible. In one street Mr. Reid saw several wretched females running about, furiously intoxicated, and in a state nearly approaching to nudity. Of the prisons in Dublin Mr. Reid describes Newgate as badly situated, constructed and managed, and utterly without classification, inspection, education and employment. The City Marshalsea also exhibited a crowded picture of human wretchedness; and Mr. Reid understood that the sheriff's prison was in many respects more filthy and objectionable than either of the others. Smithfield Penitentiary and the new Bridewell he commends as creditable and valuable institutions.

On the 7th of June, Mr. Reid commenced his journey northwards. He was painfully interested to witness the manner in which that wretched class of the Irish peasantry, denominated "Cotters," toiled, amidst filth of every kind, and with merely potatoes for their food, to cultivate the little patch of ground set apart for the support of their families.—In the county of Tyrone, there is not, Mr. Reid believes, one in seventy of the tenants who can individually set a plough going on a farm. By far the greater number

ber have only one horse, which is lent for a certain number of days to a neighbour, who lends his in return for the same length of time. Those who have land but no horse (and there are many such) get their land ploughed at the end of the season, for which they pay by labour. Mr. Reid often saw poor people, men, women and children, digging up their ground, and endeavouring to break it, with a three-pronged fork, called "a grape," and an iron rake such as is used by gardeners. From such a mode of culture nothing but wretched crops can result. The condition of the labouring poor in the county of Armagh, is, however, much superior to that of their neighbours, and their intelligence appears to keep pace with their comforts.

In the county of Monaghan Mr. Reid observed many of the poor peasants employed in planting potatoes. One had his ground prepared and the manure spread three weeks, but was unable to procure seed. He had been ill during the spring; his little ^{ill} all was soon exhausted; starvation stared him in the face, and his wife and seven children went out to beg. This poor creature called heaven to witness that he had eaten nothing but dry potatoes for nine weeks, and could not get a sufficiency even of them; and his looks too strongly bore testimony to the fact. At the door of another cabin a woman and child were crying bitterly. On asking the cause, a little girl answered, "The red cow and wee stirk (meaning the red cow and little heifer) are gone to jail, and my father is gone with them. The labours of this family having failed to satisfy the landlord, who was a middle-man, their cow and calf (the former their main support) had been driven away and *canted* *."

Riding through an isolated and miserable district, called the Truagh, which is properly the Connemara of Ulster, Mr. Reid alighted at a cabin, and asked for some water. Receiving no answer, he approached the entrance, which had neither door nor any thing like one. A large thorn bush was placed in the opening, and was confined in its position by a heavy stone. There were voices within, but no one was to be seen. On removing the thorn, and walking in, he found two children about three or four years old, without any clothing but a short shirt each, playing on the floor. There were also two young pigs in the opposite corner. The father and mother had gone to the moss (or bog) and left the two youngest of their children at home. On examining closely, it appeared that the poor infants were prevented from getting to the fire by a cord with which each of them was tied by the leg to a bedpost. The pigs were secured in the same way, and at a sufficient distance from the children to prevent disputes.

* Sold by auction; usually much under value.

Of the jail of Dungannon, which is partly under ground, Mr. Reid speaks in terms of merited reprobation. There is no separation of the male and female prisoners. In the construction of the cells, light and ventilation appear to have been thought unnecessary. These damp and wretched dungeons are only ten feet by eight each; and yet it seemed that seventeen persons had been crammed into one of them! The jail of Armagh, although lately improved, is still deficient in many essential points, especially classification and inspection. The jail of the county of Antrim is much too small for the number of prisoners crowded into it; and, in consequence, proper classification and inspection are wanting. Of the rules laid down for the internal government of the house of correction at Belfast, Mr. Reid thinks highly. The jail at Downpatrick is almost as bad as it is possible for a building of that sort to be. Its construction renders classification, inspection, and employment, utterly impracticable. Females of all descriptions, tried and untried, novice and veteran, debtors and murderers, are all thrown together in one corrupting mass, and kept in a cell of very insufficient size. Sick or well, there they remain day and night. When Mr. Reid saw the cell, there were twenty-one persons confined in it; one of whom had been ill for four months.

While Mr. Reid was at Armagh a riot took place, which appeared to originate in party-spirit, and in which many persons were engaged. But for the prompt interference of the military, it might have assumed a serious aspect. The principal in the affray was secured, and lodged in the jail. He proclaimed himself a Protestant. Some of the combatants continued to patrol the streets till a late hour, and seemed very anxious to find "Ribbon-men" to fight with. Mr. Reid met a party of about thirty. They stopped him, and rudely demanded whether he was a Ribbon-man. Being answered in the negative, they permitted him to proceed; saying, "It is d——d well for you that you are not." But on the 12th of July, the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, Mr. Reid witnessed a very large assembly of "Orange-men," who met for the purpose of wiping off a stain which their honour had received three or four years before, when they had been well-drubbed by some Catholics whom they had insulted. Towards evening, having laid in a large store of whiskey, parties of them were rambling and straggling about, incessantly shouting, "Five pounds for the face of a black-mouthed papish." The Catholics behaved with exemplary moderation; so that not much mischief occurred. One serious atrocity, however, sufficiently demonstrative of the spirit which actuates the human mind when its impulses are at variance with the principles of social life, was committed

committed about seven miles from Armagh. A party of orange-men got hold of a poor Catholic, and beat him so unmercifully that he died soon after. The delinquents were left at large, unmolested by the local authorities. On the succeeding Sunday, while a priest was officiating in a Catholic chapel at Killiman, a body of Orange-men marched up and down before the door, playing a party tune known to be exceedingly offensive to the Catholics. It was only by the active interference of the priest that his indignant flock were restrained from sallying forth to revenge the insult. On the same day a disposition to retaliate was evinced by a body of about thirty Catholics, who marched through a hamlet inhabited almost exclusively by Orange-men, brandishing their bludgeons in defiance. On these and some similar occurrences Mr. Reid makes the following judicious remarks :

‘ The events just mentioned are the natural, the inevitable consequences of a system to which the vital interests of Ireland have for centuries been blindly sacrificed. However trifling in the aggregate of national concerns such occurrences may appear, they have a powerful tendency to perpetuate feuds, and to sever the last remaining link in the great chain of civil life, by which nature binds social man to his fellow-man. Instead of that divine union, what do we behold? Hatred, and a base spirit of revenge, are often the only property that a father has to transmit to his child; and these bad passions are fostered in the cradle, nourished during adolescence, and carefully brought to a luxuriant maturity. There is not, I will venture to say, a seminary in the north of Ireland, from the first-rate academy down to the humblest hedge-school, that does not furnish convincing illustrations of this proposition. If this frightful statement be correct (and it fearlessly challenges contradiction), should it not be a paramount consideration with the executive to dry up the source whence such deadly evils spring?—That those animosities are kept up and increased by the annual processions and extravagancies of Orangeism, no candid and impartial man, who has any personal knowledge of the country, can question. I would dispassionately ask the upholders of this association, what benefits has it conferred on the country? Has Ireland ever derived from it aught but jealousy, discontent, and sanguinary discord? Its advantages, if it have any, are known to very few: its baneful consequences, who does not know? It has been said that the institution was established on the basis of unshaken loyalty, and that at the time of its formation it was necessary to the salvation of the country. The former I doubt not: the latter, as it rests on mere speculative assertion, unsupported by evidence, or the shadow of probability, is wholly inadmissible. But, for the sake of argument, suppose

suppose it were true, will any man in his senses pretend to say that an association, once useful, should be continued after it has not only ceased to do good, but has become absolutely and extensively pernicious?—The Orange institution has existed nearly thirty years, a period amply sufficient to develop and determine its tendency. If the general welfare of the country were the object of its founders, they must now surely be satisfied of its inadequacy to an end so patriotic and praiseworthy. If, on the other hand, the design originated in selfish motives, which must be advanced at the expense of the nation, their hopes in this regard may have been answered. But in either case the necessity of abolishing it now, out of consideration of the general good, is obvious and imperative. Let the experiment be tried. Let Orangeism be laid in the grave for a period as long as it has lived; and, at the expiration of the next thirty years, there will not be found a well-wisher of Ireland to vote for its resurrection.'

A new jail, building in the town of Monaghan, promises to be an excellent institution of its kind.

In riding through a miserable district in the county of Tyrone, called the Brantry, Carrickcastle, and Carn teal, Mr. Reid inquired after several poor tenants, whom he knew twenty years ago; but they were nearly all gone and forgotten. Unable to pay their rents, they had been ejected from their holdings, and turned adrift upon the world. Their places were supplied by others, who in their turn, two or three years after, shared the same fate. In some estates, there had been four generations of occupiers within a dozen years. To a question put by Mr. Reid to an intelligent farmer, he quaintly answered, "The gentlemen in this place, Sir, are doing nothing but swopping beggars, (meaning tenants,) and they constantly get the worst of the bargain; for the new-comers are always worse than the old." Many of the hovels in this neighbourhood are constructed by placing long sticks in a slanting position against a high bank, and covering them with scraws. These are afterwards thatched with heath, and as they do not rise above the level of the heathy bank, they cannot be easily discovered or distinguished by a stranger, until he comes close upon them. The doors of these huts, if doors they can be called, are formed by two perpendicular sticks, and five cross ones, somewhat resembling a gate of rude workmanship, having the interstices filled with ropes made of straw, woven in after the manner of a basket. Persons desirous of extra comfort, plaster these doors with a substance composed of tenacious clay and cow-dung, which renders them less accessible to the severe winds of winter. The bed (for these hovels have seldom more than one) is generally formed of straw, sometimes of green heath, spread on the ground. A blanket or horse-rug is commonly

mously used for a covering; but very often the poor tenants of these huts have nothing but their ordinary ragged garments; of which they seldom divest themselves, even for repose, as long as they can be made to stick together. Not only the father, the mother, and all the children, but the pigs, goats, and cows, if there are any, inhabit the same mansion, and, if possible, partake of the same bed. In one of Mr. Reid's excursions, he entered a cabin while the family were at dinner. The repast consisted of dry potatoes only, which were contained in a basket, set upon the pot in which they had been boiled, and which was placed on the floor in the middle of the cabin. The father was sitting on a stool, and the mother on a creel of turf; one of the children had a straw boss; the youngest was sprawling on the floor, and five others were standing round the potato-basket. On seeing Mr. Reid enter, the man rose up, and offering his stool made a confused apology for his homely fare, and expressed his regret that he had neither whiskey nor milk to give his visitor. He then said to his wife, in a sort of loud whisper, "May be the gentleman will taste the *bull's milk*." She signified her fear that it was too sour; "but, such as it is," said she, smiling, "the gentleman is welcome to it; and if it was *crame* or wine, he would be welcome too." Mr. Reid declined this civility; but knowing how much these poor people are gratified by a stranger's eating or drinking with them, he took a potato, which not being boiled enough, he put down, and took up another, and another; but all were equally hard. The man instantly put one into the hot turf-ashes, to have it better cooked for Mr. R., observing, "We always have our *praties* hard; they stick to our ribs, and we can fast longer that way." What is called "*bull's-milk*" is thus prepared. A quantity of unsifted ground oats is left to ferment in a very large proportion of water. When fully acidulated by the action of the atmosphere, it is poured off and reserved for use; and may not unaptly be compared to diluted vinegar. Even this, "such as it is," is in general sparingly used to kitchen the scanty meal of potatoes; which are not unfrequently eaten in a half-boiled state, from motives of pitiable economy, such as have just been described.

On visiting the county jail of Omagh, Mr. Reid found that, although its situation was excellent, it manifested the same disregard of classification, inspection, and employment, which characterized all the old prisons of the country. Tried and untried formed one undistinguished and corrupt assemblage. As if to ensure the diffusion of moral contagion, condemned felons are kept twelve and fifteen months, and even longer, with the untried; of whom many are subsequently acquitted, but of whom no one can return to society uncontaminated. This is an evil very prevalent in Ireland; reversing

reversing the wise judicial maxim, "that every man is to be presumed innocent until he is found guilty." The moment a person is apprehended, whether innocent or guilty, infamy more or less attaches to his name; and that not unfrequently urges to desperation, and to acts of confirmed criminal habits. The lunatic asylum and the jail at Lifford are equally wretched; but Mr. Reid speaks with great praise of the Rev. Mr. Graham, who has charge of the former.

During two days ride in the neighbourhood of Londonderry, Mr. Reid saw on the first day thirty-five beggars; on the second, thirty-four.

That tithe is a source of great discontent, even in Ulster, admits, in Mr. Reid's opinion, of no doubt whatever; and that every class of persons, of every religious persuasion, would sacrifice much to be relieved from its weight, he considers equally certain. It is, however, probable, that it may be levied without any serious opposition, as long as the farmers are able to pay it out of the means which arise from other branches of industry, besides that of agriculture. Candour owes it to the character of the clergy in this province to state, that their tithes are valued at a rate comparatively moderate, and that some remarkable instances of lenity have occurred, highly creditable to the parties who had to make the claim. That it is a grievance, operating with galling effect upon the people, is manifest from the resentment shown on many occasions. In the parish of Aghaloe, for instance, the Hon. and Rev. Archdeacon Knox demanded a small increase of tithe, which was resisted by the parishioners with great obstinacy. The case was litigated, and decided in favour of the Archdeacon; but his claims were nevertheless still rejected. Tithe-proctors were employed; one of whom is said to have spoken very unguardedly of the compulsory measures he intended to pursue. When he went to carry his threats into effect, he was assailed by a number of men dressed in women's clothes, who beat him to death, and almost killed another tithe-proctor, who acted as his assistant. Among the many who oppose this demand are Protestants of opulence and respectability, determined to resist it as long as possible.

In Cavan, the peasantry assumed a very wretched appearance. It was difficult to distinguish the women from the men; for the former were at work in every field with a man's patchwork-coat, tied round the middle with a thick straw or hay-rope, and a hat, very often without a crown, furnished with a band of the same material. Mr. Reid says, however, that the crops were every where looking fine, and that the people were engaged in pulling flax and making hay, with a jocundity of manner which but ill accorded with their miserable outside. In the vicinity of Charlemont, heavy

complaints were made to him of the oppressive conduct of a neighbouring bailiff towards the tenants, every effort of whom to obtain access to the noble owner of the estates which they farmed had proved abortive.

At Dundalk Mr. Reid found the county of Louth jail the best regulated prison he had yet seen in the kingdom, except the Belfast penitentiary. The debtors, the felons, and the persons charged with petty offences, are all confined in separate apartments; and there are schools, in which each class of prisoners is instructed for two hours in succession. The jail at Drogheda is very inferior to that at Dundalk.

After returning to Dublin, Mr. Reid proceeded to Kildare and Queen's County. The peasantry seemed to be badly clothed and to live most wretchedly; and the beggars were so numerous, that it became impossible to count them. In the neighbourhood of Philipstown the land, which is rich and productive, is let usually from three to six guineas an acre. Formerly this rent was easily raised and willingly paid. Of late years it has been found very difficult of collection; and many persons think, that in another year it will be quite impossible. This state of things is rendered still more depressing by the demand of tithe, which bears with peculiar severity upon this part of the country. There are scarcely any manufactures. The price of labour is exceedingly small. Several of the peasantry were willing to labour for their food through the summer, but could not get employment even on those melancholy terms; consequently they were obliged to beg, or were driven to the alternative of committing robberies, to save themselves and their children from starving. Education is at a very low ebb.

Mr. Reid again returned to Dublin; and on the 15th of August set off for Kilkenny; than which, in his opinion, no part of Ireland, nor perhaps any equal extent of country in the world, can afford a livelier interest to the inquirer. The corn crop was good, and that of potatoes excellent. Still the state of agriculture is susceptible of very great improvement. The finest and most fertile valleys are reserved for pasture; and this perversion of the use of nature's bounties arises chiefly from an intention of avoiding tithe. Education has been decidedly making progress during the last ten years; but still a vast majority of the peasantry remain grossly ignorant. This is the more to be lamented, as the natural talents of the people are great. Instances were related to Mr. Reid of youths having made considerable progress in mathematics, astronomy, sculpture, painting, and poetical composition, with scarcely any assistance. The Kilkenny jail is very deficient in classification and inspection. A laudable attempt was some time ago made to introduce employment into it. But the grand jury refused to present the trifling amount

amount of the wages to the superintendants, and the design was dropped. The county jail is large enough to admit of tolerable classification, but is very deficient as to inspection. Every individual in this neighbourhood, to whom Mr. Reid spoke on the subject of tithe, regarded it as an odious and oppressive tax on industry, and that too the industry of the humblest and most indigent class of the community. Two farmers candidly avowed, that they had laid down their land for grazing to avoid this exaction, and that they would continue to do so, although they believed it would be more profitable to raise corn, for which their land was much better adapted.

Proceeding to Waterford, Mr. Reid saw in the vicinity of it many wretched cabins, each provided with its reservoir for every description of filth—manure for the potato-garden. The city-jail at Waterford is quite as bad as any that have been described; not is the county-gaol, though on a more extensive scale, much better. The House of Industry, however, is very well conducted. The habitations of the poor in the city of Waterford are of the worst description. Mr. Reid entered no fewer than sixty-three cabins, in not one of which was there any indication of comfort. The floors of some of them were seven or eight inches below the level of the street; the fires were nearly extinguished in a great many; and ventilation was remarkably defective in all. Parts of the roof had rotted in some places and fallen in; and by that miserable means air was admitted to a few, which, however, the occupiers seemed anxious to exclude. Very few indeed were provided with any thing that could properly be called furniture. Surely no one can wonder, that this city should never be entirely free from typhus. The clothing of the poor is, if possible, worse than their dwellings. It is probable, however, that they are better fed than in many other districts; for in the slaughtering season offal is plentiful, and from its cheapness comes occasionally within the reach of the poor.

The road to Clonmell leads through a rich and well-cultivated country, but Mr. Reid found it crowded with vast numbers of half-naked human beings. Most of them were women and children; the proportion of the latter appearing enormous. Many most miserable objects came round the coach in the town of Carrick-on-Suir. One unhappy woman had a dead child in her arms, which she declared had died of want! The cabins in the neighbourhood, as well as the peasantry themselves, presented the darkest shades for a frightful picture of human misery. At the county of Tipperary jail Mr. Reid found much to censure. It is consolatory, however, to learn, that since the period of his visit a considerable reformation has been effected, especially among the female prisoners, by the benevolent zeal which has so long characterized

racterized the Society of Friends, and which caused the formation of a Ladies' Committee, from whose exertions the happiest consequences have resulted.

On the side of the road to Cork Mr. Reid observed huts, in which the beggars sat at ease and accosted the passenger, who flung his charitable offering without danger of its being lost to the object of his compassion, as, if the tenant of the hut was a man, he was seldom without a female companion, if a woman, she was generally attended by a crowd of children. The appearance of the poor, whether begging or working, was truly pitiable. Several people were labouring in the fields without even a shirt. A tattered garment fastened round the loins, and covering in shreds only about half the thigh, served for all. Throughout the summer work could not be obtained at any wages; and in order to eke out life the poor were obliged to pawn and sell their rags of clothes, until they were at length compelled to go naked. The population of Cork is excessive, and appeared to Mr. Reid to be also in a very distressed state. No buildings of the description can be worse than the Bridewell and the city jail. The county-jail is not quite so bad.

Mr. Reid, on his way to Killarney, breakfasted at a little town called Macroom, which had been the theatre of distress, discontent and disturbance the preceding winter. The number of beggars that surrounded the coach, exceeded any thing of the kind he had before seen. Men and women of all ages stood in a throng; the moving appeal of the females, contrasted with the silent haggard aspect of the men, filled the breast with horror and compassion. On arriving at Killarney, and hearing that the bishop of Limerick was holding a visitation in the church, Mr. Reid went thither. Among many interesting facts which were elicited, an extraordinary and rather whimsical anecdote was related by the Rev. Dean Bond. He stated, that in the parish of Brusna there was not a single Protestant, and only one individual who could speak English. In the year 1795, Admiral Moriarty interested himself to get a church erected in the parish. When it was finished, which happened to be on a Saturday, the key was given to the clergyman, with a request that he would go the following day, and read the service if he found any body there. He went accordingly; but could find neither people to preach to, nor church to preach in. The Catholics had in one night pulled the latter down, and carried it all away! A small party of the clergymen who had attended the visitation, dined at Mr. Reid's hotel. He joined them, and introduced a conversation, in which the state of the country and the condition of the people were discussed. While some of the company were painting the natural character of the Irish in rather dark colours, the following opposite circumstance occurred. A poor fruit-

fruit-woman came into the room, and offered "Kerry pippins" for sale, declaring "there is'nt *betther* in the known *worl*." None of the party seemed inclined to part with their money. "They're only a *fippenny* a dozen, plase your honour: I'll give you a baker's dozen for a fippenny, and God knows I want it; for my husband hasn't a bit of work *this* six long weeks." She praised her "Kerry pippins" so loudly, and solicited for "a one fippenny" so earnestly, that one of the clergymen could not refrain from purchasing. He took a dozen at the price demanded, laid down the money, and the poor woman departed highly thankful. The apples did not justify the high character which had been given of them, and every body taxed the seller with untruth. "There is nothing *like* truth or honesty in one of them," was just uttered, when the fruit-woman again made her appearance, quite out of breath, exclaiming, "O sir, you *giv'd* me a guinea!" The clergyman who had bought her pippins replied, that he could not have given her a guinea, for that he had no gold. The woman persisted; and on examination it turned out to be a half-guinea, which the reverend gentleman had had in his possession a great many years, although he did not know it was in his pocket. A gentleman present drily observed, "There is something that strongly *resembles* honesty in that poor woman's behaviour."

The next morning Mr. Reid had an opportunity of looking over the accounts of the Committee for the distribution of charity, which appeared to be kept with great regularity. Many of the poor, however, were complaining, that they had not been impartially treated; but it is evident, that it must have been quite impossible to please all. On subsequently visiting the little town of Caher-civeen, in which the most heart-rending distress prevailed, the crowds that assembled round Mr. Reid to make complaints respecting the administration of the charity were amazing. It was in vain that he protested he had no concern with it. Among other things, several assured him that the charity-oatmeal had been kept so long, and that so little attention had been paid to its preservation, that it was damaged, and unfit for use. On going to ascertain the fact, Mr. Reid found the assertion wholly groundless; for the oatmeal was perfectly good. No fewer, however, than 476 affidavits were made before two magistrates in the neighbourhood, by persons who stated, that through the pressure of severe want they had been compelled to dig up their potatoes at times, not only when it was physically impossible they could do so with any benefit, but when it was attended with a ruinous waste of that resource for future necessities; that many of them with numerous families had to subsist on even that miserable and worse than scanty supply, for an almost incredible length of time; and that they had not experienced relief
from

from the distributors of the charity to that extent, nor with that wholesome impartiality, which the subscribers must have had in contemplation. The revenue-surveyor of the island of Valencia is of opinion, that from the manner of distributing the provision, it would have been much better had none at all ever arrived in that part of the country; and that the poor will be worse off next year. As many were driven to shift for themselves, and to subsist on herbs and weeds, he thinks others might perhaps have done so too; whereas by constantly attending in hope of getting relief, many lost their time, and were obliged after all to return to their cheerless homes, and embrace their wretched families with tears—all the solace left them. So difficult, or rather so impossible, is it to do unmixed good! It ought in justice to be mentioned, as a proof in addition to that which we have already noticed, of the necessity of listening with caution to the charges made against the distributors of the charity by the objects of it, that on Mr. Reid's calling at the house of the right hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, in the island of Valencia, where the oatmeal provided for charitable distribution was deposited, he found seven tons still remaining and in good condition; although he had been assured it was all spoiled. Indeed great care and pains appeared to have been taken for its preservation.

Mr. Reid quotes some very judicious remarks by Mr. Spring Rice, to show the inaptitude of the county jail of Kerry to the purposes of its erection. At Limerick the city jail is deficient in inspection and employment, and is moreover badly ventilated, and very gloomy. The new county jail is constructed on an excellent plan. The committee, who direct its concerns, have manifested great zeal in their attention to the interests of humanity; their regulations are most judicious, but they are not quite complete. Very little more will make the county of Limerick jail inferior to none in Europe.

The population of Limerick appears excessive. Three families often occupy one room, and above forty persons one house. A gentleman of the name of Waller, a landed proprietor in the neighbourhood, has acquired great and deserved popularity by constantly residing on his own estate, and identifying his own interest with that of his tenants; the consequence of which has been, that they lived in comparative luxury amidst the late widely spread ravages of famine and disease. The county of Limerick is better adapted for the growth of corn than any other county in the kingdom, and large quantities are raised on it even now; but if certain checks on industry were taken off, the quantity would be enormous. It is Mr. Reid's opinion that thousands of poor who are pining in idleness, would then be employed in raising food for their starving families, and cultivating those
extensive

extensive tracts of country over which cows and sheep are now thinly scattered, or which lie entirely neglected. A large landed proprietor agreed fully with Mr. Reid, that rents ought to be greatly reduced, and that, unless a reduction did take place, landlords would very shortly get no rents at all. The same gentleman, whose connexion with the south has made him well acquainted with the sentiments of the people, is of opinion that tithe exactions are the exhaustless source whence spring nine-tenths of all the evils under which Ireland is groaning; and that the ingenuity of man can devise no efficient remedy, while this oppressive millstone is left to hang round the necks of the poor, and to repress all their industrious efforts.

In the Bridewell of Nenagh Mr. Reid found criminals of every description associated. Many of the cells are destitute of beds and bedding; and those which are not so are mere piles of filth. The prisoners are allowed so much food, not in quantity, but in value; viz. five-pennyworth of bread a day; so that their appetites are expected to accommodate themselves to the rise and fall of the markets.

On returning to Limerick, Mr. Reid had an interview and a conversation with the Bishop, Dr. Elrington. The state of the country appeared to excite the liveliest interest on the part of the Bishop, who entertains no doubt that the poor will be as badly circumstanced in the present year as they have ever been. The behaviour of four deluded men, who had been executed in the morning, and who not only met death with indifference, but, regarding themselves as martyrs in a good cause, embraced it with ardour, exclaiming, "We are only a branch off the tree, there are plenty left to do the business," struck his lordship as strongly portentous of future mischief. His lordship had already spoken to Mr. Reid of the distress felt by the clergy; and he now repeated with peculiar emphasis, "I beg to impress it on you, that the clergy can get nothing whatever." It is impossible for any man who values the welfare of Ireland, and the cause of religion, to contemplate such a state of things with indifference.

The county jail of Clare, at Ennis, is by no means badly constructed, though it cannot at present be called a good prison. Employment is not sufficiently extensive and constant; and education is entirely wanting. A school was instituted formerly, from which the best effects resulted; but the grand jury gave it no encouragement, and it dwindled into disuse. At the house of the Secretary of the Central Committee at Ennis, Mr. Reid saw the accounts of the charity, which appeared to have been kept with great correctness. There was a balance of 4,229*l.* in favour of the charity, which the committee intended to lay out in releasing from

from pawn articles of clothing and furniture which the poor were obliged to dispose of during the spring and summer. Wringing distress had compelled thousands of poor to part with nearly the whole of their clothes, and with the whole of their furniture; all the peasantry were ragged, if not naked; and many had neither pot nor saucepan left to boil their potatoes in.

On the road to Galway, Mr. Reid states that the country appeared wholly unproductive. The eye wandered over an immense tract in which neither tree, nor shrub, nor vegetable of any sort was discernible. Fuel too was wanting; and yet there were scattered cabins, around which a scanty verdure, produced by extreme art, was an exception to the general barrenness. In the course of his journey, Mr. Reid entered several of those cabins, which were almost destitute of furniture, and the children in which were nearly naked. In one there were eight persons,—a man, two women, and five children; all, except two of the latter, labouring under fever. Each of these two children had a raw potato in its hand, but there was no fire to cook it, nor was there a creature that could hand another a cup of water; in fact, there was not so much as a cup of water in the house. Four lay in one corner, with nothing between them and the clay floor, but a few old rushes, and no covering whatever but the ragged garments they wore; the other two lay in an opposite corner on a similar bed, with a thing over them that had once been a blanket, and that was absolutely moving with vermin.

The county jail of Galway is constructed on an excellent plan. The great advantages of classification and inspection are fully secured; but employment is very deficient. Mr. Reid highly eulogizes the public spirit and humanity manifested by the members of the Charity Committee in Galway. By their judicious arrangements, and devoted attention to the duties they had undertaken, many thousands must have had their sufferings greatly alleviated. The number of persons that sought refuge from starvation in the town of Galway during the summer is incredible; but in their flight from famine they encountered pestilence; and many fell victims to contagious fever, a certain attendant on poverty and want of cleanliness.

A gentleman at Tuam related to Mr. Reid the following characteristic and instructive anecdote. An "everlasting absentee," and extensive landed proprietor in that province, instructed his agent, in 1820, to make up his rents, and not to receive less than the full amount. The agent accordingly assembled the tenants, and stated the orders he had received from the landlord; but their ragged appearance gave him little hope of getting much money from any of them. Every-one however came prepared to pay a
part

part of his rent. Some had mustered up two-thirds, some a half, some a quarter, and one still less. It would not do; the orders were peremptory, "the whole, or nothing."—In about a month afterwards, the agent, having received fresh orders, assembled the tenants again, and found their appearance greatly improved. He exclaimed with delight, "I am authorized to take what you offered me before, and the remainder at a certain day; but from your appearance I have no doubt you have now brought the whole rent." To this they replied, "We have neither the whole, nor any part of it now to give. When we came before, we offered all we could raise; and had you taken it, ourselves, our wives, and our families would have been in rags all the year; but as that would not be received, and we knew it would be quite impossible to make up the whole, we went and purchased clothes and other necessaries for ourselves and our families;—there is not one of us with a tenpenny left."

In the county jail of Mayo classification is defective, and inspection wholly impracticable. Great efforts have, however, been made to employ the prisoners, and the manner in which education has been attended to is very creditable.

The condition of the established clergy at Castlebar is truly pitiable. The Rev. Mr. Pasley assured Mr. Reid that he could get no tithe, though he offered to take it in any way most convenient to the people; namely, to receive linen, woollen, butter, corn, or any thing they could give. It was to no purpose, he had not for many months obtained a single penny; nor had he the least hope of getting any. He thought that the people would pay if they could; but that they had not the means.

The jail at Sligo is well constructed, and kept in good order. It does great credit to every one who has any concern in its management. The female prisoners derive infinite benefit from the kind attentions of a Ladies' Committee. The progress of education is most gratifying.

On his way to Enniskillen the crowds of beggars which Mr. Reid met with, afforded him the first proof that he was entering on a country in an improved state. Poverty had so desolated the districts through which he had lately passed, that any beggars who had remained in them must inevitably have starved. Hence they migrated to quarters where the people were better able to support them. Before taking leave of those unhappy provinces, Mr. Reid thus expresses the conclusions to which close personal application, and the cultivation of every opportunity to converse and correspond with persons well acquainted with the causes of Ireland's afflictions, had irresistibly led him:

"In the first place, it appears that a thirteenth of all the land,
and

and a tenth of the produce and labour, belong to the ministers of the Established Church; many of whom are absentees. Three-fourths of the great landed proprietors are also absentees. Hence it is clear, that the greater part of the land, and some portion of the labour, belong to the people of another country; only a small share being left to supply the exigencies of the state, support the majority of the inhabitants, and the ministers of their religion, which is not the religion of the state.

"Out of such an order of things manifold evils arise. To speak of the gentry collectively, they are few in number, compared with those of the same class in England, and possess but little weight or influence, either in the country or with the Government: and the few who do reside on their estates are divided by political feuds. Protestant and Catholic interests made to clash on one side, and a deep sense of degradation on the other, keep alive religious distinctions and animosities,—the fruitful sources of countless miseries.

"The condition of the peasantry cannot fail soon to force itself on public attention. Pining under the most poignant distress, sunk in ignorance and wretchedness, without any means of procuring education, unless purchased at the expense of their religious principles, by them esteemed as precious as life itself, ground down by rack-rents, vestry cesses, grand jury jobs, and the exorbitant demands of tithe-proctors,—they unfortunately consider the laws (particularly those that enforce the payment of tithes to a church to which they do not belong) as unjust and oppressive. Against these laws they are evermore breaking out in rebellion, and look upon all as their natural oppressors who lend their aid in support of them, not even excepting the Roman Catholic clergy.

"It has been stated that an insurrectionary spirit prevents the introduction of capital; but the truth is, there is neither internal nor external trade to induce a capitalist to settle in the country. These, among others, are some of the great barriers that stand in the way of improvement, and must be removed as a preliminary step towards civilization. The peasantry are willing and anxious to engage in labour at any wages, however trifling; but labour is unproductive, and as there are no factories or public works in the country to give them employment, idleness becomes unavoidably habitual to the great bulk of the people, and every day contributes to the pernicious effects of this inveterate evil. Dispossessed of their lands for non-payment of rent, and thrust upon the world, what are the poor to do? Humanity shudders at the alternative,—a choice of evils;—happily they have hitherto embraced that which has least disturbed the public repose.

"Several

"Several instances have come to my knowledge of landlords or their agents having seized the entire corn-crop of their tenants, and removed it into their own farm-yards; which deprives the cottager not only of the corn, but also of the straw, the only fodder for his cattle, which must of course inevitably perish in the winter. It is remarkable that the demands of the tithe-proctor are more exorbitant this year than at any former period: to this it may be added that the poor are almost universally in a state of nudity."

On the 11th of October Mr. Reid returned to Dublin, and here the journal terminates.

The third portion of the work, namely, the reflections suggested to Mr. Reid's mind by the various scenes which he had witnessed in the course of his journey, deserves a very attentive perusal, although our limits will not permit us to enter into any detail on the subject. Among the most prominently mischievous of the causes which render the people of Ireland poor, though industrious, discontented amidst abundant natural advantages, starving though surrounded by plenty, and alone seeming to retrograde, whilst other nations are advancing in the arts and blessings of civilization, Mr. Reid enumerates,—the avarice of landlords, the unwise system of tithe exactions, the want of employment and education, political disability, and political monopoly. Upon these various and important topics he treats consecutively, and in most of his opinions with regard to them we cordially concur.

Amidst the general gloom, however, which overspreads the physical, moral, and political state of Ireland, it is consolatory to observe in some parts of the horizon, a breaking of the clouds, and a cheering and we trust not illusory indication of approaching light. Frequent disappointment prevents us from being too sanguine on the subject; but it is evident that wiser and better impressions with regard to it are entertained by those who possess the means of giving effect to their own determinations. The attention of the Executive Government appears to have been at length roused, not merely to the expediency, but to the indispensable necessity, of taking some decisive steps. In the opening speech of the present session, His Majesty "recommended to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament such measures of internal regulation as might be calculated to promote and secure the tranquillity of Ireland, and to improve the habits and condition of the people." During a subsequent conversation in the House of Commons, in which the insufficiency of the act of last session respecting tithes was represented by several members for Ireland, the chief Secretary stated that a measure for the composition and commutation of tithes was in active preparation. Added to that, the Chancellor of the Exchequer signified his disposition to repeal the whole of the assessed

assessed taxes in Ireland, and, which is of far greater importance, to admit of such alterations in the distillery laws as might render them no longer a fruitful source of that utter derangement of the social system in Ireland, which the Right Honourable Gentleman (whom we were so happy as to hear on the occasion) described and lamented with a benevolent warmth which must raise him in the estimation of every good man in the Empire. Since those intentions were expressed, they have been to a great extent carried into effect: bills for the repeal of the assessed taxes, and for establishing a temporary composition and a permanent commutation of tithes, in Ireland, have been introduced; and, at the moment at which we write, are in progress through the House of Commons.—Another gratifying occurrence is the declaration of one of the Secretaries of State (Mr. Canning) in his place in parliament, that His Majesty's Government approved the conduct of the illustrious Viceroy of Ireland; which declaration was followed up by a promise on the part of the chief Secretary to propose the extension to Ireland of the provisions of the English act of 1799, proclaiming the illegality of secret societies of every description.

Such are the ingredients of our hope that ere long the condition of Ireland will at least be rendered less deplorable. May that hope be realized! and may England speedily begin to reduce that debt to her unhappy sister-country which, it is perhaps not too much to say, her utmost efforts will never enable her wholly to liquidate!

ART. XVIII.—*Memoir of Sir Samuel Romilly.*

IT has been remarked by an accurate observer of human life, that the most amiable and beneficent qualities are not unsusceptible of energy, and that when it does invigorate their exertions, they rise far above their opposites. The life of the amiable man of whom we wish to present a slight sketch to our readers fully illustrates this remark. To the contemplation of his beneficent exertions we shall principally devote our attention. We shall detail the events of his life, and dwell upon his conduct as a friend to humanity, and a constitutional statesman. For his acts, and opinions on the mere political events which passed during his parliamentary career, we would beg to refer the reader to Mr. Peter's memoir, and to the valuable collection of Sir Samuel Romilly's speeches to which that memoir is prefixed.

The subject of this memoir was born in Frith Street, Westminster, in the month of March 1757, and was the youngest son of a large family. His grandfather was one of those emigrants, who quitted
France

France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and found an asylum in this country, where they could enjoy liberty of conscience. His father was born in this country, and exercised the trade of a jeweller. Samuel Romilly was brought up at a private school in Westminster, from which he proceeded to the office of Mr. Lally, an eminent solicitor and clerk in chancery. But at the period when he might be considered qualified to commence practising as a solicitor, he was induced, as much by the strong aspirations of his own mind as by the recommendations of his friends, to venture on a different path in the profession, requiring indeed more courage and talent, but in some respects perhaps less irksome to the feelings, and where success would be accompanied with higher rewards and furnish opportunities of more extensive utility. He entered himself a member of Gray's Inn in the year 1778. His attention, even at this early period of his life, seems to have been much excited to the subject of punishments. In one of his letters written March 1782, he comments on the subtilty and fondness for abstract reasoning, observable in the admirable treatise of Beccaria; and in a letter written in February 1783, he animadverts on some positions in M. Sirven's work; and contrasts them with the views of Burlamaqui and other writers on the laws of nature. The following remarks on inchoate crimes contained in that letter are not unworthy of his judgement, even when reflection and experience had most fully matured its powers. "He (M. Sirven) thinks that an *inchoate* crime (if that expression may be allowed) ought to be punished with equal severity as where it is complete; and he blames our law, because, with a very few exceptions, (and treason is almost the only one,) they are not considered in the same light. But surely common sense tells one, that there is much less guilt in forming a criminal design, than in persisting in it to its execution. There are many men who, in the heat of resentment, form the worst resolutions, but who would afterwards find it impossible to execute them; and the law must be very unjust indeed, which treats with the same severity the man who repents of his crime, while it is yet time, and before the mischief of it has taken effect, and him who long broods over his bloody purpose, deliberately plans it, and remains impregnable to pity or remorse, even to the moment when he strikes the fatal blow. At the same time, one must agree, that where the criminal has done every thing to give his purpose effect, and is disappointed merely by accident, his crime is as great as if the attempt had been successful. A man, who having mixed poison for another (when he sees the fatal cup raised to his lips, and when all the dreadful consequences of his crime, which, till then, the violence of passion had concealed from him, rush upon his imagination) suddenly repents, and dashes the cup against

against the ground, is surely less criminal than one whose victim has escaped his vengeance, merely because the poison was too weak, or his constitution vigorous enough to overcome its effects : and though I agree, that the criminal, in this latter case, is to all intents a murderer, I yet doubt the policy of punishing even him as such, because to punish a mere attempt is to put it in the power of false accusers to ruin any innocent man against whom they have conceived an enmity*.

"It is hardly possible for men malevolently to charge an innocent person with murder, because that crime must be proved, not merely by oral testimony, but by its own evidence, by the *evidentia rei* ; and it is scarcely practicable by any perjury to fix the circumstances of a murder on one who is innocent of it. But where an *attempt* may be punished, what can be more easy than to fabricate evidence in support of a long train of imagined facts, not one of which may be true?—If you object that our law is, then, unjust in punishing a mere attempt in the case of treason, I answer, that, if treason cannot be punished before it be complete, it cannot be punished at all ; since its success overturns the established Government, and that by our law, the positive testimony of two persons is required for a conviction of treason, though the testimony of one is, in general, sufficient to prove any other crime.—Besides, if the mere intentions of men are to be punished, where is the line to be drawn? What act is to be deemed a sufficient manifestation of a criminal purpose?

"But to consider the question in another, and, I think, its most important point of view, I mean with regard to what is, or ought to be, the only object of human laws, the prevention of crimes, how will the punishment of a mere attempt to commit a crime attain that end? Either a failure of success is a case which will never enter into the contemplation of the criminal, who means, undoubtedly, to carry his designs into full effect ; or, if in his contemplation the law must warn him to make sure of success, to take every anxious precaution that his designs may not be frustrated, and that he may not incur the penalty of the law without completely attaining his end, and satisfying those passions for which he braves its vengeance. The effect of such a law, then, seems rather to be that of multiplying than diminishing the number of crimes."

In 1783 Mr. Romilly was called to the bar. His letters on that occasion eminently display the modesty of his nature ; and evince at the same time a sense of dutiful resignation, which may deserve the attention of those youthful aspirants, who though not blessed with

* The attempt to poison has been made felony without benefit of clergy by 43 Geo. III. c. 58, A. D. 1803.

his talents or likely to rival his eventual career, may yet learn from his early feelings to do their best to qualify themselves for success, and then to acquiesce, whatever may be the result. Indeed, unless our observation misleads us, such views might be suggested usefully to many, who are so wrapt up in weighing the chances of life, and considering the ends of their profession, as in the mean time very much to neglect the means, and who waste the time that should be devoted to preparatory studies, in moping over imaginary neglect and anticipated disappointment. In another point of view these letters are painfully interesting, as indicating the variations of spirits and consequent alternations of hopes and fears, which are perhaps inseparable from that constitution of sensibility, which medical men vainly flatter by terming it the temperament of genius. Such a temperament, however, it was the fate of the subject of this memoir to experience; and if it gave poignancy to his apprehensions and to his sufferings, let us at least thankfully and gratefully acknowledge that it contributed the like intensity to his enjoyments and satisfactions: that it filled him with ardour, and inspired his exertions of patriotism and beneficence with genuine enthusiasm. In one letter to his brother-in-law, Mr. Roget, he says, "The nearer I approach the term which I have formerly so often wished for, the more I dread it. I sometimes lose all courage, and wonder what fond opinion of my talents could ever have induced me to venture on so bold an undertaking; but it too often happens (and I fear that it has been my case) that men mistake the desire for the ability, of acting some very distinguished part."

In another letter he says—"It would seem, my dear Roget, by your last letter, that you thought I had affected doubt of succeeding in the way of life on which I am to enter, only to draw from you such praises as might encourage me in my pursuit.—I assure you I had no such wish, and that what I wrote to you was but a faithful transcript of what I felt. Could I but realize the partial hopes and expectations of my friends, there would be no doubt of my success almost beyond my wishes; but in myself I have a much less indulgent censor, and in this perhaps alone I cannot suffer their judgement to have equal weight with my own. I have taught myself, however, a very useful lesson of practical philosophy, which is, not to suffer my happiness to depend upon my success. Should my wishes be gratified, I promise myself to employ all the talents; and all the authority I may acquire, for the public good—*Patriæ impendere vitam*. Should I fail in my pursuit, I console myself with thinking that the humblest situation of life has its duties, which one must feel a satisfaction in discharging,—that, at least, my conscience will bear me the pleasing testimony of having intended well, and that, after all, true happiness is much less likely to be found in
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the high walks of ambition, than in the '*secretum iter et fallentis semita vita.*'—Were it not for these consolations, and did I consider my success at the bar as decisive of my future happiness, my apprehensions would be such that I might truly say, '*Cum illius diei mihi venit in mentem, quo mihi dicendum sit, non solum commoveor animo, sed etiam toto corpore perhorresco.*'"

From this period Mr. Romilly not only regularly attended the courts of equity in Westminster, but for fifteen years attended the assizes on the midland circuit, and, for some years, though probably a much shorter time, visited the quarter-sessions at Warwick. During this course of attendance, before the Judges of the common law and the magistrates, he acquired an intimate experience in the administration of the English criminal law. He contemplated in daily practice the mischiefs resulting from a code which denounces punishments disproportionate to offences. He witnessed the evasions, the subterfuges, the pious perjuries, which the humanity of grand-juries, of witnesses, of judges, of petit-juries, compelled them to have recourse to when a prisoner had been guilty of some trifling offence, and the law declared that if found guilty, his life must be the forfeit. He sometimes saw the culprit acquitted in defiance of evidence; and at other times, when convicted, saw the dismal sable assumed as if it were a mere ceremony; and the awful sentence of death (though at the moment never intended to be put into execution) solemnly pronounced, as if in mockery of truth. He was convinced that laws of inordinate severity are every way mischievous; that, if not executed, the evasion is effected by something like fraud in the courts of justice, and procures impunity to the offender; that if executed, they either tend to brutalize the community by destroying the distinctions between offences of different natures, or excite all its sympathies in favour of the criminal, against the laws, and against both those who administer them, and those who execute their decrees. When society is in an advanced state of civilization, the resolutions of the legislature, however supported by force or consecrated by opinion, cannot *twist about* the hearts or remodel the moral feelings of the mass of the community; and there surely can be no sound policy in introducing or continuing enactments which thwart the judgements of a people in proportion as that people are well educated, and outrage their feelings in proportion as they are humane.

Mr. Romilly saw that the proper remedy in such a case was the repeal of laws of undue severity, and the adoption of a scale of punishment proportioned to the scale of offences; but that until such remedy was applied, the laws themselves were frequently innoxious only so long as they were rendered inoperative, and could be

be tolerated, only because, though still remaining on the statute books, they were often in effect superseded by the humanity of courts of justice. At an early period of his professional career, and whilst these impressions were gradually gaining on his mind, another observer of not less sagacity in discerning the characters of men, but certainly endowed with much less sensibility, and whose studies had been of a very different cast, came to different conclusions upon this head. This was the Rev. Spencer Madan, a person in a singular degree eminent at once for his conversational wit, his dogmatism and intolerance as a theologian, and his paradoxical turn as a moralist. In the year 1785, he published an essay entitled "*Thoughts on Executive Justice*," which he followed up with "*An Appendix*" in the same year. His imagination seems to have been overwhelmed with a horror of footpads and highway robbers by day, and of house-breakers by night. In his fit of panic and pious zeal he invoked the shadows of the Judges of Assize, (for he held the substance to be gone,) to prevent these beasts of prey from changing the kingdom into a desert, quoting ancient poets to show that wounds which were incurable required the knife; considering the poet's premonition, that all other remedies must be first resorted to, merely in the same sense as the Apostle's prelude to try all things, but to hold fast to that which is good, and representing the kingdom of heaven as one whose principal happiness would be, that thieves did not there break through nor steal: and as if it were the paramount duty of man, to assimilate earth to heaven in that particular. This essay contained, it is true, several very excellent remarks on the danger of discretionary power, and on the inutility of laws which were not executed; but the playfulness of the author's wit shows itself on some occasions quite unrestrained by any sense of decorum or humanity, and it is difficult for the reader to suppress his disgust or indignation when a minister of the Christian religion apologizes to the brutes of the desert for having introduced a comparison between them and felons. A man must have strangely cast off all the feelings and sympathies of human nature, when he can allow himself to think or speak in such a manner with respect to any description of his fellow-creatures, however abject their condition, however great their crimes.

Upon this tract Mr. Romilly in the year 1786 published some observations, written with much elegance and with occasional severity, but remarkable principally for their coherence and uniformity with the more ample views on the nature of the English criminal code, which he afterwards brought forward for the consideration of parliament.

Mr. Romilly's practice at the bar was for many years very inconsiderable; and even on those occasions where he was engaged,

his diffidence and nervousness are well known to have been so great, as to have prevented him from calling the powers of his mind into full play. It is said to have cost him much effort to still the perturbations which this timidity, and the consciousness of this timidity, occasioned to him, and that it was not until much familiarity with the routine of business had weakened these impressions, that he acquired that self-possession and presence of mind which are so necessary in courts of justice; though in a later part of his career he was most eminently distinguished by the degree in which he enjoyed those valuable qualities. In the year 1791 he is represented as having had considerable practice as a junior counsel, and in 1797 as a leader. In 1798 he married Miss Garbett, a lady of a family of some consideration in the county of Hereford; and from this time he seems to have discontinued his attendance on circuit, and to have confined his practice to the courts of equity. In 1800 he was appointed King's Counsel, and his established character for sound legal knowledge, for discrimination, for promptitude, for perspicuity of language, and felicity of illustration, secured for him a field of practice surpassing even the early auguries of his friends, and commensurate with the wishes of his warmest admirers. Those suitors, whose causes were not successful when entrusted to his care, had only to lament the inherent deficiencies of their case, and to regret their own perverseness or the misapprehensions of their earlier advisers: they could find nothing to blame in their advocate, whose dexterity had left no flaw in the statement of their adversaries unobserved upon; and whose sagacity had elicited analogies in their favour from cases apparently the most remote. Above all, his liberality and humanity in supporting the rights of indigent suitors were characteristic and exemplary.

In 1806, on the accession of Mr. Fox and his friends to power, Mr. Romilly was appointed Solicitor-General, received on that occasion the usual honour of knighthood, and was returned to parliament as representative for Queenborough.

He was, immediately upon taking his seat, appointed one of the managers for conducting Lord Melville's trial, and the masterly speech in which he summed up the evidence may perhaps challenge comparison with Mr. Murray's celebrated speech on the trial of Lord Lovat. During this short-lived administration he procured a bill (46 Geo. III. c. 135) to be passed for the amendment of the Bankrupt Laws, which tended to restrain the technical relation of commissions to previous acts of bankruptcy within a much more limited period; and the beneficial tendency of this act he afterwards extended and secured by a further enactment (49 Geo. III. c. 121). He concurred likewise, and exerted himself

self to the fullest, in promoting the Enlistment Bill for limited service, and the bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, upon the accomplishment of which good work that administration closed its career, and he returned to his private condition.

On the dissolution of parliament which ensued, Sir Samuel Romilly was returned, as it is believed, for Arundel, and was returned also for the same place in the election which occurred in 1812. It may be unnecessary to expatiate here on the different attempts made by Sir Samuel Romilly to mitigate the penal code. It is well known how valuable those improvements are which he did succeed in procuring for the public, though the boon was in every instance, in some degree, qualified or modified in its passage through one house of parliament or the other. He procured the repeal of the law directing that traitors should be disembowelled alive, and, instead of that savage practice, provided that they should be hanged till dead. He wished simply to add, that their bodies should be at the disposal of the crown; but Mr. Yorke prevailed in retaining the old form, that the bodies should first be decapitated and quartered. He succeeded in abolishing corruption of blood upon attainder, though this Mr. Yorke took care should be limited by an exception in cases of high treason, petit-treason, and murder.

He procured that stealing from bleaching grounds should be no longer felony without benefit of clergy; but that it should be punishable by transportation for life, or for a term not less than seven years. He effected the repeal of a barbarous statute passed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, constituting it a capital offence in soldiers and marines to be found wandering about the country without a pass. He brought in a bill to substitute, in the place of death, which another statute of the same Queen denounced against the crime of privately stealing from the person, transportation for seven years, or imprisonment and hard labour for any term not exceeding three years. The bill passed both houses of parliament, but with material alterations, changing the description of the offence visited with the new punishment from privately stealing to stealing generally, whether privily or otherwise, and extending the term of transportation to life, or to any number of years, not less than seven, at the discretion of the Court.

Such were the attempts to improve the law in which Sir Samuel Romilly was so fortunate as to procure the enactments of the legislature, in some degree, in conformity with his suggestions. In other instances of equal moment he found the current of contrary opinions too strong for any arguments of his to overbear, and his propositions were rejected in some cases in the House of Commons, but generally in the Lords. He endeavoured to

subject landed property to the simple contract debts of the owners: his endeavour was foiled; but an act soon afterwards passed, making landed property so liable in the single case where the owners were engaged in trade. In one of the acts which he brought in for the amendment of the bankrupt laws, he introduced a clause rendering the refusal of creditors to sign the certificate of a bankrupt, subject to an appeal to the Lord Chancellor, in the same manner as it is provided in the Irish acts; but this clause was rejected in the House of Lords, and an amendment substituted, varying, amongst other things, the proportion of creditors whose signature and consent are necessary to the allowance of the bankrupt's certificate. He introduced into parliament three bills to repeal the several acts affixing the punishment of death to the crimes of stealing privately in a shop goods of the value of five shillings; or in a dwelling house, or on board a vessel in a navigable river, property of the value of forty shillings. On this subject he afterwards published a small pamphlet, containing the substance of his speech when he first introduced these bills. In this pamphlet the present system of the criminal law is explained, its origin is accounted for, the mischiefs inherent in such a system, and the difficulties inseparable from either the strict or the discretionary administration of it, are gradually developed, and the remedy in the particular instance suggested in a method so luminous, and with such transparency of language, that the reader is at once in possession of the very thoughts of the author, and is surprised that conclusions apparently so irresistible, should have produced so little impression upon the audience to whom they were addressed. It may however, perhaps, be observed, that the very circumstances which constitute the perfection of this piece as a production for the closet, may have been those which impaired its effect as delivered in the senate. Its strict and orderly analysis, the temperate reply to the misapprehensions of Dr. Paley, the calm and subdued tone of inquiry and reflection in which the whole argument is conceived, and which would be strong recommendations when addressed to reason, would, in fact, be disadvantageous when uttered in the tumult and amidst the passions of a popular assembly. The speech is utterly destitute of any exaggerated descriptions; it contains none of those sudden transitions and bold contrasts which awaken attention; none of those bursts of passion and irradiations of genius which electrify the audience and carry them along by the tide and contagion of sympathy, rather victims of the speaker's eloquence than converts to his wisdom. It is suited to convince by the weight of its arguments, and by its lucid arrangement, and to persuade by the mild though serious manner in which the arguments are urged: but, considering

ing the constitution of the House of Commons, it may perhaps be admitted that more earnestness of language might have made it more impressive, and that if more impressive it possibly might have been more effective.

One only of these bills passed the Commons in the first instance, but was rejected in the Lords; the second was rejected in the Commons; the third was withdrawn, from the lateness of the sessions. In the following sessions they all passed the Commons, but were all rejected in the Lords. After which time Sir Samuel Romilly three times brought forward the first bill, and after passing each time the House of Commons, it was each time rejected by the Lords.

On another subject, relating to the whole body of the English law, and embracing no less a question, than whether it would not be expedient to reduce the whole mass of what is termed unwritten as well as written law into a series of authoritative statutes enacted by the legislature, Sir Samuel Romilly often reflected with serious consideration. In the event he seems to have been very much disposed to coincide with the views of his profound and enlightened friend Mr. Bentham. The following passages, containing certainly the ablest statement which has yet been given of the reasons in favour of a complete written code, are extracted from a treatise published in a recent periodical journal*, and known to be the production of Sir Samuel Romilly. It is an admirable specimen of his mode of investigation.

‘The first step to be taken in this inquiry, is to ascertain the nature of the unwritten law by which England is at this moment governed. We are not then to understand that the rules by which property is to be distributed, and the conduct of men to be regulated, really exist only in oral tradition, and the imperfect recollections of individuals. What is called with us unwritten law, is in truth to be collected from a great number of written records and printed volumes; and, according to old Fortescue and to Blackstone, it is only by a twenty years’ study of them that a perfect knowledge of it can be gained. It is by reading, and by reading only, that the *lex non scripta*, as well as the statute law, is to be acquired; but, in the one case, we find the law expressing its commands in direct and positive terms, while, in the other, we can arrive at a knowledge of it only through its interpreters and oracles, the Judges.

‘The common law is to be collected, not from the plain text of a comprehensive ordinance, which it is open to all men to con-

* See Review of Mr. Bentham's Essay on Codification in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 222.

sult, but from the decisions of Courts of Justice, pronounced in a great variety of cases, and which have disclosed small portions of it from time to time, just as the miscellaneous transactions of men in a complicated state of society may have chanced to require, or give occasion for its promulgation.

‘Of a law so constituted, it must necessarily happen that a large portion must always remain unpublished. The occasion for declaring it never having occurred, it must rest (as all that is now published once did) in a latent state, till some event happens to call it into use and into notice. Of a statute law, we know with certainty the whole extent, and we can at once discern what it has not, as well as what it has provided; but under the common law there is no case unprovided for, though there be many of which it is extremely difficult, and indeed impossible, to say beforehand what the provision is. For the cases, on which no decision has yet been pronounced, an unknown law exists, which must be brought to light whenever the Courts are called upon for their decision. For all practical purposes, a law so unknown is the same as a law not in existence: to declare, is substantially to enact it; and the Judges, though called only expounders of law, are, in reality, legislators. Of what importance is it, that, by a legal notion, the law is supposed to have had pre-existence, since, being unknown till it was promulgated by some tribunal, it was not possible that men could have conformed to it as the rule of their conduct? and yet, in this very circumstance, have some most eminent lawyers discovered a superiority in the common law over all written statutes. Lord Mansfield, for example, when pleading as an advocate at the bar, is reported to have thus expressed himself:—“Cases of law depend upon occasions which give rise to them. All occasions do not arise at once. A statute can very seldom take in all cases; therefore the common law that works itself pure by rules drawn from the fountains of justice, is superior to an act of parliament.” (Atkyns’s Reports, vol. i. pp. 92, 93.)

‘The law thus unknown to others till it was promulgated in some decision, can hardly be said to have been previously known even to the Judges themselves. When some new question is brought before them to decide, those oracles of the law do not, like the oracles of old (the supposed sources of all wisdom and knowledge), immediately pronounce their authoritative and unerring responses; neither do they retire to their chambers, as if to consult some code of which they are the sole possessors, and then reveal in public, to the contending parties, the text which they have discovered. They profess themselves unqualified immediately to decide: they require to be themselves informed: it is necessary

necessary that they should hear, and compare, and examine, and reason, and be assisted by the arguments of others, before they are prepared to pronounce what the law has declared. They even call upon the litigant parties themselves to state, by their advocates, what they conceive the law to be, and to support their statements by reasoning and authorities, and analogous decisions; the Judges find themselves unable to declare what the law is, and to require the assistance of a second argument, and by other counsel.

‘Not to deceive ourselves, however, we ought to understand that this supposed bringing to light of the ancient law, which had been for ages unrevealed, is at best but a fiction. The law so declared in many cases, had no existence till the declaration was made, although the Judges do not ‘pretend to make new law,’ but ‘to vindicate the old from misrepresentation.’ It has already been observed, that where the whole law is embodied together in written statutes, cases may occur on which the law is silent; but where an unwritten law prevails, this can never happen. That the law is not already declared, is only because the particular occasion for declaring it never before occurred. The Judges therefore being unable to predicate of any case that it is one which the law has not foreseen, are under the necessity, with the aid of Dr. Paley’s Analogies, of supplying what is wanting, and of discovering the ancient law which is supposed to have once been expressed in statutes that have long since mouldered away, or to have been pronounced in judgements of which no record has been preserved. In name, this differs from making laws, but it is only in name. Whether the chasm has been made by the ravages of time, or was left in the original fabric of our law, it is precisely by the same process that it must be filled up. The same recourse must be had to Paley’s Analogies, whether the object of the Judges be to conjecture what the lost law must have been, or to make a new law, which will best quadrate and harmonise with the relics of the old.

‘The ingenuity to be exercised on these occasions is not very unlike that of the statuary, who is called upon to restore the deficient parts of some mutilated remnant of antiquity. From that which remains, he conjectures what, in its original perfection, must have been the entire statue; and he supplies such a feature or a limb as will give its proper form and attitude to the whole. In the same manner the lawyer, having made himself master of all that remains of the ancient law—having imbibed its spirit, and studied its principles—endeavours to restore what is wanting, in such a mode as may best symmetrate and combine itself with the rest. In this respect, however, the artist and the jurist differ; the

the former gives the result of his labours for what it really is,—a humble attempt to supply a loss which he acknowledges to be irreparable; while the magisterial lawyer does not hesitate to publish his ingenious conjectures as the genuine remains of antiquity. In another respect too the comparison fails. With our reasoning jurists, it is often not the best, but the first artist that tries his hand, whose essay, however crude and imperfect, must be united for ever to the beautiful original to which it has been once attached; whereas, in the arts, the first awkward attempt at restoration will give place to the happier efforts of a more skilful statuary.

‘ Considering, then, these judicial declarations or expositions of the law as that, which in every new case they, to all practical purposes, really are, the making of law; let us next consider what is the peculiar character of this species of legislation. The first thing to be observed upon it is, that laws so made are necessarily *ex post facto* laws. The rule is not laid down till after the event which calls for the application of it has happened. Though new in fact, yet being of the greatest antiquity in theory, it has necessarily a retrospective operation, and governs all past as well as all future transactions. Property, which had been purchased or transmitted by descent to the present possessor of it, is discovered by the newly declared law to belong to others; actions, which were thought to be innocent, turn out to be criminal; and there is no security for men’s possessions, their persons, or their liberties.

‘ It is another objection to this mode of legislation, that the legislators, being ostensibly called on to discharge very different duties, are forbidden to entertain any of the considerations which ought most to influence the judgements of those who are avowedly employed in making laws. What will most tend to promote the general good, or what is best adapted to the present habits and modes of thinking of mankind, the judicial legislator is bound to disregard. He is to consider, not what would be the best law on any given subject that could now be made, but what law was most likely to have been made upon it at the remote period when the common law is supposed to have had its origin. All his researches tend to discover, not how the evil which has occurred may best be remedied, but in what manner it is probable that, in a very different state of society, the matter would have been ordered. The reasons upon which he proceeds are not reasons of utility, or of general expediency, but reasons of analogy, or, as they are properly termed, technical reasons.

‘ Not only is the Judge, who at the very moment he is making law is bound to profess that it is his province only to declare it; not only is he thus confined to technical doctrines and to artificial

ficial reasoning, he is further compelled to take the narrowest view possible on every subject on which he legislates. The law he makes is necessarily restricted to the particular case which gives occasion for its promulgation. Often when he is providing for that particular case, or, according to the fiction of our constitution, is declaring how the ancient and long-forgotten law has provided for it; he represents to himself other cases which probably may arise, though there is no record of their ever having yet occurred, which will as urgently call for a remedy as that which it is his duty to decide. It would be a prudent part to provide, by one comprehensive rule, as well for these possible events, as for the actual case that is in dispute, and, while terminating the existing legislation, to obviate and prevent all future contests. This, however, is to the judicial legislator strictly forbidden; and if, in illustrating the grounds of his judgement, he adverts to other and analogous cases, and presumes to anticipate how they should be decided, he is considered as exceeding his province; and the opinions thus delivered, are treated by succeeding Judges as extra-judicial, and as entitled to no authority.

‘ A still further evil inherent in this system is, that the duty of legislation must often be cast on those who are ill qualified to legislate upon the particular subject which accident may allot to them. In a mass of jurisprudence so extensive, and consisting of such a variety of parts as that which in the present day prevails in England, it must necessarily happen, that even the most learned and experienced lawyers will not have had occasions, in the course of the longest study and practice, to make themselves complete masters of every portion of it. It is usually to some one or more particular branches that they have severally directed their researches. One man is distinguished as deeply learned in the law of real property; another in what relates to tithes and the rights and possessions of the church; a third is mostly skilled in criminal law; a fourth in the forms of actions and the rules of procedure: and accordingly, when it is important to private clients to be informed of the law, they consult the most eminent jurists only upon those subjects with which they are known to be most conversant. If the task of compiling a complete code of laws were now to be undertaken, the subject would probably be divided into its different branches, and each would be assigned to those who were understood to have directed to it, almost exclusively, their attention and their care. But in legislation, by means of judicial decisions, it is chance, not the qualifications of the legislator, which determines upon what he shall legislate. In theory he is alike qualified for all subjects. He is presumed to be master of all branches of the law, and to be capable, what-
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ever may be the matters that are brought before him, and in whatever circumstances accident or the humour of litigant parties shall present them to his view, of declaring what the law is which applies to them.

‘Another objection to this mode of legislation, and which in a free state cannot surely be of little account, is that the people have no control over those by whom the laws are made. The magistrates filling the high stations to which is attached the most important duty, and the most dangerous power that men in a state of society can be invested with, are nominated by the sole pleasure of the Crown; and, during the long period when the largest portion of the common law, by which we are now governed, was produced, they were also, if the laws which they made were unpalatable to the Crown, removable at its pleasure.’

No apology will be required by the reader for the introduction here of these extracts at full length. The importance of the subject, as well as the authority of the writer, might appear a sufficient justification. But we were also anxious that those of our readers, who were not acquainted with Sir Samuel Romilly’s peculiar manner of opening and analysing a complex subject, or with the perspicuity and simplicity of his language, might be gratified with an adequate specimen. The arguments so admirably arranged and expressed, must be admitted to have great weight, even by those whom they may fail to convince of the expediency of so wide a change in the present constitution of our laws and courts of justice. The subject is of such extensive consequence, and involves such a variety of circumstances, that it cannot be too often or too thoroughly canvassed. Our readers we hope will rather praise our discretion for not injuring so able an exposition and resolution of the difficulties inherent in the present system, by any abridgement, which it would, indeed, have been temerity and presumption in us to attempt.

Although this question involves the improvement of the whole code of law, we ought rather, perhaps, to apologise for introducing it in the present place, where we were considering more particularly the course of Sir Samuel Romilly’s *parliamentary* exertions for that purpose.

On other subjects connected with the criminal law, and with the punishment of offenders, Sir Samuel Romilly’s exertions in parliament, though unavailing in their immediate object, in some cases eventually produced the benefit desired, by other means and coming from other quarters; in some cases, where entirely defeated in their object, they effected good by promoting inquiry, and checking further abuse. His own proposition for putting into execution the admirable statute penned by Mr. Howard, Lord Auckland,
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and Judge Blackstone, and passed into a law in the year 1779, for erecting penitentiaries, was rejected by a small majority; but Mr. Bathurst procured a resolution to be passed, that the House would in the following sessions take the subject into serious consideration. He seconded proposals for inquiry into certain punishments inflicted by the military law, and into the practice of the ecclesiastical courts. Considering that whatever extent of authority the House of Commons could exercise over its own members, its summary jurisdiction over others could originate only in the necessity of preventing interruption in its proceedings; that a right so founded in necessity ought only to be commensurate with the necessity which gives it birth; that if extended beyond those limits, it would seem to trench very much on the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; that any right over others of the House of Commons not necessary for the unobstructed course of its proceedings would not be beneficial to themselves, though it might much prejudice the rest of the people; that the exercise of such a right in all cases made them judges in their own cause; and that such a mode of proceeding, when not obviously necessary, exposed the House to much jealousy and to much odium.

Indeed, on all subjects of a constitutional nature Sir Samuel Romilly's opinions were uniformly temperate, firm, and consistent. Whilst he deprecated all visionary systems of reform, he wished, where gross instances of abuse had occurred, that they should be duly stigmatized and punished; that boroughs which had shown themselves incapable of exercising their functions, should be disfranchised; that the spirit of a representative system should be strengthened and secured, by extending the suffrage to populous manufacturing and commercial towns, and perhaps increasing the number of county representatives. He wished to follow up the spirit of the act of William the Third, by holding Welsh Judges disqualified to sit in Parliament. Considering that the end of government consists in the happiness of the community, he thought that end but little likely to be promoted by pensioning treachery, and fomenting discussion and suspicion among all ranks of society, and in the most intimate confidence of private life, by the employment of spies and instigators to mischief. He was inclined to believe, that it was not the most charitable method of curing the discontent or removing the misapprehension of the lower orders in times of scarcity and suffering, to hire desperadoes for the purpose of inflaming their passions, and stinging their uninformed understandings and disturbed imaginations into acts of violence and treason. He considered the British Government as a Government founded in the interests of the whole mass of the community, and not a Government where the interests of a few were regarded at the expense of all

all the rest. He believed, that what was intended for the benefit of all, would, if properly administered and properly understood, conciliate the affections of all. He believed, that the lower orders in a good state would be well affected, in proportion as they were enlightened, and understood their own real interest. With these views, it is not surprising that Sir Samuel Romilly looked with something more than disapprobation on those who attempted to draw lines of demarcation between the different ranks of society in this country, and who would insidiously instil into the minds of the rich, that their property could only be secured by the ignorance of the poor; that social order is the result of some artificial organization—a sort of harmony—the continuance of which can only be preserved by raising the arm of power and military force to quell every symptom of insubordination. He did not believe, that the kingly power or the aristocracy existed by sufferance originating in ignorance, but that such orders were not only compatible with, but conducive to the welfare and happiness of the whole system. He believed that men were best governed by those who understood their feelings; and he considered popular meetings useful, as showing to the governors the feelings of the people; as opportunities where slight dissatisfaction might evaporate harmlessly in words, where more weighty dissatisfaction might explain its grounds well or ill conceived; and where those at the helm of government might collect useful hints what misinformation it might be necessary for them to correct, or what real grievances to cure. He respected the county magistrates, as a body of men peculiar to Great Britain, whose laborious and unbought services deserve the gratitude of the country. He wished to preserve to them their due authority, vested as they are with great power, not merely as arbiters of roads or directors of bridges, or guardians of the poor, or umpires in civil rights, but as judges conclusively in some minor offences, and in others till further and more mature examination can be had, as regulators of the culprit's punishment, and visitors of the prisons. But he wished to preserve them independent, and free from the interference of the secretary of state, whether it might be for the secretary's convenience to limit or to extend their jurisdiction.

These seem to have been some of the leading principles which actuated Sir Samuel Romilly, in the part he took on the most important constitutional discussions which occurred during the twelve years in which he sat in Parliament. During the same period his practice at the bar was unrivalled; and those only who are acquainted with the court in which he practised, and with the volumes which record its proceedings, can have any adequate conception of the weight of business which he sustained, or of the important services which he rendered to the science of equity by the rare
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union of research and sagacity which he displayed in discussion, and by the strong light which he threw on every subject previous to the decision of the patient and wary Judge who continues to preside in that court.

In the summer of 1818, Lady Romilly's health appeared very much to decline. Sir Samuel took for the season a small house on the heath at Hampstead, and removed thither with his family; but a considerable degree of depression hung on his spirits, and he seemed to anticipate a loss in his domestic happiness, for which—after so many years of tranquil enjoyment and homefelt comfort—after habits so long formed, in which his home, and the society he there enjoyed, had been his asylum from the contentions of the world, and from the rude conflicts which the sensitiveness of his nature, but too well disguised to ordinary observers under the appearance of stern and manly integrity, had endured both in the jargon of his profession and amidst the overruling majorities in parliament,—human wisdom and piety seemed inadequate to afford him consolation. His countenance, which had always borne strong marks of thought, was now tinged with deeper shades. At this period, in the midst of this overwhelming anxiety, parliament was dissolved, and Sir Samuel Romilly, without any solicitation, was nominated and returned one of the representatives for Westminster. In the address which he made on that proud and gratifying occasion to his constituents, after speaking of his own claims in terms suitable to his natural modesty, and perhaps in some degree, too, indicating the melancholy which was beginning to prey on his mind, he observed, that he ought to express his thanks, not in words but in actions, not in that place but within the walls of the House of Commons; and he expressed his trust in God, that when the time should come that he should have to render to them an account of the trust committed to him, he should be able to show that he had discharged it honestly and faithfully.

Early in September, Sir Samuel Romilly took his lady to Mr. Nash's seat, in the Isle of Wight, for the benefit of a milder air. As to his own spirits, the weight of his professional business, the sense of heavy parliamentary duties devolved to him, by the important trust which he had recently accepted, his anxiety, from the declining state of his lady's health, aggravated by the varying symptoms which fatal complaints often assume, seemed to have filled his mind with perturbation, and with occasional apprehensions as to the continuance of reason. In a letter to his friend, Mr. Dumont, of the 27th of September, he says, "Since I last wrote to you, Anne has been worse, and was certainly considered by both her medical attendants as being in some danger. She is at present a little better, but for myself I still apprehend the worst.
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I take care to let neither her nor the poor children see the anxiety I feel, but it costs me a good deal.—With all this, do not suppose that I have not quite resolution enough to undergo every thing, and to preserve my health for my children's sake.”

In another letter addressed to the same friend on the very next day, he says, “I cannot, after my letter of yesterday, suffer this post to go without telling you, that my dear Anne is *better*—not very considerably, *but yet she certainly is better.*”

These uncertainties seemed to have overwhelmed his mind in its depressed and exhausted state, and the circumstance of the precarious tenure of his faculties constantly pressed on his imagination. In one of his testamentary papers, dated the 9th of October 1818, he says—“I am at the present moment of perfectly sound mind and in the full possession of all my faculties: but I am labouring under a most severe affliction, and I cannot but recollect that insanity is amongst the evils which mental afflictions sometimes produce, without observing to myself that, that unhappy lot may possibly, at some time, be mine. If ever I should become insane (which God forbid), it is my earnest desire, that while I continue in that state, the following bounties may be paid out of my income during my life, and may be considered as a part of the expenditure, which I certainly should have made if I had continued capable of managing my own affairs.”

Shortly afterwards he appeared to fall into a state of comparative insensibility. The quick emotions of surprise and social enjoyment which had always characterized his disposition were no longer visible, but gave place to an apparent torpor and apathy. On the 29th of October his lady died. He was removed by his friends on the following day, and arrived in London on the 1st of November. The best medical aid was immediately procured, but on the morning of the 2d, in a fit of delirium, he terminated his own existence.

To speak lightly of “the heaviest of human afflictions is neither charitable nor wise. Few can attain this man's knowledge, and few practise his virtues; but all may suffer his calamity. Of the uncertainty of our present state, the most dreadful and alarming is the uncertain continuance of reason.”

In reviewing the character of this great and good man, it is obvious that the characteristic of his understanding was that rarest of all qualities, plain practical good sense. It is much more true than is generally imagined, that the highest exertions of the intellect depend in a considerable degree on the qualities of the heart. Without honesty of intention a man may be ingenious or subtle, but the indirectness of his views will warp and weaken the operations of his mind; and whilst he is anxious to disguise some part of his thoughts, the current of the rest is impeded, the will becomes embarrassed,

barrassed, and that vigorous power of the mind, which realizes its embryo schemes and converts thought into action, vacillates, and is reduced to uncertain sallies and discontinued efforts. It may, perhaps, be considered a happy provision of nature, that in most cases where malignity of purpose actuates the understanding, it corrodes it at the same time by the spirit of cunning, and dwarfs and cripples the mighty instrument by this mean auxiliary. In Sir Samuel Romilly there was no obliquity of understanding. The objects which he wished to attain, he was never ashamed to avow. He viewed them openly, and only considered the most direct means of attaining them. If his objects were really the most desirable, and the means which he employed the most effectual and adequate, he was, as far as human nature will allow, a truly wise man.

To those who are acquainted with the comprehensive views which he took into every subject on which he inquired, it would be deemed a matter of equal (if not greater) praise, that Sir Samuel Romilly attempted no more than he did attempt, as that he effected what he did. For one who has studied the nature of man and of society philosophically, and considered the purposes of government, it requires no ordinary discretion, when proceeding to action, to take into consideration the various circumstances in which society in this country at present exists, to perceive the utility of ancient institutions, though perverted in some of their bearings, or encumbered by the superstructure of time and corruption; it is the high praise of the subject of this memoir, that it was his object rather to engraft than to root up, and to consider to respect not only the reason of things but existing passions and prejudices. *Retinuit, quod est rarissimum in sapientia, modum.* Though his mind was imbued with philosophy of the noblest kind, he retained in a singular degree his native discretion.

His sense of religion did not consist in the supposition of the importance of particular dogmas of faith, but in a deep feeling of awe and gratitude to a superintending Providence, and in an intimate conviction of his heart and of his understanding, that he best exemplified his faith and his gratitude by following implicitly the sense of duty which was strongly impressed on his enlightened conscience, and by acts of beneficence to his fellow-creatures. Practical piety was in his mind strongly connected and almost identified with practical benevolence, and any professions of religion which terminate in barren speculation, or in mere personal raptures, he considered as strongly stamped with marks of spuriousness as any system of mere abstract and unsocial humanity. Religion in his view was the strong guardian and incentive to morality; it was something that ennobles the understanding and enlarges the heart,
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and communicates purity and activity and intensity to the social virtues.

That he was able to accomplish so much, both in his profession and as a public character, can be attributed only to the habit of sedulous and unremitting industry which he formed early in life, and in which he persevered as long as nature allowed. He was extremely temperate : though no one enjoyed more than he did the freedom of unrestrained conversation, and those charms of elegant society in which he occasionally indulged, yet he never made any sacrifice of duty, whether professional or parliamentary, to these delightful recreations. In his manners in public there was great self-possession and dignity, mixed perhaps with some appearance of reserve ; but in intimate society there never existed a man, the blandness of whose manners was more engaging, or the effusions of whose mind, in its careless moments, were more delightful for their gaiety, or more captivating from their unstudied elegance. In his wit there was something of that tacit contrast, and covert allusion, of which the archness is not, till the close, in any degree anticipated. It was often ironical ; but those who recollect him, either at the bar or in parliament, will remember that his irony was sometimes closed with more direct attacks on imposture or vice ; and that his pointed sarcasms, when he did indulge in them, were such as evinced that he did not indulge in them more frequently from any want of power, but because other methods suited better the courtesy and urbanity of his nature.

His attainments in general literature were considerable ; and the knowledge which he incidentally showed of the history and antiquities of the country in the discussion of constitutional questions, bespoke a mind richly and deeply stored, but entirely unostentatious of its treasures. In short, every feature of his mind bore the same impress of sincerity and simplicity ; and his life exemplified in an eminent degree, the honest motto* of that noble constitutional lawyer and wise statesman, Lord Somers.

A man who, born the youngest son of a tradesman, in an obscure part of Westminster, by his merits alone attained the eminence of representing that wealthy and populous city in parliament ; a lawyer, who, in a corrupt age, preserved his integrity unsullied, and relinquished the emoluments and rank of a splendid office which he actually enjoyed, as well as the prospect of preferment still more lucrative and dignified, rather than make any compromise of his political principles ; a statesman, who, when

* *Esse quam videri.*

in office under the crown, respected and asserted the rights of the people, and exerted the influence of his station to enact statutes of humanity and beneficence, and who even when out of office succeeded in some degree in mitigating the severity of the penal code, and was unwearied in urging further improvements;—such a man, beloved as he was by his friends, admired by his coadjutors, and respected by his adversaries, deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance. When the courtly sycophants and factious demagogues and cunning chicaners of the age shall have been alike forgotten, and all their intrigues and cabals and cobweb sophistries swept into oblivion, with the paltry occasions which excited them, the memory of Romilly will be revered, as a man whose spirit breathed in a pure air, and formed to itself higher and nobler aims; and future ages will cherish and bless the name of the upright advocate, the genuine patriot, the friend and the protector of his fellow-creatures.

ART. XIX.—*On the Education and Relief of the Female Poor, and on Ladies' Benevolent Societies for those Purposes.*

HOWEVER paradoxical, startling, and discouraging to the friends of the poorer classes the position may appear, yet we apprehend it is borne out by long and general experience, that the purest and most zealous benevolence, even when supplied with means commensurate with its wishes and views, only serves to strengthen and extend the evils and misery it endeavours to remove, unless it be under the guidance and control of a sound judgement and comprehensive views. No influence exerted by one class of the community over another, can be of a neutral character: it must either be productive of beneficial or mischievous consequences. The effects that have followed from the Poor Laws of England, afford a decisive and melancholy illustration and proof of the truth of these positions. That similar effects, though confined within a much narrower sphere, must flow from private charity and assistance to the poor, if it be afforded on the same erroneous principle as that which regulates the operation of the Poor Laws, requires no argument to prove. It is not, assuredly our wish or object, in the observations we are about to make, to damp the ardour of private benevolence; but merely, by pointing out the faults into which it is liable to fall, to guide it more steadily and certainly to the great object at which it aims.

In different parts of London and its immediate vicinity, as well as in some parts of the country, there are societies of ladies formed, whose object is to instruct and relieve the females of the poorer

classes. When we consider that in the early parts of their lives, at least, most of these females go into service, and reflect how very much the comfort and security of our domestic circles, and the first and most important rudiments of the moral dispositions and temper of our children, depend on the character of our female servants;—when we, moreover, look forward to the period, when these females will become wives and mothers, and consequently influence, in an essential degree, the character and happiness of their husbands and children, we shall be disposed to regard their education (taking the word in its most comprehensive signification) as a matter of very serious importance.

How then ought their education to be conducted, so as to render them good and faithful servants, industrious and frugal wives, and capable, by their precepts and knowledge, as well as disposed by their example, of bringing up their children in the paths of morality and religion? That they, as well as the male part of the lower orders, ought to be well educated, in so far as a good education consists in forming habits of industry, honesty, and conscientiousness, all must admit: but many, even of those who are liberal and enlightened in their views, contend that if education (in the popular and limited sense of the word) is given to the lower orders, it will render them unfit for, and dissatisfied with, the station in which providence has placed them; and in proof and defence of this melancholy and depressing opinion, they appeal to what they maintain is the fact; viz. that, since education has been bestowed on the lower orders, servants, and especially female servants, conduct themselves in their places, as if they regarded themselves above them, and qualified for a higher and more important line of life;—that they are not so conscientious in the performance of their duty as they formerly were, when they were not educated; that they are not steady and contented in service; that they have ceased to feel that almost affectionate interest in the welfare of their masters and mistresses; and that they are no longer grateful for any kindnesses shown them. In short, the opponents of the education of the lower orders maintain, that since it took place, the comforts of domestic life are much lessened by the deterioration in the character of the servants: this circumstance they allege proceeds from their education, and, in general, they trace its operation in producing this alleged evil effect, by stating that by such education they are raised above and rendered discontented with their peculiar and proper station and duties. This is a serious charge against the plan of educating the lower orders, and we have put it with as much strength as we could infuse into it, in order that we may not be accused of not meeting
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it in the "very front and panoply of its power." We shall now consider whether it is well or ill founded.

It may be remarked, as a preliminary observation, that no mistake is more common, in the physical, political, and moral world, than to regard two circumstances which begin to appear, and continue to exist, at the same time, as mutually cause and effect. There can be little doubt that servants at present do not display that attachment to their masters and mistresses, and their families, for which they were formerly distinguished; that they are less conscientious and zealous in the performance of what they engage, and are sensible they ought, to do; and, in short, that servants are not, in any respect, so good as they were formerly: there can be as little doubt that this change has taken place within the last 30 or 40 years; and that within the same period, education has been pretty generally extended to the lower orders. Having admitted these facts, and admitted also that they are contemporaneous or nearly so, we shall now proceed to inquire, whether other causes, and not education, have not produced this undoubted change in the character and conduct of servants: whether, reasoning from fact and analogy, we can come to the conclusion, that education can produce such a change; and, lastly, whether, in reality, the nature and extent of the change, actually produced by other causes, has not been modified and limited by education; and whether, if these causes had not been counteracted by education, the character and conduct of servants would not have been much worse than it is. In the course of these observations and arguments, we shall have opportunity and occasion of pointing out the imperfections and abuses of the plans which are very generally pursued by the ladies' benevolent societies in the management of the schools for the lower order of females. There are causes, not difficult to trace, nor obscure or limited in their operation, to which an enlightened and liberal view of the question will ascribe the deterioration in the character and conduct of servants, rather than to their education. The natural progress of society in civilization and wealth, which in this country has been extremely rapid within the last 30 years, will, in some degree, account for the change: it has changed the feelings of the master and mistress of a family towards their servants, as well as of the servants towards them. While society was comparatively rude and uncomplicated, masters and servants bore to one another something like the relation of fathers and children; the latter, ignorant and helpless, looked up to the former as their guides and protectors; but as society advanced, and its ramifications and employments became more complicated, this relationship became weakened, and at last very generally dissolved. That this is a real representation of the fact is evident from the consideration, that in

those parts of the kingdom where society still retains the comparatively simple and primitive form it universally possessed 30 years ago, and where civilization and wealth have as yet made comparatively little progress, masters and servants are mutually to each other what they were used to be every where formerly. The change therefore is not alone in servants; it extends also to masters and mistresses: but while, in the latter, it exhibits itself only in the absence of that almost parental feeling with which servants were formerly regarded and treated by them; because an enlightened view of their own real interest, as well as a sense of duty, induces them to discharge their part of the legal and moral contract into which, as masters, they enter with their servants;—the servants, not having the void, occasioned by the destruction of the affection and attachment they formerly felt towards their masters and mistresses, filled up by an enlightened and practical conviction that their interest and their duty are inseparably connected, do not in general meet the good conduct of their employers with corresponding good conduct. At the same time, it must be admitted, that the deterioration in the character of servants is in too many instances occasioned by a similar deterioration in the conduct of masters and mistresses towards them; and it is rather to be lamented than wondered at, that persons ignorant and dependent as servants are, should become suspicious and distrustful, and retaliate, though to their own loss, on all who employ them, that ill conduct which they may have witnessed and suffered from in a few.

But there are other causes, beside those which it appears to us are inseparable from an increase of wealth and a complicated and refined state of society, that have co-operated in rendering servants worse than they were; and these causes, also, are entirely distinct from the education of the lower classes. We shall confine ourselves to the consideration of two of the most powerful and diffused: the Poor Laws; and the extreme fluctuations in the wages of the labouring classes, which have taken place within the last 30 years.

It is unnecessary to insist, at any great length, on the melancholy effects on the character and condition of the poor which have been produced, and are still producing, by the poor laws. These laws, however wise and necessary they may have been when first passed, have, partly from a change in the state of society, and partly from their abuse and application to objects and cases not contemplated by their original framers, done more to degrade and impoverish the lower orders in England, than any combination of circumstances could have done, had it been expressly formed for this purpose. The poor now, instead of considering it as their duty, and their pride, to support themselves and their families by their

their own industry, not unfrequently fold their arms in supine and obstinate idleness, and depend altogether, or in a great measure, on the poor rates for the means of their subsistence: instead of regarding parish support as their last refuge, to which it required a reluctant and painful struggle with their sense of independence to have recourse, they claim it as their right, not merely when their earnings fall off, but as a substitute for those earnings: instead of considering themselves as the proper and natural support of their aged parents, they permit them to be taken from them, and immured in a work-house. It is impossible to contemplate this sad and melancholy change; this substitution of idleness and dependence for industry and independence, of mean and revolting slavishness, or, what is infinitely worse, of impudent and unblushing demand of the earnings of the industry of others; instead of a proper and elevating pride, and the feeling that they are sufficient for their own support, and would not exchange this sufficiency on any consideration: it is impossible to contemplate this change in the character and conduct of the poor, without being sensible that the children of such parents must partake of, and be infected with, a similar character and conduct. They witness, at home, the want of care, foresight, and industry; and yet the natural and salutary consequences of these faults are not felt, because the poor rates support their parents; they witness these things; and they moreover learn, as soon as they can understand the meaning of the terms, that their parents consider themselves as having a right to support from the parish, not merely when they are unable from sickness to work; not merely when, though able and willing, they cannot obtain work; but even at the very time when nothing stands between them and full, regular, and well paid employment, except their own idleness.

What must be the consequences on the sentiments, the feelings, the wishes, the expectations, and the habits of the children of parents who give themselves up to the demoralizing and degrading effects of the poor laws? Can we wonder if the children of such parents are idle and trustless servants; and, when they become mothers, set to their own children the same example which was exhibited to them by their parents? All admit that on the parents the poor laws have produced, and are producing, the most melancholy and mischievous effects: all allow that this change has been most deep and extensive within the last 30 years: is it therefore necessary, or liberal, or philosophical, to have recourse to any other fact, in order to account for the deterioration in the character and conduct of servants, which has become so apparent within the same period, or to ascribe that deterioration to education, when a more obvious, undisputed, and powerful cause exists, in the example set to the children of the poor by their parents,—an example

example which we have endeavoured to trace to the poor laws, and an example which none can deny to exist, and which all, we apprehend, will trace to the same cause?

Along with the poor laws, there has been operating towards the same evil, during nearly the same period, another powerful cause of thoughtlessness, idleness, and prodigality among the labouring classes. We allude to the extreme fluctuations of wages that have occurred within the last 30 years. At first sight, it is not easy to account for the rapidly accelerated and very extensive and deep-seated evils, which the poor laws have produced within this period, while they seem to have been comparatively harmless prior to that period. That the poor laws, founded as they are on an acknowledged claim of the poor to assistance and support, without a very minute and scrupulous investigation into the willingness of the claimants to procure work, or their ability to perform and obtain it, have a natural and obvious tendency to eradicate feelings of proper independence and pride, and habits of prudence, industry, and saving foresight, cannot be doubted; but this tendency would be checked and counteracted, so long as it was not strengthened by other causes, by that desire of having something one can call one's own, acquired by one's own labour, which seems natural to mankind, aided by good precepts and example. It seems to us that the bulwark which opposed the full and natural operation of the poor laws in degrading the character, was first broken down, or at least much shaken and weakened, by the extreme changes in the wages of labour, and in the price of provisions, which took place soon after the commencement of the first French revolutionary war. At the commencement of that war, the manufactures of the country were depressed, and wages of course: this depression naturally extended its effects to other kinds of labour. Scarcely had a re-action taken place, when the bad crops, and the high prices of 1795-6 occurred; and bad crops and high prices to a still greater extent in 1799-1800. In consequence of the distress of the poor at these periods, many were obliged to have recourse to the poor rates, who never had been driven to such straits before; they reluctantly adopted a measure which they regarded as a degradation; but that feeling having been overcome, the natural consequence ensued;—their reluctance was overcome; they could not be more degraded than they were: they had tasted the sweets of idleness; and they now sought as a right, and a substitute for industry, what they before strove by every effort in their power to avoid.

The extreme fluctuations in the wages of labour which occurred about this period, and which indeed continued in the manufacturing districts during the whole of the war, had a similar

lar effect in sapping the industry and degrading the moral character of the labouring classes. It requires great strength of character, confirmed habits of self-denial, and the absolute predominance of a regard for what is future and permanent, over what is present and temporary, to resist the temptation, when wages are very high, of living up to the full amount of them; no blessing, therefore, can befall the lower classes, who are not gifted with these qualifications, so desirable and valuable as steady and regular employment and wages: and few things can be a greater curse to them than obtaining at one period high wages, and full employment, and being at other times destitute of employment, or obliged to work at very low wages. They almost always live up to the very highest wages they obtain; and of course, when they are idle, or working for low wages, they feel themselves accustomed to those things which they cannot procure; or are absolutely without the means of support. In other cases, when wages are extremely high, they work hard for a few days in the week, and spend the remainder of it in idleness and debauchery; and are thus rendering themselves still less able to meet and endure want of employment, or low wages.

Such appear to us to be the chief causes, to which ought to be attributed the deterioration in the character and conduct of servants, of which the complaints are so general. These causes undoubtedly exist: they are such as would naturally produce such an effect, and they are fully adequate to produce it. It is, therefore, unphilosophical to seek for any other cause, and especially if the other cause assigned can be proved to exist without giving rise to such an effect, and, moreover, can be shown, from its very nature, to have a tendency directly contrary to that ascribed to it.

We are now, therefore, to inquire whether education can be justly stigmatized as having a principal, or indeed any influence in producing this deterioration in the character and conduct of servants.

We meet this charge against education by a direct appeal to experience: an experience not of a day, but of a century at least; not confined within narrow limits, or under peculiar and favourable circumstances, but extending over a whole kingdom, and consequently exhibited under all possible circumstances. We appeal to Scotland: in this kingdom, all are educated, and have been educated for at least a century: all have the means of obtaining, and actually do obtain, that education which is reprobated as so prejudicial to the labouring classes in England; and that education in Scotland has rendered the servants bad and unfit, or unwilling to discharge their duty, no person who knows any thing of Scotland will affirm.

In order to weaken the application and testimony of this fact, it may be urged, that other causes peculiar to Scotland render the
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servants there good, and not the general difference of education among them. But it should be recollected that the position in dispute is, not, whether education makes good servants, but whether it *does not make bad ones*. Whether it has a tendency to make better servants will be afterwards considered; at present it is sufficient to appeal to Scotland, in order to prove that it does not render servants bad. And this example is decisive of the question, unless it can be shown that there are causes and circumstances peculiar to Scotland, which are of such a nature as to counteract the bad effects which education is said to have a natural tendency to produce, and would otherwise produce, in the character and conduct of servants. And this, we may confidently assert, cannot be shown. We therefore maintain, and rest our position on the broad basis of extensive and long-tried experience, not merely that education has no tendency to deteriorate servants, but that, by it, (comprehending under the term, all the means and circumstances that form the temper, and intellectual and moral character,) servants must be rendered better than they would be without it.

Still it may be urged, that the comparatively simple state of society, and absence of high civilization and wealth, by which Scotland is distinguished, are the main causes why servants are not deteriorated there, as in England; and this argument will be grounded on what we have ourselves urged, that one cause of their deterioration undoubtedly must be sought in the circumstances here assigned. But this position also confounds the point in dispute, which is not, whether education does good, but whether it does not produce mischief. Servants are comparatively good in the more remote parts of England, where society is simpler, and luxury and wealth not far advanced; and where also they are not in general educated; but they are also good in Scotland, where society, luxury, and wealth are nearly in the same state as in those remote parts of England, but where servants are uniformly educated. Servants are bad in the great towns of England, where society is very complicated, where there is much luxury and vice among all classes, and where also education is pretty general among those who are destined for service. In the large towns of Scotland, especially in the capital and manufacturing towns, where society, luxury, and vice are nearly similar to what they are in the large towns of England, but where the education of the lower orders is more general than it is in these towns, servants are not so good as in the country districts of Scotland, but, on the other hand, not nearly so bad as in the large towns of England. Such are the facts; what are the legitimate and obvious inferences? Certainly, not that education ought to be charged with making bad servants, but rather that its tendency, judging from the test of experience, is to render them better

better than they otherwise would be under the influence of circumstances unfavourable to their character.

But how is it possible that education should render any class of society worse than they would be without it? We have already stated, that the mere co-existence of a deterioration in the character of servants, and their more general education, is no proof, nor even presumption, that the latter is the cause of the former; we have also endeavoured to trace this deterioration to causes totally unconnected with, and independent of, education; and we have moreover appealed to Scotland as a proof that well-educated servants are not bad servants. We shall now examine the nature of education, and analyse the mode of its operation on the mind and character, in order to ascertain whether we can detect in it any inherent or adventitious principle, or source, of evil.

We will admit at once, that we can conceive a mode of education which must necessarily produce the very worst effects on the character and conduct of whoever is the subject of it, to whatever rank of society he may belong; and we are sorry to add, that, if the accounts of the mode in which education is conducted in many parts of Ireland are correct, there it must do lasting and dreadful mischief. We are told, on authority which we cannot doubt, that in many of the lower schools, and especially in what are called the hedge-schools, the only books put into the hands of children, as soon as they can read and understand them, are the lives of pickpockets, highwaymen and other profligate characters. Such an education may justly be reprobated as the most dreadful calamity with which mankind can be cursed, since it opens another inlet to vice, in addition to the already too general and powerful ones of oral precept and practical example. But this is an extreme case, and cannot fairly be cited as a warning against education. It is true, indeed, that, by teaching people to read, we enable them to read bad books as well as good ones; but why we should suppose that the lower orders alone will select bad books in preference to good ones, and thus convert their knowledge to their own bane, when this has not occurred with any of the classes above them, it is not easy to imagine.

We maintain, then, that the different branches of education generally taught the lower orders cannot render them bad servants, but, on the contrary, must render them more valuable and faithful servants; and that the discipline which their minds necessarily undergo, while they are instructed in these branches, must have a similar beneficial effect on their character and conduct as servants.

The ability to read keeps them from much mischief, and admits them to much good: it keeps them from mischief, by enabling them to employ those hours which would be spent in idleness, or in
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worse than idleness, in gaining instruction. This ability, as well as the ability to write, and work the simple rules of arithmetic, must render them of more value to their masters and mistresses than if they were destitute of such knowledge; while the discipline which their mind must necessarily undergo, while attaining these branches of instruction, is undoubtedly favourable to the growth of habits of application, steadiness, and to the predominance of a regard to the future over the mere present. In what respect, therefore, can education, or, in other words, raising the human mind, and giving it more extended and exalted, as well more just views of its own capacity and duties, be injurious? All the other classes of society have been benefited by it; is it to prove a curse only to the lower classes? It is and has been long a blessing in Scotland; is there any thing peculiar to England, by which it is here converted into a poison?

The only objection which we ever heard urged in a plain and tangible shape (for in general the opponents of the education of the lower classes confine themselves to general and vague assertion) is, that by being educated, the lower orders regard themselves as above their proper station, and the duties which servants are called upon to discharge.

This objection, so far as it is grounded on fact, may be divided into two parts, which, in the general way of stating it, are confounded, but each of which it will be necessary to consider separately. Where the lower classes are partially educated, and have only lately become so, those who are educated may regard themselves on that account as elevated above such as are not; and may be unwilling to engage in service, or, when they do engage in it, may not, from their fancied superiority, discharge their duty so well as they ought to do. But it is evident that this evil will soon work its own cure; and that it can no longer exist when all the lower classes are equally well educated. The example of Scotland may be here again appealed to: education in that country being diffused among all, none feel elevated above their proper and peculiar ranks and duties, because they possess it. But the evil will wear out, even before education is universal among the working classes: if masters and mistresses find that an educated servant is not so good as an uneducated one, they will prefer the latter, and a regard to their own interest will soon strip those, who are above their work because they are educated, of their absurd notions, and compel them, in order to gain a livelihood, to do all that the uneducated will do. It is absurd to maintain, that if servants are educated they will not work; if the alternative is, *work or starve*, it will soon put to flight all conceit of their own superiority. The second part of the objection relates to the kind and degree of education: many females, it is said, having received

received an education above their rank and just expectation, such as fits them for ladies' companions, or governesses, will not condescend to accept any inferior situation. But this evil may either be prevented, or it will cure itself; it may be prevented by adapting the mode and degree of education more exactly to the circumstances of those educated; and this topic will be afterwards considered; and it will cure itself by a very simple and natural process. If there is a demand for all the females who are educated in a manner fitting them to be ladies' companions, or governesses, no harm is done by so educating them. If there is not a demand, they must either accept inferior situations, or suffer for their refusal; or, as the supply always in course of time adapts itself to the demand, fewer will receive this kind of education.

We have thus considered the objections which are usually urged against educating the lower classes; and endeavoured to prove, that, if servants are not so good as they formerly were, the fault cannot be laid on their being educated. Indeed, to charge education, or, in other words, the expansion of the mind, and the habits which must be acquired during and by that expansion, with producing evil, seems to be nearly the same as to call light darkness. What part, or branch of education is it, that is thus converted into poison when received by the lower orders, while it nourishes and blesses all other ranks and conditions of the human race? Is it the ability to read? To this it will probably be replied, that if they are taught to read, they are rendered capable of reading bad books: as well might it be urged, that because the eyesight discovers wicked actions, the sense of hearing lets in wicked counsel, men would have been better and happier, had they been born blind and deaf. Is it the ability to write? They may turn this ability to a bad purpose; but why is the pitiful, absurd and illiberal argument against the use of a thing from its abuse, to be brought forward, when the education of the poor is the topic, whereas it would be treated with contempt on every other question? But to confine the term education, when applied to the poor exclusively, to the ability to read, write, and perform the simple rules of arithmetic, is not doing justice to the advocates for their education; they mean by education, not merely nor chiefly these things, but instruction in their moral and religious duties; and they wish themselves to be taught to read, because they will thus learn from books, as well as from oral precept and example, in what their duty and real happiness consist.

But we will go much further, and contend that education in this enlarged and higher sense of the term, is absolutely necessary for the lower classes in the present state of society, on many accounts.

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It is necessary, in order that they may preserve their relative rank, and hold, among the other classes : in fact, when all other classes have advanced in knowledge, it is impossible that the lower classes should long remain as ignorant and uneducated as they used to be.

It is necessary for them, because the ties which connect them with their masters and mistresses are no longer what they were in a ruder and simpler state of society. Formerly they depended on them, and looked up to them almost like children : now they must depend chiefly on themselves.

It is necessary, because there are more temptations in their way ; more vice in the world ; and is there any safer barrier against vice and temptation than a well informed mind ? It would be as unwise, cruel, and mischievous in a parent, not to substitute for the ignorant innocence of his child, as he grew up, the knowledge, feelings, principles and habits of virtue, as it would be to permit the lower classes to mix in the temptations and vices of the present state of society, with the ignorance and total absence of education, by which they were formerly characterized.

After all, much, by far the greater portion, of the benefits of education depends on the mode in which it is conducted, and the objects which it has in view and in reality attains. Education in its limited sense, such as we have described it in some parts of Ireland, is not a blessing, but a curse ; and we can easily conceive different modes of education, some of which will confer more mischief than good, others nearly an equal portion of each ; and others again, pure and unmixed benefit.

It is foreign to our present design, and it would carry us far beyond the limits of our present essay, to point out all that ought to be avoided, and all that ought to be sought after, in training up the lower classes. We shall confine ourselves, at present, to some imperfections and abuses, which we fear are too prevalent in female schools, supported and managed by ladies' benevolent societies.

In the first place, the parents of the children have too much power over them during the school hours : it ought to be an indispensable condition of receiving the children into the schools, that, except on unforeseen or extraordinary occasions, they were never to absent themselves without the permission of the mistress. This, however, is so far from being the case, that the parents from caprice, foolish and hurtful fondness for their children, or other motives equally culpable, often will not permit them to go to school. Perhaps it will not be easy to do away with this improper interference of the parents, while so many of them consider the sending of their children to school, as a favour conferred, rather than received ;

ceived : that this is the feeling and opinion with too many of the parents of poor children, must be known to all who have interested themselves in such schools. It would, however, perhaps be better to educate fewer children, and only those whose parents were fully sensible of the advantages of education, and grateful for it, than to admit a larger number, and thus run the risk of weakening the discipline of the school.

In the second place, it ought to be a regular and indispensable rule of the school, that the females should be early and well taught to make and mend their own clothes : they should be obliged to come to school clean and neat ; and, next to taking a pride in being so, they should be taught to take a pride *in being so by their own labour*. We know it is usual to teach the girls to sew, and to give them linen to make up ; but to us it appears that their first and principal object should be to make and mend their own clothes : the funds of the society might suffer by substituting this work instead of taking in shirts, &c. to make ; but this ought to be an inferior consideration ; and if their time is properly regulated and occupied, they might, after first attending to their own clothes, perform work of the other description. It is unnecessary to point out the advantages which those who know how to make and mend their own clothes must possess over those who cannot, when they go into service, and, still more so, when they become wives and mothers. There is also an indirect advantage of no small moment, to which we have already alluded : the very idea, that they are working for themselves, and the consciousness that the neat and well made dress which they wear, was all the work of their own hands, will give them a fondness for work, which cannot otherwise so easily be acquired ; and one of the most important and valuable secrets in education consists in making, what is, at first and in itself, irksome or difficult, a source of pride and pleasure*.

* It has been suggested by a lady, who has bestowed much thought on this particular subject, that the necessity, propriety and advantage of teaching young females to make and mend their own clothes at school should have been enforced in a more minute and particular manner: she says, that they ought to be taught to make shirts, shifts, petticoats, and every other kind of needle-work, in the plain way a family requires ; and that during the last year they are at school, they ought to be taught to put together the different pieces of work, and to cut out shirts, &c. Neat mending, and darning of stockings she regards as of great consequence, not merely to the appearance, but to the well wearing of clothes: much attention ought therefore to be paid to these things. As servants, wives, and mothers, they will, if thus instructed and accustomed, be much more valuable and useful than they otherwise could be. They ought also, she adds, to be initiated, as early as possible, in such of those offices and duties as are required of a servant, that can be performed in a school: with this view, she would have them taught and accustomed, during the last year they are at school, to scrub the school-room, dust it, make the fires, &c.

Lastly,

Lastly, more attention ought to be paid than usually is in schools, to the moral education of the scholars. We are well aware, that, from the books which are put into their hands, as well as from the advice and precepts of their mistress, they are taught to avoid what is evil, and to practise what is good: we are also aware that the vices of lying, dishonesty, unjust or cruel conduct to their school-fellows, are not only discountenanced, but punished. But something more positive ought not only to be taught, but encouraged in such a manner as gradually to strengthen into good habits. A school is a society, a little world; and the dispositions and modes of behaviour, which will render them most acceptable and useful, when they enter into the greater world, ought to be fostered in a school. Good temper, an accommodating and obliging disposition, the sacrifice of individual wishes to the general good, or of a present desirable object to a future permanent advantage, might be not only inculcated in the books they read, and by their mistress; but, by watching proper occasions, she might cultivate among her pupils the actual practice of those useful and valuable principles.

But the most diligent and judicious management of a school for the poorer classes, will be of comparatively little benefit to them, if what they read, and hear, and see, and practise there, is counteracted by what they hear and witness at home. And wherever the ladies' benevolent societies, which support and manage female schools, also extend their support to the parents, they ought to be extremely careful, lest, by granting that support to improper objects, or injudiciously, they should be unintentionally contributing to weaken or pull down the edifice they are anxious to raise on a firm and solid foundation.

All the various modes of assisting poor families, are, in fact, comprehended in that relief which is given by the money, and that relief which is given by the time, of the benevolent; and it may well be doubted which mode of relief is more injudicious and hurtful, if it be given to improper objects, and without due inquiry and discrimination. If relief in money, or what money will purchase, is improperly given, habits of thoughtlessness and extravagance are encouraged: if relief in time is given, where there ought to be a sufficiency of time, habits of idleness and all its consequent vices and misery are generated.

The Ladies' Benevolent Societies to which allusion has been more particularly made, comprehend a working society for the poor: the plan and object of this society is, to purchase materials fit and necessary for the clothes of the children of the poor: these materials are made up by the ladies, and when made, are in general sold to the poor for the cost of the materials, and in some instances

instances for less, or they are given gratuitously. Now, as we have reduced all the various modes of relieving the poor into two, — relief by money and relief by time; the proper objects of such relief are evidently those who, though industrious, cannot gain sufficient to support and clothe their children properly, or, gaining money sufficient, are not able, from the number and helplessness of their children, from their own feeble health, or from other causes equally strong, of making the clothes necessary for their children.

Inquiry therefore should first be made, whether the mothers proposed to be relieved are proper objects of either kind of relief; and then, which kind of relief they require. Those who are disposed and able to relieve the poor have a right, and it is their undoubted duty, to ask explicitly the amount of the earnings of the father of the family, and of the mother, and any of the children, if they earn any thing: having learnt this (and by comparing the accounts given them by the father or mother themselves, with the usual wages given to persons who are engaged in similar work; they may come very near the truth), they then are in a capacity to determine whether such a family deserves, or requires, pecuniary relief. If they are satisfied that they do require it, but that the mother, with her daughters who are of an age equal to assist her, has, or ought to have, sufficient time to make the necessary clothes, the relief ought to be afforded in the free gift of the materials proper for clothing, or in the sale of them at a low price, according to circumstances, and not in the gift or sale of the clothes ready made. Thus the relief will be of that nature which is absolutely required, and the granting of which, therefore, cannot be injurious, but in every point of view must prove a real blessing.

Where relief in time, that is, clothes ready made, is requested, or is proposed to be given, inquiries and investigations should previously be made with equal care and strictness. It is not difficult for ladies, from their own experience and observation, to determine how much a mother of a family, in the line of life to which they mean to give relief, is able to do in making and mending her children's clothes, after she has attended to her husband's meals and clothes, to the neatness, order, and cleanliness of her house, and to other necessary occupations. If it is ascertained that the mother ought to have sufficient leisure, no relief in time ought to be granted; and we believe that the family must be very numerous, and most of them young and helpless, for whom a mother, who is industrious and methodical, may not find time to make and mend all the necessary and fit clothing. Relief of the description we are now considering, is too often given to mothers, who, by means of it, are enabled to spend a great part of the day in idle gossip, and, what is worse, who suffer their daughters, though of an age when they

they ought to be able to assist them in making and mending, to run about exposed to every kind of temptation. Wherever, therefore, it was found that the labour of the mother, or of the mother and her grown-up daughter or daughters, would, if properly exerted, be sufficient to make and mend the clothes of the family, no relief in clothing ought to be given; and it ought to be immediately withdrawn from all mothers who were known to spend their own time in idleness, or to permit their daughters, even when very young and capable of any work, to be idle.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the mischief which arises from an idle, gossiping mother of a poor family, even where the benevolence and labour of others may keep her children clothed, who otherwise would be in rags. If she is inattentive to her children, she cannot be anxious about her husband's comfort and convenience: her house cannot exhibit that neatness, cleanliness, and order, the absence of which too frequently drives the husband from his own fire-side to the public house. This is one evil, and the fruitful source of many others: but the mischievous consequences to the children from an idle mother are still more dreadful. It is in vain that they are sent to a good school by the benevolence of the ladies, if the ladies by their injudicious charity encourage the idleness of the mothers, and, while they encourage it, prevent them, by the assistance they afford them, from feeling the bad effects of idleness. The children are taught, at school, that they ought to be industrious, and sacredly careful of their time; and that want and misery are the necessary and unavoidable consequences of idleness. They return home from school, and they see a practical refutation of the doctrines they have been taught; their mothers spend the greater part of the day in idle gossip; at first they very naturally expect to see the punishment follow, which they have been told is attached to idleness, in the want of sufficient food or clothing. How then must they be surprised, how completely must their moral opinions be destroyed, when they perceive that their mothers, though idle, so far from suffering for their idleness, are enabled, by the benevolence and industry of others, to keep their families as well clothed as those mothers who are most frugal and industrious, and probably better! What is this but telling them, in the most plain and forcible manner, that is, by what they see, that though, in the school, their books and mistress may teach that idleness leads to want and misery; yet in real life, in the life they are destined to lead, they may be idle, and neither be in want nor misery. Unless, therefore, the Ladies' Benevolent Societies are very select and judicious in the choice of those they relieve, either by money or time, they may be assured that they are counteracting, by their misplaced and undeserved charity,

charity to the mother, all the benefits which education can bestow on the children.

When it has been urged that relief ought not to be granted to idle mothers, the usual reply is, "If we do not clothe their children, they will go in rags." This might be a valid defence of relief to such mothers, if there were none other to relieve; but surely the funds of benevolent societies are not so ample, but they might be exhausted if confined solely to the relief of those mothers who, after all their industry, cannot keep their children properly clothed. We do not contend that no relief should be given, but that it ought to be confined to those who deserve it, and not, from the want of due inquiry and discrimination, thrown away on those who do not deserve or require it: if it is thus thrown away, it must be to the exclusion of some who are proper objects, and it must encourage idleness, as well as counteract all the good effects of education.

It is a salutary and benevolent provision of nature, that what is wrong should be productive of what is hurtful or painful, and that the wrong should thus cure itself; and all plans for relieving and assisting the poor are founded on a weak basis, and must fail to accomplish their object, which endeavour to counteract this provision of nature, by averting the evil of wrong conduct, and giving it the consequences and rewards of that conduct which is good. It is true that, by clothing the children of idle mothers, the former are rendered more comfortable than they otherwise would be, and so far are benefited; but it is equally true, though not equally obvious, that this benefit is infinitely outweighed by the encouragement which is thus given to idleness, and by the example and temptation to be idle, which is given to the children, not merely by their mothers, but also by those ladies who assist them. The question is, Whether, in an enlarged and really benevolent point of view, it would not be much better to leave the children of such mothers in rags, and thus to witness and feel the bad effects of idleness, than to clothe them and thus teach them that they may be idle and not suffer for it? When to this view of the question it is added, that really deserving objects are numerous, and must suffer where the undeserving are relieved, and they are passed over; and that even if they and the undeserving are equally relieved, the former are thus exposed to the temptation of questioning the real virtue and merit of their industry; surely the Ladies' Benevolent Societies must deem it their indispensable duty to be very circumspect and judicious in the selection of the objects of their relief, that thus what they do to the mothers of the poor may co-operate with, and not counteract, what they do for the children in their education.

ART. XX.—*The Greeks and Sir W. Gell's Tour.*

THERE is a spell in the name of Greece, the fascinations of which are scarcely resistible. Her eventful story winds through our youthful associations, and keeps a firm hold upon our maturer affections. She exhibits to our recollections the swelling glories of liberty and eloquence, with the consummations of poetry and sculpture; and to our fond imaginations a climate of balmy airs and eternal springs; scenes of Arcadian hills and Tempè vales, and forms and features of enchanting and incomparable beauty. Her mythologies are consecrated for ever; her graver philosophies still unsurpassed; her history unsurpassed in interest, and her language unsurpassable in expression and refinement. Her claims upon our veneration seem inexhaustible. So long as that land of glory is peopled, and that language of elegance and ease and perfection traceable; we shall instinctively extend our feelings of admiration along the line of succession, and deem the qualities which gave them birth, inseparable from the soil. If sad and sober experience prove *these* qualities to be no longer in active operation, they must still exist potentially; they are dormant only; they wait only for excitements to reproduce the same marvellous effects. These are, too surely, but the dreams and reveries of confiding fancy. Without questioning the powerful influence of physical qualities, we may safely place it in a very subordinate rank to that of moral causes; and *these* have undergone a woeful change. The Greeks have paced through the, perhaps, inevitable circle of nations—independence, prosperity, profligacy, and subjugation. They have sunk beneath the weight of oppression to the lowest depths of scorn and contempt; but are now, in all appearance, upon the eve of retracing, with new splendour, that fated and inexplicable circle. In the mysterious course of events, they have recovered some portion of their elasticity. The incumbent pressure is shaken off, and their energies break again into action. The green waters of sloth still mantle their oppressors, while the agitated waves of Greece are resuming their flow.

As the successors, if not the descendants, of an illustrious race, as the anticipated revivers of a cherished celebrity, the Greeks have engaged, in this country, the warm sympathy of the lovers of literature and cultivated taste; of these, many have stepped forth with pure and honourable feelings to advocate their cause; and have vigorously, though we presume not wisely, sounded the trumpet of war, and summoned their countrymen to arms, on grounds which, if not unintelligible to the mass of the nation, are at least little calculated to ensure the concurrence of the men of business and precedent
who

who rule it. To them the project seems all vision and rapture—an idle speculation, engendered by the study of books and an ignorance of life.

But there is another class of persons, whom we would, if the phrase could be inoffensively uttered, term zealots for liberty, who take up the cause of Greece. These, with less concern for the past, but more knowledge of the present, and more familiar with the principles which govern the minds and measures of public men, are not a whit more prudent or practical than their learned and monastic coadjutors, whilst their motives may be thought less unquestionable, and less unmingled with baser matter. Intemperate and precipitate, there is among them a restless impatience to frame and fashion the whole world according to their one ideal pattern, without regard to the eternal distinctions of habit, country, and climate—an eagerness to communicate their speculations and impose their universal projects, without considering sufficiently whether the nations they desire to bless and benefit, are either capable or susceptible of embracing their favours.

With both these classes, however, we have no inconsiderable sympathy. With them, we cannot but regard with interest a contest, where the oppressor and oppressed are engaged in decisive conflict. There have already occurred dreadful scenes of exasperations and retaliations. Begun in usurpation and invasion, the power of the Turks has been exercised with a fierce and cruel fanaticism; there may have been repeated provocations, but they must allow themselves to have been the first assailants. Resistance is natural; and violence is apt to burn the more fiercely, the longer its explosion has been repressed. The recollections, too, of ancient independence—of former glory—could not be wholly smothered. The Greeks may confound and perplex their classic and brilliant story, but, amid all their blunders, the solid and ennobling facts remain indisputable; and even if in their imaginations those facts be exaggerated, the stimulus is still but the more exciting. It is idle to say, the present race are no descendants of the heroes of her purer ages. We know nothing of the fact; the probability is strong, that there are numerous living descendants; but, at all events, they are the inheritors of the soil and scene; and on these, the inspiring associations are indelibly impressed. It would be difficult not to identify. Their pedigree is indeed no longer traceable; but few, in our own country, are able to pursue their origin clearly to the Normans, still fewer to the Saxons, and none to the Britons; and yet who can doubt that there exist many so descended? We as much consider ourselves their posterity, as if we possessed a series of registrations to attest the parentage: we have not so much to

be proud of, to be sure, but the facts are precisely of the same class.

We regard this struggle of the Greeks, we repeat, with the deepest interest, but still as individuals only, attentive to the course of events, in whatever quarter of the world they spring, to mark the results and gather experience from them; but as a question of national action and public measures, we are not at all disposed to do so. Because, in the first place, we are adverse to all war; and this is enough to satisfy ourselves; nor could we even remonstrate with any weight, without the implied alternative of war: in the next, we earnestly deprecate all interference with the affairs of other nations; we like consistency also in these matters, and will not, while we justly reprobate the French projected invasion of Spain, encourage an attack upon Turkey; we are, besides, far too remote from the scene for effective interference, and too much disabled to enforce our representations: the peril again would be extreme, of once more setting the four corners of Europe on fire: and finally, if we were to transmit an armed force, we must take the lead and management of the war; once masters, we might be tempted to keep so; and this lead and management would be the surest way to check and intercept the growing energies of the Greeks. If those energies have been the natural growth of events and circumstances, they will mature and ripen without the aid of foreign assistance: unaided, the Greeks will, by the very inactivity and confidence of their tyrants, the sooner consolidate their strength, and bring their yet unharmonized elements into useful and potent amalgamation. The imperative want of the people is *leaders*; and these the exigency of the times (if the harvest be ready for the sickle) will assuredly raise; but if a foreign nation supply them, the necessity will cease, the land will never produce them, and will become and continue the subject and slave of the assistants. In our view, the Greeks had better remain in the hands of the Turks than fall into those of the Russians; had better be trampled under the foot of a sinking than of a rising power. Every day augments the chances of emancipation from the Turk; but if once subjugated, by fraud or force, to the Muscovite, or even the Briton, they fall to rise no more.

It is a favourite object with the friends of the Greeks, since the Government is immovable on the matter of public assistance, to promote a private subscription for the purchase of arms. To this plan we are equally adverse, for some of the reasons already assigned for not plunging into war. This is still interference with a foreign power. It is stirring up rebellion, and of bad augury and unsafe policy. It may recoil upon our own heads. It is committing the nation; and will imply a connivance of the Government. Let the Greeks,
or

or any other oppressed nation, rebel, if it seem good to them; they will not, uninstigated, rebel without cause; but that is a matter, we think, to be decided between them and their rulers. On the other hand, we are warm friends and advocates of the subscription instituted by the Quakers for the relief of the miserable refugees. Distress is of no country—of no religion; the miserable man is a cosmopolite—a freemason—entitled and qualified to receive relief on whatever spot of the universal globe he may drop. The massacre of Scio was horrible, and our indignation rises irrepressibly against the policy that could authorize and execute so cruel a measure; but we are neither the natural nor appointed judges, nor armed with authority, from above or below, for judicial vengeance. The pitiable relics of that enormous act of butchery, we are eager to succour; and in the same way, had any of the wretched garrison of Tripolizza escaped to our shores, or had been accessible to assistance, we should have deemed it equally a duty of philanthropy to alleviate their misery, though *their* destruction, we considered, an act of retaliation, and as such, to a certain degree, extenuating the atrocity of the deed, and, if the *merits of sufferers* are to be scrutinized, abridging their claims upon our compassion. It is the call of humanity, come from what quarter it may, which we would have obeyed. We like not, in these matters, the distinction of Christian and Mahometan. We like not the talk of arming Christianity against Heathenism. This is a war of religion, and is, in our opinion, more detestable, more inhuman, more unchristian, if that be possible, than a war for political interests. Of political interests we may be competent judges, and may be thought to have some right to pursue them, perhaps, on compelling occasions, by acts of violence; but to assume authority, in the name of our common Creator, and in the name of a revelation, which expressly enjoins, as its peculiar characteristics, peace and fraternal affection, to make war upon a nation on account of their being infidels, is, if ever there were such things, profanation and impiety. It is with a feeling of sadness and mortification, that we see the very Scriptures themselves brought into the argument to justify the principle of war. What! because, under an exclusive theocracy, the extermination of offending nations was imposed, by a direct commission, on a particular person and people, are we, under no such government and commission, to conclude without any authority, but an argumentative, and that not a *logical* one, that we also are permitted to sweep a nation from the earth, for their sins or their impieties—a nation, too, who, whatever their vices may be, are perhaps not morally worse than those over whom they tyrannize, and, whatever their opinions or practices may be, are perhaps not very much more deeply plunged in superstition, than their Christian subjects?

But

But while we approve of the reserve of the Government, though not, perhaps, of the principle by which it is guided, and think the call upon national assistance indefensible, and even private transmission of arms equally objectionable, we are earnest and solicitous to contribute to the relief of the wretched sufferers in this natural struggle; we regard, as we have said, with intense interest, the course of the contest, and entertain a perfect confidence in the result, if the parties be left to themselves. We are far from having any disposition to censure with severity those very amiable persons, whose classic enthusiasm has impelled them to stir the apathy of their countrymen, and kindle a corresponding fervour in their unsympathizing feelings. We are more inclined to condole with their disappointment; and do not indeed very clearly to ourselves make out the source of the singular lack of interest, which, we observe with regret, pervades the country so widely on this spirit-stirring subject. One cause, we think, may be the air of ridicule which has been thrown over the cause, by the awkward activity of the students and professors of Germany—their absurd expectations; their extravagant anticipations and over-statements and expectations; and again, through the injudicious blazoning and display of these representations by the public prints in our own country; though assuredly the most effective cause springs from the existing political relations of the Government with the great continental powers. There have also been writers of no inconsiderable powers, who have taken pains, perhaps with the honest intention of correcting misapprehensions, to exhibit the vices and worthlessness of the Greeks; and efforts have not been without their influence in deadening the general feeling.

To add to these paralysing causes, comes now Sir W. Gell's Narrative of a Tour through the Morea, published expressly, as he himself states, 'to counteract the various exaggerated reports which have appeared in the public journals, with the ridiculous statements of the force, wisdom, and union of the imaginary confederacy; and which had confirmed the impression in his mind, that very little had been laid before the public, which could assist in forming a just opinion of the state of Greece, and of the Morea in particular.' These are surely very justifiable and laudable views; but not such, however, as will satisfactorily account for the obvious feeling of pique and resentment, which runs through the volume. Under a sportive guise there plainly lurks a malignant pleasure in exhibiting the worst features of the worst part of the nation. For any fair object of correction, this was superfluous; nor was there ever, we believe, any danger, in this country, of too exalted a state of feeling in favour of the Greeks. Sir William's name, however, will carry a preponderating influence with the generality of his countrymen. Of this, the very publication at this particular period, and

and his avowed design, shows that he was perfectly sensible; and therefore he should have used his power less wantonly and unsparingly. It is well known, that he was no flying tourist; he has spent some years among the Greeks, though we know not that his 'Dilettanti' researches and pursuits were calculated to lay open to him the best sources for a faithful estimate of national character. It should be borne in mind, that a *collector* is a plunderer, and of course little entitled to share the hospitable attentions, nor very likely to win the affections, of the owners of the spoils. Sir William's authority with the unreflecting readers of tours will, however, be reckoned indisputable, and such as demands unconditional submission and concedence. With ourselves, we plainly confess, the effect has been of an opposite cast. We see that some things are coloured strongly, and others deeply shaded; that rash assertions are made; that general conclusions are hastily drawn from insulated and incompetent facts; that his tours and residences were all before the insurrection; that the tour of which he professes to give a narrative was taken in 1804; that he knows no more of the late events than what every one who at all interests himself in the state of Greece, must know as well as himself; that he strangely takes it for granted, character and circumstance alike remain unchanged and unmodified in the turbulence of general commotion; that he makes no allowance for the energizing nature of a nation in arms, in activity, in independence; and that, in short, he passes by, without a word, the broad and incontestable fact, which alone speaks volumes, that the Greeks have, without any assistance whatever, cleared of their oppressors the interior of the Morea, and made large advances in chasing them from the north of the Isthmus. That one fact implies, beyond all power of suppression, an energy and virtue, neither consistent with his representation of their vices, their ignorance and stupidity, nor their general rascality and utter worthlessness.

Of the incidents of Sir W.'s tour it is not at this time 'our bent to speak:' there are sound reasons, however, and strong palliations for many of the unamiable qualities of the Greeks, which annoyed him in his route. He represents them as, 'inhospitable,' and well may they be so, when they are liable to have every idle stranger, who is armed with a firman, and backed by a janissary, billeted upon them; as 'rapacious,' and thus treated, no wonder they seize upon every opportunity for indemnification; as 'superstitious,'—no great peculiarity surely, when nations pretending to much higher civilization are far from escaping the like imputation; as 'corrupt and tyrannical in office'—a very common subject of complaint every where among petty authorities, and we know not why the Archon Zanè is to be taken as a fair specimen of

of the tribe; as 'jealous of each other'—a lamentable effect of an oppression, that labours to make every man a spy upon his neighbour; and at last, as the consummation of all, 'abominating the janissaries'—a very curious ground of reprobation this must appear to any one who reads Sir W.'s book, and attends to the part so ably performed by Mustapha, who, however, really seems to have been one of the best of the species. But not only must the scurril Greeks be depreciated; the character of the 'turbaned' Turks must be elevated. We have no desire to calumniate the Turks, or to extenuate their virtues; we have good reason to believe they are not destitute of respectable qualities. They are no thieves, and are, besides, a cleanly people; that we believe—all accounts concur; they are neither fatalists nor intolerant, but this we do not believe. They are too proud to cheat; this may be so, and it is well, that sometimes one ill quality will counteract another; but they are not, however, too scrupulous to violate their oaths. They are, again, courteous, and polite, and generous; which epithets may, we suppose, be construed by their equivalents, ceremonious, and contemptuous, and calculating.

But the opinions which Sir W. Gell is most intent upon inculcating, and to impress which he loses no opportunity, are these—that the Greeks are in no condition to appreciate the value of liberty; that if they should emancipate themselves, they would not know how to use their freedom; that they cannot possibly, however, recover their independence without the aid of some foreign power; and that if any foreign power be adventurous enough to assist them, and quixotic enough to leave them the independence thus acquired, they would forthwith, like the *seges clypeata* of their own Cadmus, cut one another's throats. These are opinions, over and over again insisted upon—opinions we think neither consistent with relative facts, nor concurring with any rational speculations on probable contingencies. The cases of the Mainiotes, and of the independent islands of Hydra, &c. on which he places great reliance for the confirmation of these notable opinions of his, make, we think, decidedly against him. The Mainiotes have plainly broken from the bonds of their oppressors, and have long held them at defiance. They are, indeed, a nest of pirates, 'whose hands are against every man,' but affording no proof of any peculiar disposition to cut the throats of their countrymen.

The frequent flippancy of Sir W.'s remarks, and the intrepid confidence and precipitancy with which he puts forth his questionable *dicta*, will, we doubt not, with the sounder part of his readers, shake the influence which his reputation and residence in the country were well calculated to give to his representations. We must, however, deprecate the too probable effects of his book; and implore
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our readers not to admit his opinions without a careful examination; to rest their confidence on nothing but his facts, and to remember that it is not only *nothing but the truth*, but the *whole truth*, which is demanded in a matter of evidence.

ART. XXI.—*On the Importance of Educating the Infant Children of the Poor; showing how Three Hundred Children, from Eighteen Months to Seven Years of Age, may be managed by one Master and Mistress: containing also an Account of the Spitalfields Infant School. By Samuel Wilderspin, Master of the said School. 1823.*

THIS is a plain account of a very important institution; and, though we wish it had entered into a more minute and detailed statement and explanation of the minor parts of the plan, which Mr. Wilderspin pursues in the Spitalfields Infant School, yet we clearly gather from the information which he does give us, that similar schools must be of essential service to the labouring classes in every part of the kingdom, and that, as is well observed by Mr. Lloyd, who writes the preface, they are “particularly needed in the manufacturing districts, as there the children go to work just at the age for admittance into common day schools; and the parents, being employed in the factories, cannot possibly pay that attention to their children which they so much require.”

From their being admitted at such a very early age as eighteen months, and not received or kept after the age of seven years, it must be evident that the principal and peculiar object of such schools cannot be instruction. But a little reflection on the circumstances in which the poorer classes are placed, especially in large towns, will convince us that great and real benefit may be conferred on them and their children, even at a period of life when the latter are incapable, and ought not, to be taught much.

“What is a poor woman to do,” asks Mr. Wilderspin, “who is left a widow with four or five children, the oldest perhaps not more than ten years of age? She is obliged to go out to washing or other daily labour; the consequence is, her children are left to shift for themselves, because the mother is not able to pay for their schooling, and the free schools will not admit them, because they are too young; thus they imbibe principles and habits of which neither parents, tutors, nor even the law itself, in many instances, can ever break them.”

This, however, though a very serious ill consequence of young children being left to shift for themselves, while their mother is labouring for their maintenance, is not the only mischief which is thus produced: if the mother hires a person to look after them, a necessary deduction is made from her own earnings, and it is highly

highly probable that the person neglects her duty, or conducts by her example, or even her negligence, to train them up in idleness and vice, at the very time that she is defrauding their mother of a portion of her hard-earned means of supporting them. Let us, again, suppose that the mother is not able or not inclined to pay a person to look after her children; if they confine themselves to the house during her absence, she must be under continual apprehension that some accident will befall them. "Poor people," as Mr. W. remarks, "are frequently obliged to live in garrets, three or four pair of stairs high, with a family of six or seven children; and it frequently happens that, when the children are left by themselves, two or three of them will come tumbling down stairs; some break their backs, others their legs or some other limbs, and to this cause alone, perhaps, may be traced a vast number of cripples that daily appear in our streets." Mr. W. might have added another accident still more likely to befall children when left to themselves—instances of which we read of frequently in the newspapers: we mean the accident of the children of the poor being burnt to death.

But let us see what is sure to befall them, if they are not confined to the house, during their mother's absence, but permitted to leave it and go where they please: it is surely not necessary to point out the impression on their habits, which must necessarily be produced if they wander about the streets; idle, unsettled, and vicious habits of all kinds must be fostered and planted so deeply, as to render them, when grown up, the pests of society.

Whether they are confined to the house, or suffered to roam about, during the absence of their mothers, their health must suffer. In the one case, they have not sufficient air and exercise; in the other case, they are exposed to colds, which, if neglected, terminate in some lasting or fatal disorder, and, if attended to, must keep their mother from her work.

Indeed, as Mr. W. observes, the "dead weight which is continually on the minds of the parents, from their anxiety being fixed on their children, is frequently the cause of their being unable to please their employers, and in consequence, they are frequently thrown out of work altogether:" and we believe he is perfectly justified in adding, "that those persons who most need employ, are the last to procure it; for there are so many obstacles thrown in the way of married people, and especially those with a family, that many are tempted to deny that they have any children, for fear they should lose their situation."

We have hitherto supposed that the mothers of these poor children are industrious and work hard; and have pointed out the danger and evils to which the latter are exposed, even when they are blessed with such mothers. But there are too many mothers who
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take advantage of their having a large family to become beggars; and who not only beg themselves, but take their children with them, and thus train them to the same degrading, mischievous, and demoralizing occupation. If they are asked why they do not go to work, they point to their children, and plead their reluctance to leave them without a mother's superintending care, as not only a justification of their idleness, but a claim on your sympathy, and approbation of their parental fondness. Such schools as that which Mr. W. superintends and describes, are admirably calculated for practically silencing these begging parents, and trying by an effective test, whether their parental fondness or their idle habits have led them to such a course. Whenever one of the most active and zealous supporters of the Infant School in Westminster (to which we shall afterwards advert) meets a woman in the streets begging, and pleading her large and young family as the reason for her not going to work, he immediately tells her that he will remove that obstacle; that her children shall be sent to a school, where they will be kept out of harm's way, well taken care of, and receive such instruction as their age may admit.

Were there no other advantages than those we have enumerated and explained, to be derived from infant schools, surely these are sufficiently obvious and of sufficient magnitude to excite the attention and interest of the benevolent to such institutions. But there are other advantages, besides those of securing the safety, health, and morals of the children; of removing the anxiety of industrious parents, and of taking away from the idle one prevailing and plausible excuse for their idleness.

We do not at present allude to such kind and degree of instruction as these very young children are capable of receiving; this, indeed, we regard as an inferior object even to the securing of their health and safety, and much more so to the opportunities and advantages for ascertaining and forming their temper, disposition, and habits, which such schools, if under the superintendence of an intelligent, experienced, and conscientious person, must undoubtedly afford. It requires no argument to prove that a person who has been much with children, must be able to penetrate more distinctly and further into their tempers, dispositions, and habits, than parents, especially those of the lower classes, are able or even disposed to do. Their thoughts and anxieties are naturally, and, under their circumstances, laudably directed more to the means of supporting themselves and families, than to any other object. Whereas it is the interest as well as the duty, and in many, we trust most, instances, the source of gratification and pride, in the master or mistress, to become soon and well acquainted with the scholars, in order that their reform or improvement may proceed on a sure and permanent basis.

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Our author's explanation of the chief end and design of an infant school is perfectly just, and displays his good sense, as well as his qualification to superintend such a school, so far as a proper conviction of what a master ought to aim at, is one element of such a qualification; and we deem it one certainly of primary importance, as it is impossible that the most conscientious and experienced master can do much good, if he has not a clear and accurate idea of the object he ought principally to pursue. According to Mr. W., "The chief end and design of an infant school is to keep the mind employed about what is innocent and useful; and therefore teaching children their letters, or teaching them to read, write, and so on, are only secondary objects." And in another place he observes, "As an infant school may very properly be called a combination of the school and nursery, the art of pleasing forms a prominent part of the system; and as little children are very apt to be fretful, it becomes expedient to divert as well as to teach them; for if children of two years old and under are not diverted, they will naturally cry for the mother; and to have 10 or 12 children crying in the school, would put every thing in confusion; but it is possible to have 200 or even 300 children assembled together, the oldest not more than six years of age, and yet not to hear one of them crying for a whole day."

It is on these two principles of keeping the mind employed in what is innocent and useful, and studying the art of interesting and pleasing the children, that Mr. W. proceeds, and that all infant schools ought to proceed. It should always be remembered, that the children are very young, and that therefore the rule laid down by the excellent and judicious author of "*Hints for the Improvement of early Education and Nursery Discipline*," applies more particularly and strongly to them. "The object of education is to preserve them from evil, not from childishness,"—a rule which, if observed, would preserve the temper of many, both parents and children.

The rules to be observed by the parents of children admitted to Spitalfields Infant School, relate principally to the sending the children clean and in time, and to their not being absent without a satisfactory notice being sent. The rules to be observed by the master or mistress are, "never to correct a child in anger; never to deprive a child of any thing, without returning it again; never

* No mother of a young family, no nurse who has the charge of children, ought to be without this book: all that it teaches to be done and to be avoided; every observation in it on the disposition of children, the objects to be pursued in educating them, and the most proper and efficacious, as well as the pleasantest modes both for children and parents of attaining those objects, is so evidently the result of good sense, good principles, and experience, that it ought to be thoroughly understood, and invariably followed.

to break a promise, and never to overlook a fault; but in all things study to set before the children an example worthy of imitation."

The first thing taught the children is order; it is a pithy and just observation of the Rev. R. Cecil, that 'method is important, as it gains time; it is like packing things in a box; a good packer will get in half as much more as a bad one.' But while order and arrangement of time and business are attended to, they are not suffered to interfere with the grand maxim, that an infant school is a combination of a school and a nursery; and that more harm than good will be done to children if they are kept a long time fixed to one spot or occupation." One of the principal ends in view in infant schools, is "to make the children happy, as well as to instruct them; it is therefore thought expedient to change the scene as often as possible."

"The mode of teaching is as follows: The children are taught to stand in files, the smaller children, such as those from 18 months to three years old, standing in front; the taller children standing behind: the alphabet is pasted in cards in two different characters, thus (a A) on one side of the card, and (b B) on the other side. The card is then put on the end of a stick, where there is a notch cut to receive it. The stick is then held up before all the children, who immediately call out A: one of the children then inquires how many there are, and the other children answer, Two; the stick is then turned round in the hand, and (b B) are exhibited, when one of the children inquires what letters they are, the other children answering as before; in this way we go on, till we have gone through the whole alphabet." There are other modes for teaching the alphabet, both in printing and writing; for teaching the first rules of arithmetic by means of inch cubes of wood, and for teaching them natural history; the names of different kinds of buildings, and the most distinguishing or intelligible processes of the different trades, by the aid of pictures: for the details of these various modes, we must refer to the book itself; only remarking, that whatever can be taught by having its representation exhibited to the eye of the child, is most likely to interest him, and to be clearly understood and long remembered. This mode is likewise pursued with great effect in directing the attention of the children to the Scriptures: we perfectly agree with the author of "Hints," &c. that the earliest scriptural lessons are best given by conversation assisted by prints*.

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* In illustration and support of this mode of teaching the Scriptures, the author of "Hints," &c. gives the following anecdote of Dr. Doddridge, which is also alluded to in Mr. W.'s book. "His parents brought him up in the early knowledge of religion. Before he could read, his mother taught him the History of the Old and New Testament by the assistance of some Dutch
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Some of the modes by which Mr. W. combines exercise with instruction, seem to us objectionable, and rather whimsical than judicious. Indeed we are decidedly of opinion that no attempt ought to be made to combine them; but that the exercise or relaxation which is indispensable for all, especially young children, should be allowed them, unmixed and unfettered with any other object, and in their own way, provided there is no harm or mischief in it. We must again quote the author of "Hints," and we are always happy when we can support our opinions by such authority: "All unnecessary restraint is only so much unnecessary evil. In the short time devoted to lessons, we may gradually employ a stricter discipline; but in play hours, though it is a positive duty to oppose listlessness and idleness, yet, with healthy and well-trained children, we shall find little else necessary than to direct their activities, to encourage their projects, and to add to their pleasures."

Let us not, however, be misunderstood, as implying that in the hours of play and relaxation Mr. W. expects the children also to learn something. The plan of combining exercise with instruction is followed only while they are in school: it certainly would be better to allow them, if necessary, more time for exercise and play, and, as we have already observed, to keep play and teaching quite distinct, and to allow them to exercise and amuse themselves, when not in school, just as they please. We must also object to his principle of punishment: we are perhaps disposed to agree with him, that many children cannot be governed without punishment; that no school in England has ever been able to do completely without it; and that "the eyes of the public are beginning to be opened; that the many theories ushered into the world on this subject, have not been exactly acted upon." And we also agree with him, that the "first thing necessary is to find out, if possible, the real disposition and temper of the child, to be able to manage him with good effect;" this is necessary, not only to ascertain whether the child can be managed without punishment, but likewise if punishment is necessary; to find out the kind and degree of it, which will be sufficient, and best act, towards his amendment. But we decidedly object to the mode of punishment Mr. W. seems to regard as proper and effectual; that is, pinning a piece of green baize to the back of the child who has played the truant, and making him walk round the school, all the children crying out, "*Green tail played the truant, Green tail.*" "We are

tiles in the chimney of the room, where they usually sat; and accompanied her instructions with such wise and pious reflections, as made strong and lasting impressions upon his heart." *Life of Dr. Doddridge prefixed to his Works.*

to remember," observes the author of *Hints, &c.* "that shame will not effectually deter children from what is wrong; and that, in employing it too much as an instrument of education, we have reason to apprehend, we may lead them to act from the fear of man, rather than from that of God." But there is another ground of objection to this mode of punishment: children ought never to be the instruments of inflicting punishment on one another. This must produce ill-will among them. One of the effects of this mode, which Mr. W. considers as recommending it, we regard as a reason for doing it away: he says it will in some degree show the temper of the child; especially whether he is passionate or not; but a mode of punishment, the immediate and most likely effect of which is to produce an act that is bad, and consequently so far to confirm the temper or habit, from which that act proceeds, certainly ought to be abolished.

We do not perceive any thing else objectionable in the discipline of the school; that it is well managed, we have no doubt, from the circumstance mentioned by Mr. W. that the children, even the youngest, soon grow fond of it, and prefer being at school to remaining at home. Where this is accomplished, the first but by far the most difficult and important step is taken towards the improvement of the minds and morals of children. When they have become fond of school, especially at such an early age, they have surrendered themselves entirely to the moulding of their masters and mistresses; and it will be their fault, if they are not moulded to usefulness and virtue. Mr. W. also remarks that the children no longer loiter in the streets, but come directly to the school from their homes: this is another good sign; and if, when at home, they hear and see nothing that is wrong, that is, if their parents only do their negative duty (if the expression may be allowed), the character and happiness of their children are secure from all danger.

We shall conclude this article with a brief history of the Infant School, and a statement of the expense at which it is conducted.

The first Infant School established in England was at Brewer's Green, Westminster, by Mr. Brougham and his friends. Mr. Owen, however, was the first person with whom originated the idea of educating infant children upon an extensive scale. Mr. Brougham's school has been lately removed to the corner of Vincent-square, Westminster, where a commodious building has been erected, capable of containing 200 children.

The Infant School in Quaker-street, Spitalfields, was opened on the 24th of July, 1820; at present there are 214 children in it. It is conducted by Mr. Wilderspin and his wife. The school was built by Joseph Wilson, esq.; and it is entirely supported by him: he pays the salary of the master and mistress, and all other incidental

dental expenses; he also visits the school frequently, and affords Mr. W. the benefit of his advice.

"With regard to the expense," observes Mr. W., "I have ascertained beyond a doubt, that according to the plan adopted in Mr. Wilson's school, 300 children may be taken care of, from the age of 18 months to seven years, and instructed in every thing that such children are capable of learning, for 150*l.* per annum, which is ten shillings a year for each child. This includes the salary of the master and mistress, the salary of a third person to do the drudgery,—coals, slates, cards, and every other requisite for the school, except the rent of the premises." Mr. W., in stating his opinion respecting the size of the plot of ground necessary for a school for 300 children, dwells strongly and very properly on the advantage of a large and commodious play-ground; remarking, that he verily believes the system would be quite defective without it; for it is there the children manifest their true tempers and dispositions.

After all, every thing depends on the qualifications of a master and mistress. "Perhaps," Mr. W. candidly acknowledges, "no one has felt his own insufficiency more strongly than I have, since I took the charge of the Spitalfields School; and this induces me to make a few observations on the qualifications of a master and mistress. It is a very common idea, that almost any person can teach children the alphabet, and that it does not require any abilities to manage a set of young children. It will be found, however, that this is a great mistake; for, if it be the business of such a person to lay the foundation of religion and virtue, with every grace that can adorn the Christiana, in the infant mind, why then, it will require much patience, gentleness, perseverance, self-possession, energy, knowledge of human nature, and, above all, piety, to accomplish such an end."

We are convinced, that none of our readers will censure us for devoting these few pages to the consideration of Mr. Wilderspin's book; for they must be convinced, that the education of the mind, and more especially of the heart, cannot be begun at too early a period of life; that no children require such an education so much as those of poor and labouring parents; that none have hitherto been so destitute of it; and that Infant Schools, by affording it, hold out the animating prospect of a better informed, as well as a better principled generation among the lowest classes of the community, than this country has hitherto exhibited.

ART. XXII.—*Fredericksoord.*

IN the statement of the Dutch domestic colonies of Fredericksoord, which we presented to our readers in the last number, we were obliged to break off abruptly with M. Van Bosch's calculation, that Holland would save 1,600,000 florins annually by planting her orphans and necessitous poor in those incomparable establishments. That account we shall now resume. A sum thus considerable, M. Van Bosch proceeds to remark, which is now expended without any thing to compensate the loss, will henceforth be applied to the general benefit of the nation, and augment its welfare in the same proportion as that in which it now contributes to the payment of this expense; and it is by an augmentation of territorial wealth equal to the wants to be supplied, that so great an amelioration in the actual state of things will be consolidated for ever.

It has been calculated, that the number of indigent persons capable of labour in the northern provinces amounts to 72,000*. Out of this number, 40 or 45,000 may readily find in our colonies at once an honest livelihood, and, what is as real an exigency as the other, both for them and society, a moral regeneration.

That portion of the destitute, which will not directly share in these advantages, will however gain by them indirectly; because the whole mass of labour disposable in favour of indigence, in which mass our colonists have hitherto shared along with them, will become their exclusive patrimony.

For realising these anticipations, no extraordinary efforts are required from the beneficence of our fellow-countrymen. The donations, which their liberality habitually consecrates to the relief of the miserable, will be amply sufficient, if directed concurrently to this particular object. Nothing will be easier than to convince themselves of the increasing success which their wise and well-bestowed charity will every year obtain; and nothing will bind them, if their hopes should even once be deceived.

Hitherto no invincible obstacle has opposed the operations of the society. The greatest difficulty which they have had to encounter has been to find persons qualified to direct and superintend the colonists and their labours. The manufactured cloths are consumed by the wants of the colony and its inhabitants.

The subscriptions for the purchase of cloths exceed the means of manufacturing them. We have well-founded hopes of being

* In this number are not comprehended about 50,000 vagrants, who may hereafter be placed in the establishment at Ommeschano.

assisted by the Government in this respect, especially by its committing to our establishments the manufacture of cloths for our East and West India colonies,—cloths, which are of a peculiar manufacture, and in which it will be easy to instruct the people intrusted to our care. The digging of canals, the conversion of bogs into a cultivable state, and other similar labours, will multiply the branches of productive activity, from which other advantages will accrue,—for instance, that of procuring for the colonists the means of fuel. Resources will thus multiply for the maintenance of what has been already accomplished. To extend to the utmost, and to complete so great, so useful an undertaking, the enlightened benevolence of our generous fellow citizens, we believe, may be confidently reckoned on.

The bringing waste lands into a state of useful cultivation, presents much fewer difficulties than had been apprehended. Those difficulties, in particular, which the necessity of procuring and conveying manure seemed to oppose to the success of the enterprise, have entirely disappeared. It is now practically proved that the colonists can, by their own industry, provide the necessary manure. Regulations have been made for this purpose, which are strictly enforced. These regulations must of course vary with the change of soil and circumstances. A detail of them would here be superfluous.

Subsistence may thus be procured for a multitude of indigent persons by their own labour, without any serious expense to the Government or the public, and greatly to the advantage of the communes and charitable institutions.

We are far from entertaining any idle hopes of transforming forthwith into patterns of virtue, men, who have been demoralized by misery; but we have no doubt that, aided by the Government, we shall succeed in keeping our colonists, by means of proper discipline, in the line of duty; and we cherish a well-founded expectation of producing a decided improvement in their offspring. We shall one day present them to society, bred up under the vault of heaven, which will constitute their principal workshop, in the bosom of labour, well-fed, vigorous, sound in mind and body, and thus qualified to gain their livelihood; serve their country by sea and land, at home and abroad; and usefully displace those foreigners, who actually flock by thousands, every year, to reap our harvests, and cultivate our fields.

We do not delude ourselves with the belief, that we shall meet with no difficulties in our career; but we have found hitherto that our successes are greater, and less difficult to obtain, than we had dared to anticipate at the commencement of our undertaking.

It is this which inspires us with fresh ardour to persevere in
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our course; and confirms us also in the confidence we have always entertained of producing a sensible amelioration in the state of society—the sole object of all our labours and our sacrifices.

Among the means employed for this object, the Commission of Beneficence have deemed it expedient to publish a journal, partly to diffuse useful information on matters of political economy; and partly to give the nation an account of the state of our colonies, and to make known the laws, regulations, and arrangements of every kind by which they are conducted; with these views, a number is published monthly under the title of the ‘Star,’ and contains such documents and tables as we believe are both interesting and useful to the public.

And, besides accomplishing these objects, this journal forms a convenient medium for discussing and removing the objections which are occasionally made to our plans; and finally it secures to our benevolent subscribers a satisfactory account of the funds intrusted to our management, and of the good we are labouring to accomplish in the ministration of their charitable contributions.

The circulation of the journal is a proof that it realises our views. We find in it, also, new resources. In the first year it has netted 3,300 florins, which have been appropriated to the wants of the society and the colonies.

Such is the system of administration, which the society has arranged and executed thus far with entire success.

Doubts with respect to the efficacy of our plan have nevertheless been raised: two of them we think ourselves bound, in conclusion, to examine more closely.

The first rests on the supposition, that the capital, which the society employs in the cultivation of waste lands, is taken from some other branch of industry; that the society merely takes from one class of labourers, to give to another; and therefore that the remedy which it employs with the view of relieving the miseries of the country, can produce no other effect than that of transferring the evil from one part of its population to another.

We reply, that the fact on which this reasoning proceeds, has no reality, in a country like Holland, where there exists a superabundance of capital; where millions are placed in the funds of foreign nations; and where shares are constantly taken in foreign loans. In such a country, it must be advantageous to employ this disposable capital within its own territory, and thus rescue it from all foreign dependance.

To this observation it may be added, that the advantage would be the same for a country whose resources of industry may, by unfortunate circumstances, have been suddenly cut off. Resources

of this kind always leave capital unemployed; and it cannot but be useful to give it anew a productive application.

We go further: we do not hesitate to affirm that the system adopted by the Society would produce very salutary effects, even in a country where there was a perfect equilibrium between disposable capital and the wants of industry, and where nevertheless there would still be left hands unemployed, and consequently a part of the population without the means of subsistence.

To justify this assertion, we have only to compare the use which the Society makes of its funds, with the use which would otherwise be made of them. The sums which the Society receives from its members, are small savings scarcely perceptible to them. It is in the hands of the Society only, that their combined amount becomes a productive capital, and actually applied to the augmentation of national wealth.

It cannot be denied, indeed, that these savings diminish the sale of certain articles, in the purchase of which they would otherwise have been expended. But the State loses nothing by this, or very little; for the objects of consumption, the sale of which is thus diminished, or at least the raw produce which constitutes the basis of them, preserve their value, and become disposable for foreign commerce. There will therefore always be, on the one side, the saving of a capital before consumed, and, on the other, the creation of a new capital.

Independently of the amount of contributions, the Society supplies its necessities by loans. Let us suppose for a moment (which in fact is altogether without foundation in our country) that the funds which the Society procures in this way are taken from another branch of industry, and pursue our comparative examination.

The reader will remember that the Society undertakes the support of six orphans, of two persons who have the especial care of them, and of two families each consisting of six persons, together twenty individuals, for the sum of 360 florins a year. The support of one orphan, in the northern provinces of the kingdom, costs 114 florins a year; and, according to what has been before stated, a family of six or seven persons demands about 300 florins a year. The whole expense in the usual state of things, for these three families, then, amounts to 1284 florins; and admitting at the same time (which is very probable) that this sum is susceptible of being lessened by more than a third, so that its amount need not exceed 800, the operations of the Society would effect a saving of not less than 440 to the charitable establishments and the state.

To fulfill its engagements, the Society must borrow a capital of 1700 florins for every family, and consequently 5100 for the case of the three families in question. Now what is the branch of industry

dustry, in which such a capital is capable of providing for the necessities of twenty persons? It may be fearlessly affirmed, there exists none which offers an equal advantage, or any thing like it, to the nation; and it would be a manifest absurdity to maintain that any manufacture whatever (particularly since the multiplication of machinery) could be able, by means of such a resource, to pay a mass of labour sufficient to meet so many wants.

It must then be advantageous to a nation, if it have any able and unemployed poor, to take, for want of other disposable funds, a part of its capital from some branch of industry giving less profit, and to apply it to another, in which a greater number of citizens will find the means of subsistence.

Suppose the case of a father of a family, with four children, and an occupation which procures employment for only three of them. If he have no other means of employing the hands of his fourth child, but can obtain productive labour for him by applying a part of his capital to some employment which requires more labour, he will not hesitate to do so. He will evidently gain by it, even if the produce of his own employment should seem likely to sustain some diminution; for this diminution would be only relative; it would be compensated, and more, by the produce of the labour; which, joined to the return of the capital, would enable the father to provide for the wants of his whole family, when before he could satisfy only a part of them.

This case is applicable to that of a whole nation, placed in the circumstances we have just stated. A nation must always derive the greatest advantage from its capital, when it is so employed that the clear profit of it, added to the wages received by its labourers, produces the greatest sum possible. Wherever there is such an employment of capital, no further improvement can possibly be introduced: and it is to this point that the efforts of a Government should be directed till it has completely attained to it.

It follows not, that, for this purpose, it would be proper to give a forced direction to the employment of capital, to impose restraints on it, or to raise the price of labour by prohibitory laws. The examination of this question comes not within our limits; and therefore we merely observe, by the way, that in our opinion all restrictive expedients relative to capital are more injurious than useful.

We have still briefly to examine the other objection to which we alluded. That objection consists in the effects attributable to the cultivation of waste lands, with reference to the multiplication of produce. It is apprehended, that the superabundance of corn, which will be the result of this new cultivation, will produce such a depreciation in price, that not only a serious loss will fall on a great number of cultivators, but that even such lands as now produce

duce but a small rent, will be abandoned; and that thus the cultivation of waste lands will eventually be rather an injury than a benefit to agriculture; and will not supply the indigent with that increase of labour, to which we look for securing to them the means of subsistence.

This objection is, however, in all cases inapplicable to Holland, where great importations of corn are annually made.

But the objection is not less unfounded with respect to countries differently situated, and when an attempt is made to raise the price of produce by prohibitory laws.

The wants of our colonies do not consist solely of food. They must, by the exchange of a part of the produce of their lands, procure other matters equally indispensable. It follows, that the poor of another class—manufacturers—may be advantageously placed in our colonies, and their productions be, for the most part, consumed.

The poor, who will in future find the means of existence in the produce of their agricultural labour, have hitherto lived at the public expense. True idlers, they expend without re-producing. The capital which represents their consumption is not replaced by the consumers. Henceforth it will be so with new riches created by their labour; and usefully placed in hands, from which compassion, fear, and disgust now pluck it, and become productive in its turn. It is evident the nation must doubly find its account in such an order of things.

We have thus exhibited the general principles and arrangements of the colonies instituted by the Society of Beneficence at Fredericksoord. Our authority for the whole is Gen. Van Bosch, who published an account of the first colony about a twelvemonth after its institution. The General himself has alone been the superintendant, and was indeed the main spring of the whole concern. He is represented by some of our friends, whose humane and liberal curiosity led them to make a personal inspection, as intelligent (which his book indeed sufficiently proves) and active and obliging. The colonists themselves generally appeared cleanly, contented, cheerful and busy.

Within these few days, we have been favoured with the last year's Report of the Society to August 1822; and shall gratify our readers with its general contents, relative to the existent state of the colonies.

Fredericksoord now consists of seven distinct colonies, of each of which the Report gives a separate account, under the heads of physical and moral state, domestic circumstances, and agricultural concerns. We shall follow this arrangement.

COLONY

COLONY I. *Physical State.*—The improvement of the colonists, in this respect, has been remarkable in the course of the four years in which they have occupied the soil. The children, with the advantage of wholesome and regular food, clothing and exercise, have grown up robust and healthy. Fifteen of these, boys and girls, have left the colony and gone into service; and have conducted themselves to the perfect satisfaction of their employers, and the gratification of the society. There have been 45 births and 28 deaths;—several of the colonists were far advanced in life on their arrival.

Moral State.—In this respect, too, the effects are highly favourable. The school for the children is carefully attended to, as well as religious instruction for adults; and both have had a visible influence upon the colonists. The behaviour of all is remarkably civil and orderly. There have been no crimes. Three only have been each once drunk, for which they were reprimanded, and the medals which had been given them for good conduct, taken from them. Such was their contrition, however, and subsequent behaviour, that the superintendant was induced not to report their names; and to two of them the medals have been already returned. This conduct is attributable, certainly, as much to the discipline which has been introduced among them, as to their own sense of propriety. They have advanced considerably in cleanliness; and there are few, with respect to dress, habitation and economy, who have not given entire satisfaction to the managers.

Domestic Circumstances.—Generally the colonists are doing well; they have not only paid their annual rents, and reimbursed a part of the advances, but have been enabled to purchase cows, sheep and pigs. The managers have removed nine families, as a reward for their industry and exemplary conduct, to larger farms belonging to the society, in the districts of Doldersum and Groot-Wateren, a few miles from the colonies. Six others have also been promoted and placed in the larger farms in the neighbourhood of Ommeschans*, for the purpose of employing and instructing the occupiers of that establishment. The removal of these fifteen families has enabled the managers to throw a little more land into the other farms, which had become very desirable, as it was found that many of the colonists could work a larger quantity successfully. This defect has been remedied in the establishment of the other colonies.

* This is an Institution for Vagrants, and is now ready for the reception of 1200. The building is of two stories, forms a square of 300 feet, and covers two acres of land; is very convenient, and arranged with every attention to the health of the occupants. There are already 600 acres in cultivation, which will shortly be augmented by 1400 more in the immediate vicinity. This institution was opened in May 1822.

Agricultural Concerns.—Equally favourable. The system of farming, which was adopted at the outset, has now been proved to be well suited to the soil. In four years, a barren and hungry soil has been brought into a state fit for the growth of wheat, experiments of which are now making. All have subsisted entirely from the produce of their fields and gardens. The addition of ground will increase their advantages, and the prices of produce already begin to advance.

COLONY II. *Physical and Moral State.*—The general increase of health and strength very perceptible. The attendance of the clergy of different persuasions in the vicinity, publicly and privately, and the education of the children, are accompanied with the best success. Great regularity, civility, and cleanliness every where observable.

Their *Domestic Circumstances* are no less satisfactory. The first harvest was a very abundant one. With the exception of a few sick and aged, they have not at all required the aid of the society's funds. They had the immediate benefit of the improved regulations introduced gradually in the first colony, which was of course an important advantage.

The *Agriculture and Manufactures* are in an equally favourable condition with those of the first. These two colonies lie close together; the soil is of the same quality, and the cultivation in the same state of advancement. It is proposed to unite them, and place them under one administration.

COLONY III. The *physical* improvement of this colony is strikingly remarkable. The orphans are numerous. Many of these on their arrival were stunted in growth, feeble in constitution, and afflicted with disease. Their amendment was early visible. They thrive rapidly, get strong and vigorous, and show a peculiar aptitude for labour in the field and the spinning-room.

The *Morals* of this colony are not in so auspicious a state. Its institution is comparatively recent. Three families have been banished to Ommeschans; a measure, which has had a good effect upon those who were not the best among the remainder. Religious instruction and the school are strictly attended to, and cleanliness and regularity enforced.

Their *Domestic Circumstances* are however very satisfactory. They subsist entirely upon the fruit of their labours. Almost every family has one or more pigs.

Agriculture is nearly in the same state as in the second colony; except on about thirty farms, which are comparatively backward, from the nature of the soil, stiff and stubborn, but which promises eventually to be more productive than the rest. The season has also been unfavourable.

COLONY IV. This colony was established in the beginning of 1821, consisting at first of 75 small farms, and has lately been augmented by 40 more. The buildings and arrangements are all on the most improved plan. The *health* of the colonists is universally good; those who came well have continued so; while the sick and feeble have become sound and strong.

Religious and School Instruction is pursued with the same assiduity as in the other colonies, and with equally good effects. The *domestic affairs* of this colony are in a somewhat superior state even to the rest; so much assistance was not required in the outfit; not more than 20 florins each family have been advanced. The *land* is in an excellent state of cultivation—it has turned out remarkably good.

COLONY V. This colony is at Ommeschans, and is appropriated for the reception of vagrants, and such as are expelled from Fredericksoord. The stricter discipline introduced here has proved very effectual with the idle and refractory: several of these reformed vagrants and offenders have been preferred to the vacant cottages at Fredericksoord, as a reward for good conduct.

COLONY VI. consists of 63 small farms, and is at present occupied by 189 colonists; and will soon receive an increase of buildings and tenants. There is every symptom of the same satisfactory results as exist in the other colonies.

COLONY VII. has been laid out in the district of Doldersum, to consist of from 60 to 100 cottages.

By means of new roads and canals these colonies can now all communicate with each other, and the Zuyder Zee; and stretch along the great road from Paaslout to Doldersum, a length of twelve miles. This will afford some notion of the extent of country bringing into cultivation, which, five years ago, was a barren waste, and is now tenanted by a busy and industrious multitude of 2500 persons, entirely and exclusively deriving subsistence from their own labour.

The manufactures of the colonies are every where in a thriving state. With very slight exceptions, the whole clothing of the colonists is prepared in Fredericksoord, and is equal to what could be procured from the manufactories of the towns. Weavers, dyers, tailors, &c. have acquired their skill and dexterity in the colonies; bricks, lime, peat, &c. are made and prepared in an admirable manner; and, in fact, it is necessary to import scarcely a single article.

Mr. Muller, a pupil of M. Van Fellenberg, has been more than a twelvemonth in the service of the society, and has been of the greatest

greatest utility in every important particular. He is of an excellent character, active and energetic, and possessed of a knowledge of agricultural and colonial economy, equally honourable to himself and his zealous instructor. Muller was supported at Hofwyl, for three years, by an unknown philanthropist, who sent him thither for the express purpose of his being afterwards practically useful to the colonies of Fredericksoord: his benevolent views have been fully and gratefully realized.

So striking are the advantages of these establishments, that the orphan and municipal institutions of Holland are beginning to seize on them with avidity. By a letter of the Secretary's, dated Feb. 1823, we learn that arrangements on a more extended scale are making for the reception of vagrants at Ommeschans, and 1200 more are to be immediately sent there. We learn also, that engagements have just been completed on a still larger scale, for taking 4000 orphans at the rate of 60 florins a head, with 500 vagrants, and 1500 families gratuitously.

Can nothing of this kind be instituted in our own country? or in Ireland? We have poor enough, Heaven knows, and waste lands enough; and, happily, kind feeling and ready purses enough to prosecute a plan of similar extensive and paramount importance. What then is wanting? A leader, with personal activity and devotion to the object. Mr. Owen has it all—would that he were a little less visionary and *universalizing*! Encouragement has been publicly given to foreign colonization, involving, as it does, a crowd of objections—expense, hazard, peril, banishment, change of climate, &c.; while domestic colonization, obvious and accessible as it is, has scarcely been thought about. We shall recur to this important matter in a succeeding Number, and perhaps with a particular reference to Ireland; and in the mean while, we invite our readers to peruse a pamphlet, written by Mr. Herbert Saunders, entitled “An Address to the Imperial Parliament*,” in which the subject and advantages of Home Colonies are discussed, though not exhausted.

* Published by Sams, St. James's-street, 1821.

O B I T U A R Y.

DR. JENNER.

ON the 26th of January, at his house at Berkeley, Dr. Edward Jenner, the discoverer of Vaccination, in his 74th year. If any man ever existed who possessed an original, and, we might almost add, an intuitive claim to the pretensions of a natural Historian and *Physiologist*, Dr. Jenner was that claimant. Nature had given him great genius, vast sagacity, much inclination, and great ardour in the prosecution of the subjects of Natural History, Physiology, and Pathology. His researches were consistent and connected. At an early age he was destined to the study of one department of the medical profession, Surgery. In the commencement of his studies, he was associated and connected with some late eminent characters, Dr. Parry of Bath, Dr. Hickes of Gloucester, and Dr. Ludlow of Corsham, near Bath: but, besides these, he was honoured with the peculiar friendship and patronage of the late Mr. John Hunter, of whose name it is nearly superfluous to mention that it stands highest in the rolls of surgical and philosophic reputation: Mr. Hunter, well aware of the extraordinary talents of Dr. Jenner, then a pupil, offered to him patronage, connexion, and employment, in his professional and physiological pursuits. Dr. Jenner, however, preferred a residence at his native place, Berkeley; here he acquired not merely high local reputation, but, from the public observations and discoveries which he promulgated, great estimation in the superior ranks of philosophers and medical professors. After some less important communications to the Royal Society of London (of which he was early made a member) he imparted to them a complete Natural History of the Cuckoo, of which bird the laws and habits were previously unknown, and were involved in obscurity. The singular ingenuity of this paper, and the acute powers of observation which it developed in the observer, enhanced Dr. Jenner's reputation in the philosophic world. Dr. Jenner also communicated to his youthful friend and colleague, attached to him by congenial feeling and similarity of pursuit, the late highly-gifted Dr. Parry of Bath, his discovery of the internal diseased structure of the heart, which produces the disease called Angina Pectoris, and which was before unknown and conjectural. Dr. Parry, in a treatise on the subject, not only most honourably recorded Dr. Jenner's original detection of the cause of the disease, but confirmed its accuracy by subsequent and ingenious investigation. After a long and arduous inquiry into the disease termed Cow Pox, which is a common complaint in cows in Gloucestershire and some other counties, and which, to those who receive it from the cows in milking, appears, from long existing tradition, to confer complete security from the Small Pox, either natural or inoculated, Dr. Jenner determined to put the fact to the test of experiment, and accordingly inoculated
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some young persons with the matter taken from the disease in the cows, in 1797. From the proof which these experiments afforded of the power of the Cow Pox Inoculation to protect the human being from the Small Pox contagion, Dr. Jenner was induced to bring this inestimable fact before the public in 1798. That this was promulgated with all the simplicity of a philanthropist, and with all the disinterestedness of the philosopher, every candid contemporary and observer will admit, and will unite in admiring his just pretensions to both characters. The first medical professors in the metropolis allowed, that, had Dr. Jenner kept his discovery in the disguise of empirical secrecy, he would have realized immense emoluments ; but the pure and liberal feelings which the Doctor possessed spurned and rejected such considerations : and his general remunerations, even including the sums voted by Parliament, were well known to his confidential friends to be moderate in the extreme.

The meekness, gentleness, and simplicity of his demeanour, formed a most striking contrast to the self-esteem which might have arisen from the great and splendid consequences of his discovery. He was thankful and grateful for them in his heart ; but to pride and vain-glory he seemed to be an utter stranger. On a recent interesting occasion, a short time before his death, the following were among the last words that he ever spoke to the writer of these lines. The nature of his services to his fellow-creatures had been the subject of conversation : " I do not marvel," he observed, " that men are not grateful to me, but I am surprised that they do not feel gratitude to God, for making me a medium of good." No one could see him without perceiving that this was the habitual frame of his mind. Without it, it never could have been that in his most retired moments, and in his intercourse with the great and exalted of the earth, he invariably exhibited the same uprightness of conduct, singleness of purpose, and unceasing earnestness to promote the welfare of his species, to the total exclusion of all selfish and personal considerations. These qualities particularly arrested the attention of the many distinguished foreigners who came to visit him ; and they were not less the cause of satisfaction and delight to his most intimate friends. His condescension, his kindness, his willingness to listen to every tale of distress, and the openhanded munificence with which he administered to the wants and necessities of those around him, can never be forgotten by any who have been guided and consoled by his affectionate counsel, or cherished and relieved by his unbounded charity. His sympathy for suffering worth, or genius lost in obscurity, was ever alive : and no indication of talent or ingenuity, no effort of intellect, ever met his eye without gaining his notice, and calling forth, on numberless occasions, his substantial aid and assistance. He was not less generous in pouring forth the treasures of his mind. A long life, spent in the constant study of all the subjects of natural history, had stored it with great variety of knowledge.—Here the originality of his views, and the felicity and playfulness of his illustrations and the acuteness of his remarks, imparted a character of genius to his commonest actions and conversations, which could not escape the most inattentive observer.

A national monument has been proposed in Parliament, to this distinguished

stinguised benefactor of mankind, and a subscription has been begun in the county where he resided, for erecting a memorial of his name and virtues.

SAMUEL PETT, ESQ., M.D.

SAMUEL PETT, Esq., M.D. was born on the 24th of September, in the year 1765, of a respectable family at Liskeard, in the county of Cornwall. He received the rudiments of his education at the Grammar-School of that town. In 1781, and in his 16th year, he entered the Dissenting Academy at Daventry. Dr. Pett's first settlement in his professional character was at Plymouth. He removed in 1796, and took up his abode at Clapton. Unambitious in his sentiments and retired in his habits, he contented himself at first with the life of a private gentleman, and would, in all probability, have continued in retirement, had he not been overruled by the importunities of friends to resume his profession. Some medical practitioners of the first eminence, amongst whom were the late Drs. Pitcairn and Saunders, strongly urged him to fix in the metropolis. To this he objected, on the ground of health, and, it may be, from feeling himself unequal to the anxiety and effort required to a successful London practice. He was, besides, increasingly bound to Hackney by several valuable friendships; and here accordingly, in compliance with the wishes of many, he again took up his professional character, in the year 1804; and the event proved that his decision was wisely formed, for his practice soon became considerable, and it was growing yearly until the time of his decease.—Dr. Pett cheerfully accepted and conscientiously fulfilled the duty of Physician to the Refuge for the Destitute in Hackney Road. In the regular and unambitious practice of his profession, Dr. Pett's life was varied by few incidents. His studies of later years were chiefly medical, and few persons in the profession were better acquainted with the history of disease, and with the discoveries made in the healing art. His leisure from his increasing medical duties was devoted to general literature and science, and to the enjoyments of social intercourse, in which he took lively pleasure and to which he largely contributed. By a liberal education he had acquired a great mass of general knowledge, and no small share of elegant learning; and, by a judicious disposition of his acquirements, appeared competent to the discussion of any subject, whether scientific or literary. It is to be regretted that an unjust estimate of his own powers kept him from the exercise of literary composition, since the few specimens of his writings that are given to the public, evince remarkable soundness of judgement, delicacy of feeling, and simplicity and perspicuity of style.—In the exercise of his profession, Dr. Pett always appeared in his own character, disinterested, condescending, liberal and generous. After the first visit, he was no where a stranger. His patients were his friends. This was the case no less with the poor than with persons in good circumstances. The poor knew and felt this, and hence he was always denominated by them, "The Poor Man's Friend." The blessing of them that were ready to perish came upon him. A great number of individuals

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in humble life, to whom he had been a benefactor, bewailed his death, and still lament bitterly their own loss. No man, perhaps, in his station, was ever followed to the grave by more or deeper mourners; consisting too of that class of persons whose mourning is the dictate not of fashion but of the heart. He was, indeed, "worthy, for whom" they "should do this." He took real pleasure in being serviceable to his poor neighbours. Frequently, after a fatiguing day, and when he was beginning to enjoy the comforts of his fireside, he has called to mind some patient of this class who expected his visit, and, regardless of weather and every other inconvenience, has proceeded to the abode of want and disease, at a considerable distance from his own habitation. One of the last efforts of his failing speech, was an explanation to his servant of the residences of some poor patients, whom he was anxious to inform of his illness, lest they should suffer in mind or body from his non-attendance.—Nothing can more strongly illustrate the power of Dr. Pett's excellent character, than the degree of respect and esteem which he enjoyed amongst the members of his own profession, whom he conciliated, amidst differences of opinion and interest, by his frank conduct and amiable manners. He was a bond of union to such of them as were in his own neighbourhood: those that were at a distance put confidence in him, on account of his wide-spread moral reputation. In general society, Dr. Pett was an universal favourite. His manners were easy but dignified, indicating all that is intended by the word gentleman. He was diffident, but not reserved. An occasion offered, he took his share in conversation, and his remarks displayed a highly-cultivated and well-stored mind. His countenance bespoke his character; it was manly, ingenuous and benignant. He had a peculiarly benevolent smile, which was irresistibly fascinating. Beyond the circle of his profession, his charities were very great. He had, in fact, a deep sense of the obligation that lies upon a Christian to do good; and such was his humility that he frequently lamented the small amount of his usefulness. There was scarcely a public object dependent upon private liberality for support, within his own immediate connexion, to which he was not a subscriber; and many were his contributions to distressed individuals and decayed families, known to few besides the recipients of his bounty and Him who seeth in secret.—To improvements in the condition of his fellow-creatures he was eagerly devoted, especially such as came within the scope of his profession. Having thoroughly studied from the beginning, and watched the operation of Dr. Jenner's discovery, he was a zealous advocate for vaccination, which he believed would finally exterminate the small-pox, or at least destroy the malignity of the disease. He therefore discouraged the variolous inoculation, and partly as a trustee of the parish of Hackney, and partly as a physician, he procured the disuse of the practice amongst the parochial dependents. He drew up a paper on the comparative advantages of the two inoculations, to which he gained the signatures of the medical practitioners at Hackney, and this determined the resolution of the guardians of the poor.—Without any ostentation of profession, Dr. Pett was a decided Christian. He had little relish for theological and metaphysical niceties; but he entered with his heart and soul into those great views of religion

religion which regard the perfection of the Divine character, and the improvement and happiness of the human race. He despised the mummery of superstition, and shrunk with abhorrence from the appearance of bigotry. On the whole, Dr. Pett was an extraordinary instance of moral goodness. In any one good quality he might have many equals, though few superiors, but in the aggregate of his character he excelled most persons. He had his peculiar place in society, in which his death has created a total blank. No one can be expected to be to his friends and neighbours exactly what he was. By all that knew him, it will be long before he is thought of without pungent regret, or spoken of without strong emotion.

INTELLIGENCE.

I. SCHOOLS.

Spicer Street (Spitalfields) School Association.—The Establishment of this Association affords a striking evidence of the correctness of the principle, that the working classes of society should be brought to depend as much as possible upon their own exertions for the education of their children, in preference to receiving this benefit as a boon from public charity.

In the year 1812, a school-room was erected in Spicer-street, capable of accommodating 800 boys. All the children admitted into the school were required to pay 1d. per week, and on these terms it was shortly filled. Owing, however, to a variety of circumstances, the number gradually decreased, and for the last two or three years the average attendance seldom exceeded 300. In the spring of last year, a few benevolent individuals, who were deeply interested in the welfare of the rising generation of this district, met together for the purpose of digesting a plan, with a view of rendering the school more effectually beneficial. On taking a view of the premises, they ascertained, that by making some alterations, two rooms might be formed, capable of receiving 350 boys and 250 girls. This was immediately carried into effect, and a public meeting of the poor was convened, at which the plan of the proposed Association was developed. Every person subscribing 2d. per week was to have the privilege of recommending one child to the school, either from his own family or a neighbour's. The district embraced was to be divided into sections or streets, and for each street a Collector was to be appointed from among the most intelligent of its inhabitants. A Public Meeting of the Subscribers was to be held once in six months, at which the children were to be examined, and the rewards distributed; and every member was to be furnished with a short printed Report of the state of the schools, and the proficiency of each child. A library of useful and entertaining books was to be formed, which each Subscriber was to have the privilege of borrowing under certain regulations. The Collectors were

were to take the oversight of their respective streets or sections—collect the subscriptions weekly—distribute the Reports—visit the parents of absentees—and report regularly to a General Committee on all matters connected with their department.

This plan, by which the benevolent feelings of the poorer classes were called into action, was eagerly embraced, and upwards of 300 names were almost immediately enrolled as subscribers. The Boys' School was rapidly filled, and about 100 girls are already enjoying the benefits of a religious and moral education. The schools are well conducted, and exhibit the advantages of the British System. The half-yearly meetings are well attended—the Reports of their proceedings are read with pleasure—the privileges of the library are duly estimated—and some pleasing instances have occurred of reformation of character, which may be traced to the operations of this measure, and the interest taken by the higher classes of society, for the welfare and happiness of those who are placed in more humble and dependent circumstances.

In the Girls' School, the mornings are generally devoted to needle-work; the afternoons to reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic: but on the whole of one day of the week, (viz. the day called Friday) the girls are allowed to work exclusively for their own emolument; and the eldest girls attend on two evenings of the week, to learn to cut out garments.

School Institution at Glay in France.—An institution has been recently formed at Glay, near Montheliard, the object of which is to educate schoolmasters for village schools, for the Protestant parts of France and French Switzerland. In many places the thinness of the population, and the poverty of the inhabitants, render it difficult to support village schools. To remedy this inconvenience, the institution at Glay will receive boys and young men, to be instructed in whatever is necessary for undertaking the office of a village schoolmaster, and at the same time, to be taught some useful trade, by which they may make up a sufficient income for their maintenance. Orphans and the children of poor persons will be admitted, and brought up with views adapted to their intended pursuits. The school is proposed to resemble a large Christian family, and to nourish all the virtues and graces of religious and social life, as well as to afford facilities for the attainment of the necessary literary qualifications. The system of mutual instruction will be adopted as far as practicable. The course of study will comprise three years, and will embrace reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, grammar, geography, the first elements of history, and above all the principles of Christianity. Various trades and useful occupations will employ the hours not devoted to study. The plan, both as it respects the children and young men, will be entirely gratuitous; but, if any benefactor should wish to bring up a youth likely to become a good instructor, he may send him to the establishment, on paying annually 200 francs for an adult, or half that sum for a boy of from 7 to 15 years of age. Several respectable pastors, French, Swiss, German, Piedmontese, &c. patronise the institution, among whom is the pious and indefatigable M. Oberlin, of Ban de la Roche.

Roche. On the continent, subscriptions may be sent to the agents of the Society, in Paris, Lyons, Strasburgh, Montheliard, and Basle; or in England, to Henry Drummond, Esq. Portman Square, London.

LIMA.—*Extract from the Lima Gazette of the 6th July, 1822.*—*Pre-
amble.*—"Without education there is, properly speaking, no society. Men may, indeed, live together without it, but they cannot know the extent of the duties, and the rights which bind them one to another; and it is in the knowledge of these duties and rights that the well-being of society consists. The bringing of education to some degree of perfection, is, from the nature of the thing, slow. To accomplish it, time is required, and some degree of stability in the Government, as well as some other circumstances both natural and moral. All these must combine, in order that the education of the people may become general, and that thus a foundation may be laid for the continuance of those institutions which may be established among them. Of the various improvements which the Government has been desirous of making, none has been more earnestly and constantly kept in view, since the moment of its commencement, than the reformation of public education. In those intervals of tranquillity which have been enjoyed from the clamour of arms, this object has occupied their attention; and though the sun has not stood still, they have found in activity the secret of doubling the length of the day.

"It has already been announced in various decrees of the Government, that the introduction of the Lancasterian System in the public schools, was one of the plans in meditation. It is not yet possible to calculate the revolution which will be produced in the world by this system of mutual instruction, on its becoming general throughout the civilized world. When this shall take place, ignorance shall come to an end; or at least shall be reduced to certain limits, beyond which it shall never be allowed to pass. The time is now arrived for setting the system a-going in this place, and the commencing of it is worthy of the month of July, a month in which posterity will record many events of importance; and we trust they will do us the justice to declare, that we have desired to make this time memorable by deeds which philosophy applauds, and which spring from the noblest principles of all human actions, namely, the love of glory, founded on promoting the prosperity and the happiness of mankind. The above are the reasons on which the following decree is founded.

"The Supreme Deputy, with the advice of the Privy Council, decrees—

"1st. There shall be established a Central or Principal School, according to the Lancasterian System, under the direction of Mr. Thomson.

"2d. The convent or college of St. Thomas shall be appropriated to this purpose. The friars at present residing in it shall remove to the large convent of St. Dominic, leaving so many as are necessary for the service of the church attached to it.

"3d. In this establishment the elementary parts of education shall be taught, together with the modern languages. The teachers necessary for this purpose shall be appointed agreeably to the arrangements which will be pointed out in the plan for the National Institute of Peru.

" 4th. At the expiration of six months all the public schools shall be shut, which are not conducted according to the System of Mutual Instruction.

" 5th. All the masters of the public schools shall attend the Central School, with two of their most advanced pupils, in order to be instructed in the new system: and in studying it, they shall attend to the method prescribed by the director of the establishment.

" 6th. As soon as the director of the Central School shall have instructed a sufficient number of teachers, these shall be employed, with competent salaries, in establishing Public Schools on the same principles in the capital city of each province, that the system may thus be extended from these to the other cities and towns in each province of the State.

" 7th. At the first public examination which shall take place in the Central School, those masters who have been most attentive in learning the system, and shall have made such progress as to be able to conduct schools according to it, shall receive the reward of a Gold Medal, to be ordered for that purpose by the Minister of State.

" 8th. For the preservation and extension of the new system the Patriotic Society of Lima is particularly commissioned, and requested to take such measures as may be considered necessary for these purposes, and they are desired to make known to the Government those things in which its co-operation may be required, in order more effectually to carry forward this important object.

" 9th. In order that the advantages of this system of education may be extended to the female sex, which the Spanish Government has always treated with culpable neglect, it is particularly recommended by the Patriotic Society to take into consideration the most likely means for establishing a Central School for the instruction of Girls.

" 10th. The salary of the Director, and the other expenses necessary for this establishment, shall be arranged by a decree to that effect, and shall be defrayed by the Government. The Minister of State is authorized to issue all the orders necessary for the punctual fulfilment of this decree.

" Given in the Government Palace in Lima, 6th July, 1822.

" (Signed) TRUJILLO.

" By order of His Excellency,

" (Countersigned)

B. MONTEAGUDO."

SANTIAGO DE CHILI.—There are three schools in this city on the British System. One is attended by one hundred and twenty boys, part of whom pay a dollar per month, and others pay for a slate on admission. Another school has about sixty boys, fifty of whom pay a dollar per month. The remaining school is gratuitous, and the master's salary is paid by the magistracy. The schools are now going on well, and the boys improve pretty fast. A native of this country, who first acted as master of the first school at Santiago, has been appointed to establish schools at a distance from the city, and is already pretty forward with one at Valparaíso.

CALCUTTA, and Visit to a Female School.—When schools for the education of the rising male population were first projected at Calcutta, the state of society

society seemed to preclude females from the immediate benefits of such exertions: yet, in the progress of the experiment, it has been found that the female mind also can be roused to seek after the blessings resulting from education; and the success of the Female Branch of the Calcutta Baptist Society, in establishing Native Female Schools, justifies the friends of religion in endeavouring to extend the means of instruction, as far as possible, to the females of India, as well as to the other sex.

While the way for the education of native females was thus preparing here, the friends of education in England were also devising plans for accomplishing the same end. The British and Foreign School Society, in concert with some members of the Calcutta School Society, now in England, had solicited and obtained from the public, funds for the sending out a suitable female teacher from England, who might devote herself exclusively to the education of native females in India. Such a person was soon found; who, to a sincere love of her sex, and fervent piety, united long acquaintance with the work of education. This lady (Miss Cooke) accordingly sailed from England in the ship Abberton, recommended more especially to the Calcutta School Society, by whom she has been resigned to the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, who have published an interesting appeal on this important subject.

We subjoin an extract from a Report drawn up by the lady who accompanied Miss Cooke to the Female Schools:—

"We accompanied Miss Cooke at nine o'clock this morning to the Native Girls' School; and found thirteen were assembled. As soon as the first salutations were over, I conversed familiarly with the children in Bengalee: on which they all appeared delighted. I asked them if they would attend regularly for instruction, from that lady (looking toward Miss Cooke), who is taking so much trouble as to learn the language for the purpose of instructing them. They said that they would most gladly; and their little countenances were lightened up with joy. Two of them, whose names are Monachee and Ponchee, said that they wished I also would come with Miss Cooke and talk to them.

"While speaking to the children, many of their female relatives stood without the lattice-work, looking in.

"The children then repeated their Bengalee Alphabet to Miss Cooke; and, after they had gone over a few of the first letters several times, we moved to come away: little Ponchee took hold of my clothes, and said, "Stop, my mother is coming;" by which I found that some intelligence had been conveyed to the nearest neighbours of our being there. While Miss Cooke was speaking to Mr. Jetter, who had a boys' school in the place, two or three of the mothers approached close to the lattice work; and the children, particularly Monachee and Ponchee, pointed out theirs, and Ponchee her grandmother also, begging I would speak to them.

"The mothers of the children were neatly dressed in clean white clothes; but drew their upper coverings so much over their faces, that I should not know them again. I drew close to them, and said, "I hope you will be pleased that your children should be instructed by us: that lady, Miss Cooke, is come to this country solely for the purpose of instructing the

the children of the natives of this country." Monachee's mother inquired, if she could speak their language. I told them, that she had begun to learn it on her way hither, and could read and write a little; and, in a short time, I hoped she would be able to converse with them familiarly. She then asked why I could not come also with Miss Cooke: I told them that I had my own to instruct at home; but that I would often accompany Miss Cooke. They inquired whether Miss Cooke was married? I answered "No." Had she been, or was she going to be? I said, "No: she is married or devoted to your children: she heard, in England, that the women of this country were kept in total ignorance, that they were not taught even to read or write, and that the men alone were allowed to attain to any degree of knowledge: it was also generally understood, that the chief objection arose from your having no female who would undertake to teach: she therefore felt much sorrow and compassion for your state; and determined to leave her country, her parents, her friends, and every other advantage, and come here for the sole purpose of educating your female children." They, with one voice, cried out, smiting their bosoms with their right hands, "Oh! what a pearl of a woman is this!" I added, "She has given up greater expectations to come here; and seeks not the riches of this world, but that she may promote your best interests." "Our children are yours—we give them to you"—replied two or three of the mothers at once. They then asked, "And where have you learnt our language? Did you learn it in your own country; or have you been long here?" and many such questions; to which I replied. They went on, "Are you married?" I said "I have been." Where is your husband?" On my saying "He is not," and seeing that the question affected me, they whispered to each other, "She has lost her husband: do not question her on that head;" and were perfectly silent a few moments with sad and sympathizing looks. They then respectfully inquired whether I had children: I told them that I had a daughter, and grandchildren, whom I would bring to see them: and they entreated I would soon return, and bring some of them with me. We came away with the shouts and "salaams" of both children and parents.

Two days afterwards, on the 28th, a second visit was paid:—

We found only seven pupils this morning: among whom were two new faces. I had taken my grand-daughter Anna (who is between five and six years of age) with us; at sight of whom all the children appeared delighted.

After repeating their letters, they again conversed with us, and made many inquiries about Anna: when I told them she could read our Scriptures, they appeared surprised.

The children requested leave to feel Anna's hand: she readily held it out to them, and one after another took hold of it, saying, "How white it is!"—"how pretty!"—"how soft! it is like cotton!"—"We never touched an European child's hand before: ours are hard, but we do much work about the house." I told them that they did right; and, were it Anna's duty to clean pots and pans, she would do it, and then her hands would not be so soft. I then inquired whether they came regularly in
the

the afternoon : they said that they did, except on the preceding day, when it was a holiday.

All the children were then dismissed : but some of them returned very soon again, and when I asked them why they had not stayed to eat, they said that they had taken their food hastily, and came back, that they might see and read to us again before we went away.

II. SLAVERY.

London Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions.—The objects of this Society cannot be more clearly and comprehensively defined than in the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted at its first meeting:—

That the individuals composing the present meeting are deeply impressed with the magnitude and number of the evils attached to the system of Slavery which prevails in many of the Colonies of Great Britain ; a system which appears to them to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, as well as repugnant to every dictate of natural humanity and justice.

That they long indulged a hope, that the great measure of the Abolition of the slave-trade, for which an Act of the Legislature was passed in 1807 after a struggle of twenty years, would have tended rapidly to the mitigation and gradual extinction of Negro bondage in the British Colonies ; but that in this hope they have been painfully disappointed ; and after a lapse of sixteen years, they have still to deplore the almost undiminished prevalence of the very evils which it was one great object of the abolition to remedy.

That under these circumstances they feel themselves called upon by the most binding considerations of their duty as Christians, by their best sympathies as men, and by their solicitude to maintain unimpaired the high reputation and the solid prosperity of their country, to exert themselves, in their separate and collective capacities, in furthering this most important object, and in endeavouring by all prudent and lawful means to mitigate, and eventually to abolish, the slavery existing in our Colonial possessions.

That an Association be now formed, to be called “ The London Society for mitigating and gradually abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions ; ” and that a subscription be entered into for that purpose.

With respect to the *means* of carrying these objects into effect, they must, in some measure, depend on circumstances. For such as are more obvious, particularly the obtaining and diffusing of information, considerable funds will be required ; and it will therefore be necessary to promote subscriptions not only in the metropolis, but in all parts of the kingdom.

III. BIBLE SOCIETY.

Table of One Hundred and Forty Languages or Dialects, in which the Distribution, Printing, or Translation of the Scriptures, in whole or in part, has been promoted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, either directly or indirectly.

(A.) Directly, at the Expense of the Society.			At Home.	Abroad.
No.	At Home.	Abroad.		
<i>Reprints of Received Versions.</i>				
1	English		34	Tigre (Abyssinian dialect)
2	Welsh		—	Greek Modern
3	Gaelic		35	Albanian
4	Irish		36	Servian
5	Manks		37	Arawack (South American Indian)
6	Danish			
7	.....	Icelandic	(B.) Indirectly, by Grants to Foreign Societies or Individuals.	
8	Dutch		No.	Languages and Dialects not mentioned under (A.)
9	German			Languages and Dialects already mentioned under (A.)
10	Italian	Italian (2 versions)	<i>Reprints of Received Versions.</i>	
11	French	French (3 versions)	38	Bohemian
12	Spanish	Spanish (2 versions)	39	Hungarian
13	Portuguese (2 versions)		40	Latin
14	Greek Ancient		41	Romanese (Ladinsch)
15	Greek Modern		42	Romanese (Churwelsch)
16	Ethiopic		43	Wendish (Upper dialect)
17	Arabic		44	Wendish (Lower dialect)
18	Syriac	Syriac and Carabur	45	Polish
19	Hebrew		46	Moldavian
20	Malay (with Roman characters)		47	Slavonian
<i>Not printed before.</i>			48	Lithuanian
21	.....	Turkish	49	Dorpat Esthonian
22	.....	Tartar, Turkish	50	Reval Esthonian
23	.....	Tartar, Jewish	51	Lettonian
24	.....	Calmuc	52	Finnish
25	Amharic (vulgar Abyssinian)		53	Laponese
26	Bullom (West African language)		54	Swedish
27	Mohawk (North American lang.)		55	Armenian
28	Esquimaux ditto		56	Georgian
<i>Re-translations, printed or printing.</i>			57	Bengales
29	Hindostanee, or Oordoo		58	Tamul
30	Greenlandish		<i>Not printed before.</i>	
31	.....	Arabic Modern	59	Modern Russ
32	.....	Persian N. Testament	60	Samogitian
<i>New Translations made or in progress.</i>			61	Karelian
33	.....	Mandjur Chinese	62	Turkish Armenian
—	.....	Persian Old Testament	63	Buriat Mongolian
			64	Olonez Karelian

Not mentioned under A.	Mentioned under A.	Not mentioned under A.	Mentioned under A.
65 Tartar pure	Calmauc	<i>New Translations made or in progress.</i>	
66 Orenburg Tartar		104 Bulgarian	
67 Tschuwashian		105 Faroese	
68 Tscheremissian		106 Wogulian	
69 Afghan, or Pushtoo		107 Mordwaschian	
70 Assamese		108 Tanguisian	
71 Bhutunee		109 Siberian Tartar	
72 Bikaneer		110 Ostiakian	
73 Bruj		111 Tschapojirian	
74 Burman [nata		112 Samojedian	
75 Canarese or Kur- Persian		113 Wotagiah	
76 Gudwal [sions)		114 Bhojpooree	
77 Gujuratee (2 ver-	Hindoostanee	115 Bhugelkhundee	
78 Harotee		116 Bundelkhundee	
79 Hindee		117 Birat	
80 Joypore		118 Budrinathee	
81 Juyugur		119 Bugis	
82 Kanouj		120 Buloches	
83 Kashmeer		121 Huriyana	
84 Khassse		122 Jagatai, or Turco-	
85 Konkuna		123 Javanese [man	
86 Kutch		124 Jumboo	
87 Mahratia		125 Kanynkooja	
88 MakayaEm		126 Koomaoon	
89 Tahertan, or Ota-		127 Kousulee	
heitean		128 Kucharee	
90 Maruwar		129 Macassar	
91 Mithilee		130 Maldivian	
92 Nepal		131 Mughuda	
93 Oodoypore		132 Munipoor [kee	
94 Oojjuynse		133 Munipoor Koon-	
95 Orissa		134 Palpa, or Dogura	
96 Sanscrit		135 Rakheng	
97 Seik, or Punjabee		136 Siamese	
98 Telinga, or Teloo-		137 Sindhee	
goo (2 versions)		138 SouthernSindhoo,	
99 Watch, Wucha, or		or Hydrabadee	
Multanee		139 TripooraKoonkee	
100 Delaware Indian			
<i>Re-translations printed or printing.</i>			
101 Chinese (2 vers.)	German (3 ver-		
102 Cingalese	Persian (sions)		
103 Creolese	Hindoostanee		

Recapitulation.

Reprints	41
Re-translations	6
Languages and Dialects, in which the Scriptures have never been printed before the Institution of the Society	50
New Translations in progress	42
139 Various Languages and Dialects.	

To which is { 1 A new translation into the MODERN GREEK, not
to be added { numbered in the above list.

Total 140

N. B.—Most of the Northern Asiatic Versions mentioned under the head of B. are promoted by the Russian Bible Society; and the Southern Asiatic, &c., generally by the Serampore Missionaries, and the Bible Societies of Calcutta, Colombo, Madras, and Bombay, and the Missionaries of other Missionary Societies.

**CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE, EXCLUSIVE OF THE MILITARY (EUROPEAN OR NATIVE)
AND THIER FAMILIES: TAKEN ON THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY 1822.**

Parish or District.	Principal Town.	Europeans.		Maroons.			Nova Scotians.			West Indians & Americans.			Natives.			Liberated Africans.			Discharged Soldiers.	Total.				Grand Total.							
		Males.	Females.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Boys.		Girls.											
St. George	Free Town	94	10	114	168	163	154	161	308	182	171	7	4	2	2	414	268	206	199	655	521	405	366	366	301	2612	1179	960	892	5643	
St. Charles	Regent	2	3									5	1			17	1			714	390	292	197	788	394	222	197	211	1651		
St. Patrick	Kissy	1										6	1	3		21	15	10	8	438	250	201	190	451	246	211	161	1069			
St. Andrew	Gloucester	2	2									7								941	114	139	88	2	2	254	116	139	88	697	
St. James	Bathurst											3								196	104	63	27	199	104	63	27	393			
St. Peter	Leopold	1	1									3								301	98	57	59	205	99	57	59	430			
St. John	Charlotte	1	1									3								193	81	75	66	197	82	75	66	420			
St. Thomas	Hastings	1	1									3	1	5		6	4			26	85	16	8	102	40	21	8	171			
St. Michael	Waterloo	1	1									1								148	114	83	98	359	115	82	99	519			
Arthur	Wellington	1	1									1	1	3		33	29	16	12	7	67	42	35	310	361	87	59	50	547		
St. Paul	Wilberforce	1	1									1	1			60	52			131	82	74	78	115	308	135	74	78	595		
St. Henry	York	1	1									3				41	54	17	10	41	52	28	10	227	10	330	109	45	20	494	
St. Edward	Kent	3										7	2	2		8	4	10	7	166	54	31	67	52	286	65	43	74	418		
Leicester	Leicester											1				11	8			695	532	356	342	11	4	19	736	536	346	1964	
28 Nat Villages												1																			
Islands & Settlements in river	No Return received																														
Banana Islands		2										1	1			32	18	15	14	48	12	4	3								
Islands de Loss	No Return received																														
		110	18	114	168	163	154	161	308	182	171	48	19	10	8	11327	977	630	692	3312	1956	1445	1056	1108	947	7122	3346	2432	2181	15,081	

Secretary's Office, Freetown.

J. O'N. WALSH, A. Col. Secretary.

1590 Africans, Males and Females, have been received from Slave Vessels and established in the Villages since the 1st January last, making a total Population of 16,671 Persons at the present Date.

Secretary's Office, Freetown, August 1, 1822.

J. O'N. W.





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